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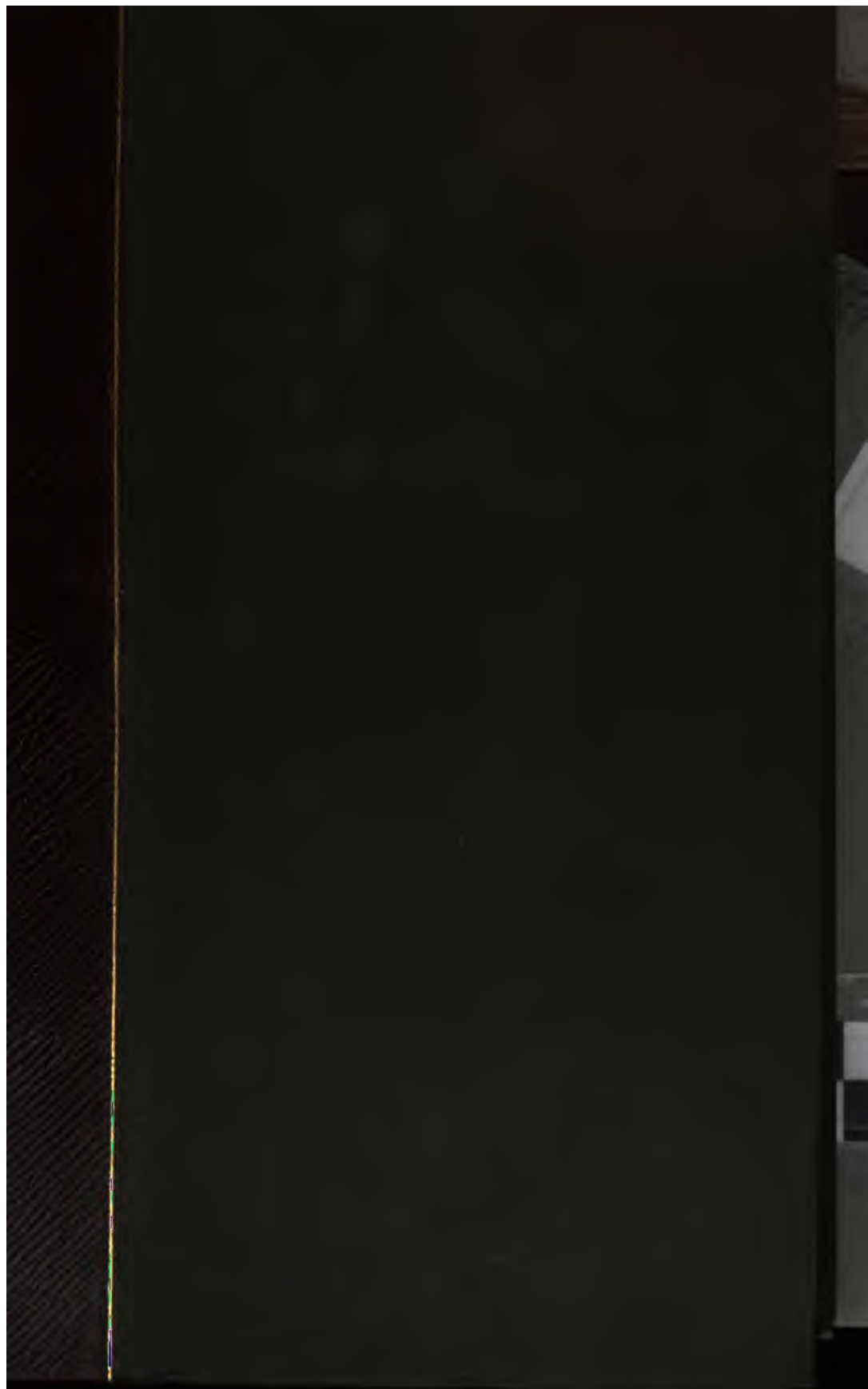
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PITSCOTTIE'S CHRONICLES

" So in this wark that I haue heir asseilzeit
To bring to licht most humblie I exhortt
3ow gentill readdaris quhair that I haue feilzeit
In letteris sillabbis pointtis lang or schort
That 3e wald of 3our gentrice it support
And tak the sentence the best wayes 3e may
I sall do bettir will god ane vthir day."

THE
**Historie and Cronicles
 of Scotland**

From the Slauchter of King James the First
 To the Ane thousande fyve hundreith
 thrie scoir fyftein zeir

WRITTEN AND COLLECTED BY

ROBERT LINDESAY OF PITSCOTTIE

BEING A CONTINUATION OF THE TRANSLATION OF THE CHRONICLES WRITTEN BY
 HECTOR BOECE, AND TRANSLATED BY JOHN BELLENDEN

*Now first published from two of the oldest Manuscripts, one bequeathed
 by Dr David Laing to the University of Edinburgh, and the
 other in the Library of John Scott of Halkhill, C.R.*

EDITED BY

Æ. J. G. MACKAY

SHERIFF OF FIFE AND KINROSS

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¹ *I.e.*, Eyemouth.

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[Note.—There are no divisions into chapters after this in MS. I.]

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ERRATA TO THE SECOND VOLUME.

- P.
41, note 2. Knox has 17th February, but the probable date of the battle of Ancrum was 27th February 1545. See Dunbar, Scottish Kings, p. 248, n. 10.
61, l. 8. *Insert haif between ze and spokin.*
66, note 2. *For Blester read Bleater.*
166, note 5. *For Montray read Moutray.*
183, note 1. *For 1570 read 1565.*
205, note 1. *For a read or.*
310, note 2. *Delete "sister of Grange. See Notes."*

HEIR BEGINNIS THE XXII BUIK OF
 MARIE QUEIN OF SCOTLAND
 AND QUHAT TRUBILL FELL
 IN HER TYME BE EVILL
 COUNSALL AND HOW
 SCHO WAS DE
 PRIYIT OF HIR
 AUTHORITE AND
 HIR SONE
 CORONIT

THE I CHAPTER.

Hou the lordis of Scotland that war presonaris in England war delyuerit. The king of inglands counsall to himselfe. Hou the cardinall eftir the kingis death desyred the autorite. Hou my lord arane conwenit his counsall. Hou the erle of angus was send for and als George his brother and hou they came to Scotland.

In the zeir of god I^m v^e xliij zeir and in the moneth of Fol. 139 a.
 Januare, thair was money of our lordis and barrouns of
 Scotland was lyand in Loundoun ffor the tyme pres-
 sonaris taine at Solloun mose,¹ bot they war weill treitit
 5 be king Harie and richlie rewardit of him and frelie
 deliuerit at thair awin plesour. Bot quhene they war
 at mirienes word come out of Scotland to Ingland that
 the kingis grace was depairtit as I haue schawin, bot at
 thir tydingis king Harie sightit sair and said, 'Allace,
 10 ' thir ar wofull tydingis to me [ffor I will nevir get so sib

¹ Solway Moss.

'ane king]¹ agane to me [nor ane that I favourit so in
 'hairt]¹ and desyrit effectuslie to haue had his con-
 'fidence and faithfull conference. Bot allace wickit
 'and ewill consall wald not thoill him quho was my
 'sister sone to speik witht me baitht to his ioy and con- 5
 'fort and to myne bot zeit I traist that allmightie god
 'sall work all for the best as he dois to all men that
 'beleiffis in him.' Quhene the king of Ingland had maid
 ane end of his lamentatioun he inquiryt farder tydingis
 at this messenger, quho schew to him that the quene of 10
 Scotland was deliuerit of ane douchter and no mo
 successioun was left of his name² to be king of Scotland ;
 quhairat the king of Ingland panssit greatlie and coniectit
 in his mynd that³ come efterwart to pase, that is to say :—
 He thocht weill that the faculltie⁴ of soume of the lordis 15
 of Scotland and spetiall of him that was pertenant to⁵
 the autorietie and⁶ gowernour and also of the wickit
 kirkmen and thair consall, and that the loue that quene
 mother buire to France that this forsaid consall wald
 rather consent to dispone this zOUNg quene in the 20
 handis of the Frinche king rather nor his howbeit that
 scho was commit of his awin bloode.⁷ Thairfor this
 nobill king sett his wott⁸ for to labour effectouslie be all
 meanes possibill honest and godlie ffor to bring the tuo
 realmes togither in wnioun and allayance to the great 25
 weill and profiteit and peace to baitht the said realmes.
 And to that effect he rewairdit the lordis of Scotland
 richelie that was witht him for the tyme as pressonaris
 and deliuerit thame frelie in Scotland desyring of thame
 no thing bot that they wald be his freind in tyme com- 30

The king of
 Inglandis
 counsall to
 himself.

How the
 lordis of
 Scotland
 that was
 pressonaris
 in Ingland
 was deli-
 uered.

¹ The words in brackets are from I.

² "That" = what.

³ "Have," I.

⁴ "Newoy the king," I.

⁵ "Facillitie," I.

⁶ "To be," I.

⁷ The meaning of this sentence, in which I agrees with A, is plain, but the construction is somewhat difficult. The simplest emendation would be to insert after "France" the words "would cause," which is probably implied.

⁸ "Wott" = wit ; "intent," I.

- ming, that he might haue thair goode mynd and wit in the consall of Scotland quhene tyme requyrit ffor his effairis, and common weill off baitht the realmes; and so thir lordis promissit no les to him bot they sould do
 5 that they could to bring baitht the saidis realmes in peace and rest sa far as they may saifand thair honour and lawtie to thair natiue contrie. The lordis was deliuerit and come in Scotland againe the tent day of Januar in the zeir of god I^m v^e and xlij zeiris.
- 10 Soune eftir this Dawid Bettoun, cardinall of Scotland desyrit to haue the autorietie heirop, thinkand that the earle of Arrane quho was richteous¹ to use the samin but faccell and inconstant, and nocht worthie to gowerne the said realme. Thairfor this cardenall ffor said maid
 15 moyane witht quene mother, witht the earle of Argyle, Lord Setoun and money wther lordis of the realme schawand thame the kingis commissioun and latter will quhilk he had gotten and obtenit be his grace ffor to be reullar of Scotland and tuttar to his douchter induring
 20 hir les aige. Of this quene mother was weill content because scho knew him to fawour France and all wther proceedingis; ffor this cause scho consentit and so did money of the lordis be hir moyan.² The earle of Arran and Lord Hammilltoun was adwertissit of thair proceed-
 25 ingis and was nocht content heirop because he had the iust tyttill at that tyme. Quhairffoir he conwenit his kin and freindis and all wther nobillmen that wald do for him in his iust cause, schawand thame the cardinallis intentioun, desyrand thair consall quhat was best to be
 30 done thairin to frustar³ and stope him of his intent; this wyse⁴ consultit all in ane woce and concludit that it was best to him to stope⁵ fordwart to his awin tyttill

Fol. 139 b.

How the
cardinall,
eftir the
kingis death
desyrit the
autorietie.

How me lord
of Arran con-
uenit his con-
sall.

¹ "Richteous"—*i.e.*, legally entitled.

² "Be thair moyanis," I.

³ "Frustrat," I.

⁴ "Thir wyse men," I.

⁵ "Stope" here means advance. See Glossary.

and right and lat no preist reif him of that autorietie
 that god had put in his handis, and to that effect ffor his
 fortiefecatioun to send in Ingland for the earle of Angus
 and George Douglas his brother, quho was werie wyse
 and naturall men knawand the qualietieis and conditioun 5
 of Scotland for they had oft tymes bene in trubill
 quhairfor thai war the more abill to gif him consall in
 that instant trubill. This lord heirand this goode con-
 sall send incontinent ane messenger ffor the earle of
 Angus and George his brother thinkand that he wald do 10
 thame that plesour to ressaue thame thankfullie to cause
 thame to be the more fferwent in his defence contrair
 the cardinall and his compleces. This message directit
 away as I haue said to Ingland the xxviiij day of the
 moneth of [Januare]¹ the zeir of god [foresaid]¹ to bring 15
 hame the said earle and his brother as I haue schawin
 zow quho was werie reioyssit at the said message quho
 prepairit himself haistalie and come in Scotland the
 secund day of moneth of² quho was werie
 thankfullie ressawit be the earle of Arrane and his 20
 freindis quho thinkand himself more stark aganis his
 enemeis nor he was befoir. Bot quhene thir novellis
 come to the cardinall and quene mother they war no
 vyse content of the earle of Angus comming nor his
 brother knowand that they wald fawour the king of 25
 Ingland in his effairis better than France.

Fol. 140 a.

1542.

How the
 earle of An-
 gus and his
 brother was
 send for and
 how they
 come in
 Scotland.

¹ I inserts.² I also blank.

THE II CHAPTER.

Hou thair was ane conventioun set at Edinburgh and hou they cheisit James Hamiltoun Erle of Arane protector and gowernor of Scotland and hou the cardinall appeillit. Hou ane herauld come out of England for ane connduct to ane ambassador. Hou ane herauld passit out of Scotland to Ingland with the kingis ordour to the king of Ingland. How maister Saithler the ambassadour come to Scotland. Hou thair was ambassador of Scotland send in Ingland. Hou the cardinall was impresonit.

In this meantyme the quene gart labour and so did the Earle of Arrane to haue ane conventioun of the lordis to sie quhat best was to be done ffor the governance of the realme of Scotland.

- 5 The quhilk conventioun convenit at Edinburgh the tent day of the month forsaid witht all the haill powar and puissance of baitht the sydis, that is to say, the Earlie of Arrane his kin and freindis and all the lordis that wald tak his pairt ;¹ on the wther syde the cardinall
 10 witht the assistance of the quene and all that wad do for thame. Thir haill lordis conwenit together at Edinburgh the day forsaid as I have schawin zow and thair concludit and chuse James Hammilltoun, earle of Arrane, protectour and governour of Scotland² because
 15 they knew him to haue the tyttill and right thairof, bot zeit the cardinall and his factioun appeillit fre thair electioun and tuik instrumentis thairwpoun. In this meane tyme thair come ane herald out of Ingland, desyrand ane conduct for ane ambassadour to come
 20 to talk witht the gowernour and the lordis ffor weill-fair of baitht the saidis realmeis quhilk was grantit to him be the advyse of the consall and also thair was ane herald send in Ingland at this tyme witht the king

How James Hammilltoun was chossin protectour to Scotland.

How ane herald was send to Ingland.

¹ "On the ane pairt," I.

² The election was 13th March 1542-3 (Act. Parl., iv. p. 411).

Fol. 140 b.

of Scotlandis order of the gartar¹ quhilk he had resawit
 fre the king of Ingland and maid knyght thairof as was
 the wse and siclyk to deliuer the same order againe
 quhene ewer the knyghtis depairtit; ffor the said order,
 to wit, ane abet² maid according to the order witht 5
 ane gartone of gould set witht precieous stouns and
 siclyk wther ornamentis according to the order was
 deliuerit againe to king Harie witht great reverence,
 quho reioyssit thairof of the thankfull deliuerance and
 reuairdit the herald richlie for his labouris and dis- 10
 patchit him againe to Scotland, and send in his taill
 ane ambassadour callit Mr Saidlar, quho was weill
 resawit in Scotland be the governour and his consall
 and remanit the spaice of thrie monethis in Scotland
 as the wse of ambassadouris is in all contrieis to 15
 remaine allis lang as they haue peace betuix the tuo
 realmeis. And in the samin tyme the ambassadour
 trawellit bessielie³ witht the gouernour and the lordis
 to haue peace and marieage betuix the tuo realmeis
 lyk as his commissioun buire fre his maister the king 20
 of Ingland.⁴

¹ "Garten," I. See Glossary.

² I "Abet"=habit. A and Dalzell read "abbot," probably a mistake.

³ "Bassielie," I.

Promise of
marieage
and peace.

⁴ MS. A has this shorter narrative instead of what follows in brackets from I: "quhoise mind was to haue baitht the said realmes sua in wnioun and frindschip and peace that thay sould nocht be seperat in no mans dayis levand. Bot the governour and his consall concludit haistalie and assentit baitht to peace and marieage and contracit the samin maist ampillie wnder the interchanging of the great seal of Ingland ffor the securietie of baitht the saidis realmeis, and Scotland in lyke maner. This being done the ambassadour send his ansuer to king Harie his maister of the succes of his labour and remanit still him self in Scotland and weill intertenit be the governour and his consall. Bot quhene the cardinall and they that war of thair factioun heir- and of this contract of peace and marieage maid betuix Ingland and Scotland for the weillfair of baitht the saidis realmeis, was navayis content heiroyf bot ragit in furie as thay had bene men made and by¹

¹ "Made"=mad. "By"=out of.

[Bot on the vther syd the cardinall and the quein and
thair factioun wald nocht [consent] thairto bot stoppit all
that they mycht that that band of pace and mariaige sould
nocht proceid fordwaird and that for the luwe that thay
5 had to the king of france. The governour wald onna-
wayis and his counsall seand this that the cardinall wald
onnawayis consent to this band and stoppit all the rest
of the lordis that he mycht consent thairto. In the mein-
tyme quhan the lordis was convenit to the counsall thay
10 thocht guid that the cardinall sould be taine and put in
captivitie quhill thai had dressit all matteris betuix thame
and ingland and in the meintyme tuk the cardinall
out of the counsall and pat him in ane chalmer in
captivitie syne eftirward send him to the blacknes
15 thair remanit ane quhyll quhill thay had done thair
bisines betuix thame and ingland. In this meintyme
king harie send in meikill gould and siluir with this
ambassadour Maister Sadlar quha distributed the samyn
to the governour and the lordis according to his com-
20 missioun fra his maister quhilk was to gif evirilk man
conforme to his degrie that thay micht be the mair
willing to consent to his purpois and effectt foirsaid.
Than the governour and his counsall consentit to

I, fol. 94 b.

The car-
dinall wald
onnawayis
consent.

The car-
dinall is put
in ward in
blacknes.

thair mynd, and wald never consent to this honourabill contract
withtout the king of France had bene content, and caussit the queene
and all that wald do for hir in Scotland to labour contrair the
samin and restit newer quhill the gat the samin dessolwit in plaine
parliament, quhair of the ambassadour of Ingland was ewill con-
tentit and his maister king Harie and wowit to god singularlie that
he sould be revengit of the samin. In this meane tyme the king of
Inglandis ambassadour was werie ewill intertenit be the bischopis,
scornit and mokit, and be the toune of Edinburgh in lyke maner of
quhome king Harie was sune revengit heirof, ffor he send hastalie
ane airmie in Scotland be sie, quho landit bewast Leyth in ane
place callit grantoun grangis, the fourt day of May in the zeir of god
1^m v^o xliij zeiris to the number of xv^m men of weir, and thair-
after past to Leyth and tuik it and remanit thair certane dayis; and
syne thairefter past to Edinburgh." The passage in brackets from
here to "towne of Edinburgh," p. 11, line 10, is the fuller version
of I.

The marie-
age dis-
solwit.

Fol. 141 a.

How ane
airmie come
out of
Ingland.

Agreement
betuix scot-
land and
ingland for
pece and
mareage.

The car-
dinall re-
lewit out of
ward and
delyuerit to
my lord
Setoun be
the quenis
solistatione.

Maister Sadleris commissioun in all pointtis according
to King haryis pleasour and to that effectt send ane
ambassadour in Ingland and the hail contract of
mariaige and pace betuix the twa realmes and for
the mair securetie intercheingit the gret seallis of Ing- 5
land and scotland and als wa promesit pledgeis to be
delyuerit in ingland for obserwing and keiping of the
band forsaide. This beand done all matteris beand
endit betuix Ingland and scotland the cardinall was taine
furth of the blaknes be the quenis solestatione and 10
delywerit to the lord seattoun in keiping quha tuk
buddis of gold and siluir frome him for to lat him
eschaip his waired the quhilk he did pairtie for gould
and siluir and pairtie for the quenis pleasour. And
so this wicked and vngodly cardinall sa schone as he 15
was at libertie begowd to raige as ane lyone that war
lowsit of his band nor na summondis no¹ admonitioun
nicht caus him to obey the auctoritie.

THE III CHAPTER.

Hou the pace was brokin betuix England and Scotland. Hou the
king of England send in ane armie be sie and brunt Leith and
edinburghe with money uthir tounis and willageis. Hou the
cardinall raisit ane armie at Linlythgow againes the gowernor.
And the appointment was maid before the gowernor and car-
dinall. Hou the zounge quein was had out of Linlythgow to
Stiruiling.

The car-
dinall lau-
bouris to
dissolue the
pace betuix
Scotland and
Ingland.

I, fol. 95 a.

Bot this cardinall bowdnit in crweltie againes Ingland
hawand na mynd of god nor the common weill of the 20
cuntrie quha nicht haue leiweit weill in pace and rest
for the space of ten zeiris quhilk was contractit betuix
the twa realmes bot he laubourit with all the strenth
he mycht for to dissolue the said pace and to that effectt
gadderit ane gret sowme of money amang the kirkmen 25

¹ "No"=nor.

and gave vnto the lordis that was vpone the governouris
consall and speciallie to thame that sould haue send
their pledgeis to Ingland for securetie of the band and
so he causit to disolue the pace in this maner for the
5 ambassadour seand the lordis wald consent to send na
pledgeis to Ingland as thair condition was beleiwand
suirle that the pace wald be brokin Ffor in this mein-
tyme this ambassadour of ingland callit Maister Sadlar
was wondrous euill entreattit in Scotland mockit and
10 scornit be the bischoppis and kirkmen and als wa be
the craftismen and vtheris of Edinburgh for quhan he
had maid buttis to schoot at in Edinburgh and had
put king haries armes thairvpone for his pleasour and
the honour of his maister zeit certane wickit personis
15 cuist downe the buttis and fyllit the armes with filth
in dispyt of king hary bot quhan the ambassadour
saw this displesour done to his maister and him sellff
in his name he was heavelie commoweit heirwith
and saw nathing bot dirisioun he passit to the gower-
20 nour and maid his complant that sic scorne was done
to his maister and to him sellff. The governour heiring
his complant excusit the matter in this maner Sayand
that it was bot fallowis and lownis and onhonest smaikis
that knew nocht quhat thay did for the honest men
25 and weomen of the towne knew nocht sic thingis
Thairfoir prayand him to tak all in patience for he
sould caus to try the matter and mak puneishment
thairvpone. Be this the day was expyred that the
pledgeis sould haue beine send in Ingland and the
30 ambassadour inquirt at the governour quhat was
the caus that the pledgeis was nocht delyuerit at the
day appointtit conforme to the tennour of this band.
The governour ansuerit the ambassadour in this maner
sayand 'I am willing heirto zit as of befoir to do
35 'all that I haue promiseit bot the quein and the car-
'dinall hes seducit sa the lordis and corruptit thame

The Inglis
Ambassa-
tour evil
wsit.

'with money that thay will nocht consent to no thing
 'that is done nor zit will send thair pledgeis as thay
 'promeisit and I am bot ane man I may do na thing
 'aganis thame all.' This beand spokin to the am-
 bassadour he was nowayis contenttit nor saw na forder 5
 of the pace and band to be keipit betuix the twa
 realmes lyk as was promeisit and that was be seditioun
 of this cardinall and kirkmen quhilk desyrit nevir pace
 with Ingland. The ambassadour persawand this tuk
 his leive at the governour and the lordis and passit 10
 hame to ingland to his maister king harie and schew
 him all the proceidingis of scotland how thay had
 lichtlied and brokin the band maid laitlie betuix thame
 be seditioun of the cardinall and kirkmen and schew
 him how he was scorned and mocked and evill inter- 15
 tenit and speciallie in the toune of Edinburgh and
 quhat dishonour thay had done to him for his saik.
 Bot quhen king harie hard this complant of his am-
 bassadour [he] was vondrous vraith and displeisit heirat
 and vowit to god singularlie he sould be rewengit on 20
 the towne of Edinburgh to the fourt genneratioun for
 that displesour that thay had done to his ambassadour.
 And in this meintyme the king of ingland had ane
 armie reddie prepared one the sea to pas to bullzen¹
 in france. Bot immeidiatlíe he gart thame returne and 25
 pas in scotland. Thair admirall and luftennand was Schir
 raff warran the king of inglandis m^r 2 and my lord clin-
 towne weis admirall with vther captanes of weir and
 gave thame commissioun and charge to burne Edinburgh
 and leith with all willages and townis thairabout or 30
 ellis to die thairfoir. Thir men of weir tuk vayage and
 sailled to Scotland and landit bewest Leith at grantoun
 craiges to the nommer of xv thowsand men quha come

¹ Boulogne.

² Mr usually means master, and here perhaps Master of the Household. See Notes.

peirtlie forward to leith but ony Impediment or stop
 for the marineris and merchandis of leith war all fra
 hame at that tyme and thairfoir thay van the toune
 the mair easelie. Bot the cardinall was present at that
 5 tyme and durst nocht mell with thame becaus he was
 few in nommer and so thay remanit still in leith for
 twa or thrie dayes quhill thay gat thair arteilzerie
 landit and thair men refreschit and in ordour and
 syne passit with displeyit baner to the towne of
 10 Edinburgh] and was revengit on it, as King Harie
 had commandit thame, that is to say, they brunt the
 toune witht all the kirkis and colledgis and spetiall
 the abay and the kingis palice and schot certane
 artaillze at the castell. Bot it was so strong they
 15 could not win it and certaine of the castell men
 wschit out and skirmischit thame and pat thame fre
 the said castell and wan sum of thair artaillze and
 sum they left behind [thame]¹ brokin quhillk remanis
 zeit in Scotland. This being done, thay sieand they
 20 could not be the better of the castell, they past frome
 it to the castell of Craigmillar and thair brunt and
 distroyit it witht money wther touns and welagis
 adiacent thair; and syne passit to Leyth and remanit
 quhill thair schipis war redy and syne brunt the toun
 25 at thair way passing and this Edinburgh and Leyth
 gat for thair revaird ffor the dishonoring of the king
 of Inlandis ambassadour.

The toune
 of Edin-
 burgh brunt.
 Fol. 141 a.

This act was done In the zeir of god I^m v^o xliij
 zeiris and in the moneth of maij so all this that
 30 is wreittin fra the death of King James the fyft to
 this was bot four monethis and four dayes. Schone
 eftir this the bordouris rais and brak and thair was
 gret reif and slauchter bayth be sie and land and
 that becaus of the brokin of pace and ondelyuerand
 35 of the pledges. This the governour seand so gret

1543.

¹ I. A has "and."

troubill in the cuntrie and all throch his caus
 that was sa facill in brekin of his promeis to ing-
 land be seditioun and request of the bischopis and
 kirkmen. Bot zit sum of his freindis gave him coun-
 sall to sie gif he mycht get the zoung quein in his 5
 handis be ony meane and than to dispone him as
 he thocht caus. This was nocht conclwdit so privalie
 bot the cardinall gat wit heiroyf and schaw the quenis
 grace that the facillitie of that simpill man wald tyne
 the realme of Scotland and hir dochter bayth and 10
 to that effectt thocht it expedient to fech hame the
 erle of lennox and than he incontinent for euill and
 contemptioun of the governour and to mak him sellff
 stranger aganis him send to france with ane sup-
 licatioun of the cardinallis and quenes to bring 15
 hame the earle of Lennox ffor his support aganis
 the governour promissand him to mak him gover-
 nour of Scotland and husband to the quene; witht
 thir fair heightis and wther fair promissis maid to
 this lustie and zoung lord, quhilk caussit him to 20
 leif the realme of France quhair he was weill treittit
 and intertenit be the kingis grace thairof and gart
 him come in Scotland in this hope as I haue schawin
 to zow. ¹[Bot in the meintyme the cardinall haveand
 gret substance and the quein in lykmaner buddit the 25
 erle of argyle with vther hieland men and mony north-
 land men in the meirnis and angus and raisit ane
 gret armie and come to linlythgow and lay thair ane
 certaine tyme for preserwing and keiping of the zoung
 quein quhilk the governour was purpoisit to haue had 30
 in his hand and as it was said to haue dispoit hir
 as he pleisit. This thay war gadderit starklie on
 bayth the syddis the governour in Edinburgh and
 his cumpanie and the cardinall and the erle of argyle

I, fol. 95 b.

¹ The passage in brackets from I down to p. 16, line 6. A varies on the side of brevity, so the text of I has been preferred.

and thair oist in linlythgow quha lay thair so lang
 that thay distroyit the haill cornis about the towne
 bayth of pure and rich the space of ane myll round
 about. Bot in the meintyme the erle of lennox come
 5 in scotland and presentit him sellff in halyrudous
 befor the governouris graice¹ doand him sic rewer-
 ence as become him to do to his prince and gov-
 ernour; and the governour resawit him werie thank-
 fullie howbeit that he was nocht weill content of his
 10 comming nor zeit of thame that send for him. Bot
 this zoung earle passit haistalie to Lythgow accom-
 panit with his freindis and kinsmen quhilk mett him
 to do him rewerence and raid fordward to the wast-
 land to his awin cuntrie and assemblit his kin and
 15 freindis togidder and thair tuk thair counsall quhat
 was best to be done declairand to thame the caus
 how he was send for and quhat was promeisit to
 him be the quein and cardinall. Vpone this his
 freindis consultit that it was best to him to pas to
 20 the quein and do hir the steid seruice and plesour
 that he culd quhilk he did schortlie heirestir as ze
 sall heir. Bot in the meintyme the governour beand
 in Edinburgh with ane small power passit fordward
 to Linlythgow to haue had the zoung quein in his
 25 handis bot his freindis and counsall seand him so
 small in nommer had na will to pas fordward at that
 tyme bot causit him to send mediatouris betuix to
 mak guid wayes betuix him and the cardinall for
 thay seand that the erle of lennox his enimie was
 30 cum in scotland to that effectt be moyanis of the
 cardinall and the quein to depois him of his auctoritie
 and that causit him and his freindis bayth to bear

¹ MS. A reads, "At this tyme the Earl of Lennox come out of France and landit in Scotland and presentit himself there before his grace." And then both MSS. A and I proceed "doand him sic rewerence," as in text.

the lawer saill and be contenttit to cheis certane
 commissionaris to dres the matter. The quhilk com-
 missioneris met at Kirklestoune, To wit for the gov-
 ernour george Dowglas the lord sanct Johne schir
 william hammiltoun of machlin¹ the abbot of glen- 5
 lus my lord of rothus. On the vthir syd the lord
 askyne² the abbot of cowpar collein campbell the
 lord maxwell with vthiris dyuerss. Thir commission-
 eris talked the matter sa that the governour was con-
 tenttit that the zoung quein sould be delyuerit to four 10
 lordis newtrall vyse honest and onsuspectt of bayth
 the pairteis and thir four lordis to wit The lord
 lyndesay of the byres The lord askyne The lord
 grahame The lord lewingstoune and that thir four
 sould resawe the zoung quein in thair keiping and 15
 pas with hir to the castell of stirviling and thair re-
 maine and hald hous with hir in thair expenss in-
 during the counsallis will. This beand done the said
 lordis passit to linlythgow and resautit the quein and
 passit to Stirviling with hir and remanit thair as thay 20
 war commandit. Bot the erle of lennox passit nocht
 fra linlythgow till the zoung quein was delyuerit quha
 was accompanied with sa mony of his awin vnder his
 awin gret standart and baner of weir in numer to wit
 xxv^c speir men veill areyit on horsbak in scotis harnes 25
 and veaponis besyd I^m of futtmen of butt arren³ and the
 lennox with bow, haberschone, sword and aix.

¹ "Machlin" = Mauchline in Ayrshire. See Notes.

² "Askyne" = Erskine.

³ Bute, Arran.

THE IIII CHAPTER.

Hou the zounge quein was crounit at Stiruiling. Hou the Erle of Lennox come to the court and in lyk maner the Erle Bothwell. Ane parliament hauldin at Edinburghe. The pace disolvit betwix England and Scotland. How the Erle of Lennox and the Erle of Bothwell strave quha suld be trimest and pleasandest in the queins sicht.

The governour and cardinall beand aggreit in this 1, fol. 96 a.
 maner the governour commitit him all hail to the cardinall and that he sould remane at his counsall. And to that effectt delywerit him his eldest sone in pladge and
 5 was put in Sanctandros in his castell in keiping. Schone eftir this the lordis convenit at Stiruiling the xx day of August in the zeir of god I^m v^c xliij zeiris and thair convenit the zounge quein with gret solempnitie, triumphe, playis, phrassis and bankating and great danceing befor
 10 the queene with greit lordis and frinche ladyis. And schone eftir this thair was ane parliament hauldin at Edinburgh the xxviij of August the zeir of god foirsaid ¹ quhair thair the contractt of pace and mariaige maid betuix ingland and scotland was dissolweit in plane
 15 parliament aganes money of the hairtis of Scotland except allennerlie the quein and cardinall and thair factioun for it maid meikill weir heirschip and slauchter in scotland as ze sall heir heireftir. This beand done the quein returned agane to stirvilling with hir in cumpanie
 20 the erle of lennox ² and the erle bothwell ³ with mony vther lordis and gentillmen and speciallie thame that war owaris ⁴ and lowearis for hir court was than lyk wenus and cupido in the tyme of fresche maij for thair was sic

¹ This Parliament of 28th August 1543 is not recorded.

² Matthew, fourth Earl of Lennox, father of Darnley.

³ Patrick, third Earl of Bothwell, father of James, fourth Earl of Bothwell, husband of Queen Mary.

⁴ "Owaris"? See Glossary.

dansing singing playing and merines into the court at
 that tyme that no man wald haue tyred thairin bot at
 this tyme the erle of lennox persawing the governour
 and cardinall to be aggreit and so tender and familiar
 togidder that he dreidit no les nor he was dissawit 5
 and frustrat of his purpois.] Thairfoir he repentit that
 he come out of France so haistalie at his¹ command
 or requist seing² he keipit not ane word of his promise
 to him for he promist to mak him governour and pro-
 tectour of Scottland putting the autorietie in his handis 10
 ay and quhill the zoung quene come in lauchfull aige,
 and faillzeing of hir he sould be king of Scottland; faill-
 zeing the kingis³ grace he had maist right thairto, be
 ressonne that he sould preif the governour to be ane 15
 bastard, nocht lauchfull to governe the realme nor to
 rigne ower the pepill in estait of ane prince. Bot
 quhene the said cardinall saw the governour so obedient
 in all his desyris and in spetiall in deliuerance of the
 zoung quene and transporting hir out of Lythgow to
 Stirling at the command of the lordis forsaid and in 20
 thair keiping, in this cace he rewit the promisse maid
 to my lord of Lennox and wald faine haue had that
 matter collorit gif he could; and to that effect caussit
 the quene mother to intreit the earle of Lennox werie
 tenderlie and put him in hope of marieage quhairby 25
 scho might paciefie the said earle witht hir loue in
 tymes comming.⁴ Bot notwithstanding at this tyme
 the earle Bothwell was ane zoung lustie gentillman
 fair and plessant in the sight of wemen, thairfoir he
 intendit to haue the quene in marieage alsweill as did 30
 the earle of Lennox. And thairfoir daylie thir tuo
 lordis persewit the court and the quene witht brawietie

¹ "The cardinals," I.

² "That he was nocht abill to keip his pomeis," &c., I.

³ Quenis?

⁴ I inserts "that he micht be content with the cardinall."

- witht danceing singing and playing on instrumentis and
arrayit ewerie day in sindrie abullzementis and prydit
everie ane of thame quho sould be maist gallzeart in
thair clething and behaif thame selffis¹ in the quens
5 presentis, sumtymes in danceing, sum tymes in schott-
ing, sum tymes in singing and iusting and rinning of
great horse at the listis witht all wther kyndlie² games
that might satisfie the quene or to her plesour. Bot
the earle of Lennox warrit³ ewer the wther at all
10 games because he was better practissit in weir nor
the earle Bothwell was be ressonne he was brocht wpe
in France with his onkill Monser Daubony quho
leirmit him in feit of airmes and dalie exerceissit him
thairto, quhill he become practissit in the samin.
15 Fforder he was ane strang man of personage weil
schapin in portour, that is to say weil braint in:⁴
legis, and armes weil scholiderit, fair plessant facit,
with ane good and marlie contenance and zeld brent
and richt⁵ wpe in his passage. Thairfor at that tyme
20 he was most plesant for ane ladie. As [for]⁶ the earle
Bothwell, he was fair and quhillie and sumthing hingand
scholiderit and zeld sumthing forward⁷ witht ane gen-
till and human continance, bot zet he was not thocht to
do ane gentill woman so greit plesour as the other.
25 Thir twa lordis saylie exerceissit thame selffis in this
manner as I have whawin to you, everie ane of thame
belieffand to thaim his purpos at the quens hand.
Bot never theles who did nothing bot gair thame fair
worke, to the meane that they wold serve hir quhill
30 schis was hir tyme expedient to gif thame ane answer.

How the
earle of
Bothwell
and the earle
of Lennox
provydit
thame quho
sould be
trymment in
thair abell-
ment.

Fol. 143 a.

¹ I haeris "ver."

² "Kyndlie," L.

³ "Warrit" = "warrant."

⁴ "Beant n' the" L. = "beant n' the."

⁵ "Zeld" = "gave."

⁶ "I haeris."

⁷ "Zeld" = "gave" — i.e., "war." I haeris "ver" = "ver" = "war."

THE V CHAPTER.

Hou the Erle Bothwell passit hame. Hou thair come certaine money to the Erle of Lennox out of France. Hou the Erle of Lennox prowoked the cardinall to battell and also the gowernor and hou he raisit ane gret armie and come to Leith and offerrit to fecht with the gowernor and cardinall and thay refusit him. The seige of Glasgow, and hou the Erle of Lennox past and was boun to ingland.

How the
lord Both-
well past
hame.

Bot at last thir tuo lordis beand ane lang space in the contrie¹ witht great expenssis be thame sellffis kin and freindis ay redy to do the quene service and plesour so lang as thair money wald serue thame; the earle Bothuell lakit expenssis and past hame to his awin place quhene he was tyrit of court and remainit for ane quhill, quhill he saw forder in the matter. Bot the earle of Lennox remanit still in the court desyrand the quene and cardinall to keip thair promise unto him or ellis to put him frielie in France to his awin place againe, and in the meane tyme to recompense him of his expenssis that he maid in comming in Scotland at thair plesour and sensyne in service witht the quene. Bot of his petitioun and desyre the quene nor the cardinall was no wayis content. ²[In this meane tyme captane James Stewart of Cardonack³ came out of France fre the king, quho hard tell that the earle of Lennox was frustrat and put abak of his porpois as he beleiffit for lak of money, thairfor send the said James in Scotland witht xxx^m crouns to be deliuerit to the earle of Lennox allwayis to outsett⁴ his honour and fortifiecatioun be the consall of the quene and the cardinall] ffor they had no will he sould depairt out of Scotland, bot to hald him as ane

¹ "Court," I.

² I transfers this passage in brackets lower down.

³ "Cardonack" = Cardonald.

⁴ "To be spendit to," I reads instead of "outsett."

wand¹ abone the governouris heid that he might byde at
 thair consall and intent as they pleissit; and to that
 effect they gaif this zoung earle ffair defferent² ansueris
 promissand to him that all sould be weill at his plesour.
 5 Bot quhene the earle knew thair promisse of na effect
 bot ane offputting of tyme, thairfor he grew displessit Fol. 143 b.
 and promissit that he suld haue ane suffiecent mense³
 of the queene and cardinall or he sould leif Scotland.⁴
 [And schort quhill heireftir that this money was delywerit
 10 to the said erle be his cousing James Stewart the quein I, fol. 96 b.
 and cardinall desyred the samyn to be in thair handis
 and to be disponit be thair adwyce bot the erle of lennox
 on the vther pairt seand that the quein and cardinall
 bot mockit him in all thair proceedingis he wald nocht
 15 pairt with the said money as they desyred bot zit he
 send the quein sum of it to dispone at hir pleasour and
 sum he gave to his awin freindis of lordis and gentilmen
 quha tuk his pairt and sum he keipit to himsellff bot the
 cardinall was verie commoweit at his disponeing of the
 20 said money by⁵ his adwyce considdering that he was
 nominat thairto. Thairfor he causit the governour to
 reis ane gret armie and pass to glasgow to seige the
 said lord in his castell belewing to haue had him the
 money and all and to haue gottin him in the gover-
 25 nouris handis that he nicht haue disponit on him as he
 thocht caus. Bot the said erle was adwerteised of this
 counsall and provisioun of the cardinall and governour

¹ Freebairn reads "aweband," but the MSS. and Dalzell "wand," which seems correct.

² "Defferent" = dilatory. See Glossary.

³ "Mense" is probably the table allowance of an ambassador, or it may mean "respect," "dignity," or "manners." "Mendis" in I is perhaps for "amends."

⁴ At this point I inserts the statement (as above) about the mission to Scotland of Captain Stewart, down to the words "quein and cardinall," and proceeds as in the long passage in brackets, which is not in A nor in Freebairn's or Dalzell's edition.

⁵ "By" = without.

he in that caice prowenit the tyme and come forward
 out of glascow with ane gret armie to leith to the nom-
 mer of xij thousand men and thair prowoked the gover-
 nour and the cardinall gif thay durst gif him battell and
 send thame ane message schawand to thame that thay 5
 neidit nocht to come to glascow for he sould meit betuix
 leith and Edinburgh gif thay durst fecht. And to that
 effectt passit to the feildis in twa areyit oistis To wit the
 vangard and the gret battell. The wangard quhill was
 gydit be my lord of angus and the lord of glencarne 10
 quha wer to the nommer of four thousand guidlyk men
 and the gret battell with him sellff to the nommer of viij
 thousand men of hieland men and wastland men and
 all the haill surname of the stewartis quha wald faine
 haue fochin with the hammiltownis for auld feid of the 15
 feild of linlythgow. Bot the governour nor cardinall
 durst nocht jeopard to gif thame battell becaus thay
 mycht nocht be pairtie at that tyme to thame and gif
 thay had tint the wictorie at that tyme thai dreiddit
 that thay sould tyne the auctoritie and all. Thairfoir 20
 thay vsit thame sellffis be ane vthir mean that is to
 say thay promiseit day be day to gif the erle of lennox
 battell thocht thay thocht¹ it nocht nor zit was [it] in thair
 mynd for thay thocht na thing better nor to defar² him
 quhill his armie war tyred and inlaiked of expensis and 25
 in the meintyme send to the erle of angus quyetlie and
 gave him gret sowmes of money to leave the erle of
 lennox at that tyme promiseand him ane remissioun for
 all thingis bygaine gif he wald cum and serwe the gover-
 nour. Be this way thay drew the erle of angus to thair 30
 purpois and gart him leive the erle of lennox companie
 at that tyme and cum to Edinburgh to thame bot thay

1, fol. 97 a.

¹ "Thocht thay thocht" = though they thought. This shows the confusion sometimes caused by adding a silent *t* at the end of the first "thocht," as to which see Introduction and Glossary.

² "Defar" = defer, or delay. The word is so written in the MS.

keipit nevir ane vord to him eftirward of that that thay
 promiseit to him, bot in this meintyme The erle of
 lennox remanit still in leith thrie dayis eftir the erle of
 angus was pairtit frome him accompanyit with the erle
 5 of glencairne and the rest of his airmie quha come to
 the feild daylie and offerit to fecht with the governour
 and cardinall xij for xij or sax for sax or man for man
 That is to say the erle of lennox aganis the governour
 the erle of glencarne aganes the cardinall bot the gover-
 10 nour and cardinall refusit and wald nocht fecht at that
 tyme be na way. The erle of lennox seand this that
 thay wald nocht fecht nor be seine out of the towne of
 Edinburgh thairfoir the erle of lennox reteird his armie
 and passit hame to glasgow and thair garnisit the castell
 15 thairof with men and wictwallis and arteilzerie and pur-
 poisit to remane thair him sellff for ane quhyle.] Thairfor
 because they brak promise into him and within schort
 quhill heirefter past hame to his awin contrie of Lennox
 to Glasgow and Dumbartane and thair raissit all his kin
 20 and freindis and all that wald do for him; and in
 spetiall he solistit the earle of angus witht his brother
 George Douglas togither with the earle of Glencairne and
 all the Cunninghames, the laird of Tilliebairne¹ witht the
 haill Murrayis, witht the haill surname of Stewartis that
 25 wold do for him, and also the haill name of Douglassis
 witht mony wther wastland men and clans of the south-
 land, quhilk stude to the number of xij^m men, and came
 fordwart quhair the governour and cardenall was for the
 tyme, to wit, in Edinburgh. Bot thir tuo earleis come
 30 to Leyth and thair remanand, traistand to haue had
 battell of the governour and the cardinall. Bot they on
 the wther syde being adwertissit of the earle of Lennox
 comming and his furieous mynd and ewill will that he
 bure towartis thame, knowing weill he wald haue faine
 35 bene revengit of the cardinall gif he might in ony ways

¹ Tullibardine.

come to his purpos and also they knew he was ane man
of weir and had money and gentlemen in his kin and
freindis with him that wald becht the thome him quhill
he was revengit in his cause aganis the cardinall thair-
for he wald in noways consent to gif him bartell nor 5
fight with him at that tyme because they knew that
thay war main pairtie nor they might be baistabie. Bot
the earle of Lennox seand this, past manfulle to the
feildis betwix Leyth and Edinburgh in arrayit bartell and
thair abaid the governour and the cardinall, provockand 10
thame to fight with him or ellis to keep their promisse.
This he did the space of thrie or foure sindrie dayis
quhill at last the governour and the cardinall send to
the earle of Angus certane wyse men desyrand him
effectousslie to skaili his airmie and he sould haue his 15
deayris as he plessit, with money wther fair heghtis and
promissis maid be the governour to the earle of Angus
quhill at last the said earle be thir fair wordis was
drawin to thair effect and consallit the earle of Lennox
to skaili his airmie bot zeit the said earle was noways con- 20
tent of that appoyntment bot schortlie past to Lennox to
his awin contre with his kin and freindis thair to remaine
till he saw forder. ¹[In this mean tyme thair come
certane money out of France to the quene and cardinall
quhilk was to the number of xxx^m crouns. This money 25
was comed to the earle of Lennox and to be dispoit be
the advyse of the quene and cardinall, quhilk landed at
the wast sie to wit at Dumbartane, quhair hapnit the
earle of Lennox for the tyme. Seand this money com-
ming in his gait, knawand weill that it was the quens 30
and the cardinallis command to thame, thairfor he
thocht to be revengit on his expenssis that the quene
and cardinall caussit him to mak in the comming to
Scotland to thair effect and purpois, promissand that

How the
earle of Lennox
was with the
cardinall to
battle.

Vol. 144 A.

¹ I omits passage in brackets, which perhaps refers to the same xxx^m crowns brought by Captain James Stewart.

thing that they wald not performe, thairfor he tuik the
 said money be the way and applyit it to his awin wse.
 That is to say, he furnischit and garnischit the castell
 of Glasgow witht men and munitioun, syne past him-
 5 self to Dumbartane to remeane for ane quhill till he saw
 forder about him. Bot in this meane tyme word come
 to the quene and cardinall that thair money was taine
 be the lord of Lennox and his servandis, quhairof thay
 war werie heavelie displessit and incontenent send for
 10 the governour and to come to Stirling to the quen and
 cardinall] quhair thay war for the tyme and thair to tak
 consullatioun quhat was best to be done twiching thair
 effairis forsaid. Bot they schortlie concludit in thair
 consall to raise the body of the realme, and past ford-
 15 wart to Glasgow to seige the castell thairrof, thinkand to
 haue gottin the earle of Lennox thairin and to be
 revengit on him as they thocht cause. To this effect
 they maid procliematioun in Fyfe, Lowthyane, Angus,
 Streearne, Stirling schyre witht all the hail wast of
 20 Scotland to meit the governour at Stirling [the x day
 of Marche with xiiij dayis wictuallis]¹ the day appoyntit
 of the procliematioun to pase witht him to Glasgow to
 seige the castell thairrof in this maner forsaid. To that
 effect brocht tuo cannouns out of the castell of Edin-
 25 burgh witht wther small artaillze and all kynd of ordi-
 nance conforme thairto and past fourtht of Stirling the
 governour and the cardinall witht the rest of the nobilietie
 to the number of xij^m men, quhilk come to Glasgow the
 xxviiiij day of the moneth of Marche in the zeir of god
 30 I^m v^c xliiiij zeiris, and thair laid to ane seige to the
 castell, thinkand to haue win it and haue gottin the
 earle of Lennox thairin, bot he was nocht thair. [Than
 the governour and cardinall come fordward to glasgow
 and layed ane seige to the castell with schot at it the
 35 space of aucht dayis with cannonis bot thay war nevir

1544.

Fol. 144 b.

The seige of
Glasgow.

¹ I insert passage in brackets.

ane hairbred the better nor the castell the war of thair
 schutting quhill at last thay inlaiked bayth poulder and
 bullattis.]¹ Bot they continueit still at the seige the
 space of ten dayis quhill mekill of thair poulder and
 bullat was spendit and sieand that they come no speid 5
 in the winning of the said castell be force they caist all
 wayis how they might haue the samin be moyane and
 fair promissis; and to that effect send messingeris to
 the castell and to the captane thairof quhilk was tuo
 brether of the Stewartis, Johnne Stewart and Williame 10
 his brother quhilk was souns to the Abbot of Dryburgh
 for the tyme, promissand greitt giftis of gould and silluer
 and to all thair gentillmen servantis that was witht
 thame to mak thame suire of thair lyffis, goodis landis
 and all wther thingis pertening to thame in the said 15
 castell sua that they wald rander the samin to the gouer-
 nour and cardinall to be wssit and keipit at thair awin
 plesour. Thir gentillmen heirand thir offeris² and
 knawand of no releif to come to thame was hartlie
 content and gaif ower the castell to the governour and 20
 cardinall beleiffand to haue had all promissis keipit
 wnto thame quhilk was maid to thame befor the ower-
 geving of the said castell. Bot never-the-les thair was
 never nathing keipit to thame that was spoken or
 promist to thame befor bot inmedeatlie war all schame- 25
 fullie hangit efter thay war taine out of the said castell;
 I, fol. 97 a. ³[and ane callit Allexander hair quhais handis was lowsit
 be ane gentillman quyetlie and said to him 'gif thow be
 'ane hair thow sould be speidie thairfoir schaw thy
 'strenth at this tyme for thow hes this meikill adwan- 30
 'tage thy handis ar lous' and slippit him quyetlie out

The castell
 gevin ower
 wpon con-
 ditiouns.

How the
 conditiouns
 was not
 keipit.

¹ I inserts passage in brackets.

² I inserts here: "On this the captanes tuk to be adwysed for
 ane day quhill thay spak with thair maister and syne heireftir to gif
 thame ane ansuer. Bot quhat ansuer thay got I can nocht tell bot
 the castell was givin over."

³ I has the long addition here printed in brackets.

behind his bak from the thrang quha tuik the feildis
 Inmediatlie in presence of all the peopill and warrit all
 thame on foot and hors that war his followaris and so
 sawit his lyf at that tyme. Bot the rest war all hangit
 5 to the nommer of xxviij personis for quhome gret mein
 was maid be the peopill and said it was ane gret crweltie
 vsit for sa small offence. The castell being obtenit in
 this maner the governour and cardinall passit to stiruil-
 ing and the armye skailled. Heireftir the erle of lennox
 10 seing the gret rigorusnes of the governour and cardinall
 toward him thinkand he wald nocht remane in Scotland
 bot tuik purpois to pas to Ingland and to that effectt
 passit to the west sie and inbarcat him sellff to pas to
 Ingland bot he was stoppit be contrairius windis and vther
 15 Impedementis and landit agane the third day and come
 to his castell of Dumbartane and thair send about his
 kin and freindis and tuk consultatioun of thame quhat I, fol. 97 b.
 was best to be done of his passage to ingland quhilk
 thay concludit it was nocht guid to him to pas him sellff
 20 at that tyme bot to send sum of his narrest freindis
 befor him to dres all thingis agane his cuming. This
 counsall and conclwsion was haldin gud thairfor The
 said erle send his brother lord Robert Stewart bischope of
 Caitnes¹ and with him the erle of glencairne his tender
 25 freind and kinisman to ingland to speik with king harie
 and to schaw of his cuming quhairof king harie was
 vondrous weill contenttit and resawit the bischope verie
 thankfullie and intreattit him verie tenderlie and thair-
 eftir directit the erle of glencairne agane in Scotland to
 30 the erle of lennox to schaw him his guid mynd toward
 him. And schone heireftir the erle of glencairne returnit
 in scotland and come to his awin plaice and thaireftir
 to Dumbartane to the erle of lennox and schew him how
 all studd and king haryes guid mynd vnto him and the
 35 erle was verie reioysed thairat. Zit he thinkand with

¹ The bishop to whom Pitscottie sent his work. See Introduction.

adwyce of the erle of glencairne he wald haue had sum hunttis of the hammiltownis or he depairtit out of Scotland quha [had] done him and his fader so gret displessour to that effect he causit the erle of glencairne to gadder his folkis and to meit at glasgow and he inlyk 5 maner suld gadder his kin and freindis and come to him thair at ane appoynted day and syne thaireftir to pas fordward vpone the hamiltownis.

THE VI CHAPTER.

The feild of Glasgow betwix the governor and the Erle of Glencairne. Hou the Earl of Lennox past in ingland. Hou he was resavit thair be king Harie. Ane parliament hauldin at Edinburgh quhairin the Erle of Lennox his kin and freindis was foirfaitit be the gowernor and cardinall.

Bot the gowernour being adwertisit of this prowisioun of the erle of lennox and the erle of glencairne that 10 thay war gadderand his folkis to cum vpone him and his freindis tuk counsall heirin and thocht na thing better nor to prowain the tyme or the erle of glencairne and the erle of lennox met togidder thinkand that he sould haue glasgow frome thame baith. Thairfoir he 15 beand in hammiltoun for the tyme assemblit his freindis haistelie togidder and come fordward to glasgow or the erle of lennox culd be reddie trowand to find na man thair bot zit or he come the erle of glencairne and makfarlane met him with the nommer of aucht hun 20 dreith men and thair gave him battell and incountart him crwellie and wan his first battell and the arteilerie and syne heireftir joynit with himself and faucht lang with him with vncertaine victorie quhill at last thair come ane companie of fresch men to the gowernour 25 and set vpone the said erle and the towne and men of glasgow quha war with him quhilk causit thame to gif

backis and fled fra the said erle and left nane with him
 bot his awin kin and freindis quha faucht manfullie with
 him at that tyme. Than the erle as ane despaired man
 seand no thing bot deid and that he was ovir set with
 5 ane multitud rushit fordward in ane furie and thocht to
 haue slaine the governour bot he missit him and slew
 his tender freind the laird of comskeith¹ with mony
 vtheris his kin and freindis of the governouris bot at
 last the said erle was constranit to retein and wan the
 10 towne of glasgow and sawit him sellff bot thair was twa
 of his sones slaine and mony gentillmen of the gover-
 nouris kin war slaine and alyk of the erleis syd the hail
 nommer of bayth the syddis contenit thrie hundreith
 personis. Bot quhan the erle of lennox hard tell that
 15 the governour and the erle of glencairne war met and
 that the erle had fochin sa worthielie and was eschaipit
 of his lyff and mony of the governouris kin and freindis
 slaine. The erle than was glaid and gretlie rejoysed
 that the erle of glencairne was alyve thinkand weill that
 20 he sould be rewengit on the governour eftirward bot the
 erle of lennox kin and freindis wald nocht consent that
 he meddillit mair with the governour becaus he had
 the auctoritie and micht do na mair nor he at that tyme
 quhairfoir thay counsallit him to pas Inmeidiatlie to
 25 ingland quhill he saw forder about him and incontinent
 he gave his castell of Dumbartane in keiping to ane
 callit the laird of² quha sellit it onvorthilie to the
 governour and his factioun bot the erle of lennox passit
 to the sea and tuk with him his freind and kinisman the
 30 maister of glencairne with vther certaine gentillmen of
 the cuntrie and saillit to Ingland to king Harie.] He was
 honourabillie resaut and intertenit be king Harie the
 aught quha was ringand king of Ingland for the tyme

This battell
 was struckin
 betuix the
 governour
 and the erle
 of glencairne
 in the zeir of
 god 1544
 zeris.

The earle of
 Lennox
 marieage.

¹ John Hamilton of Commiskeith, now Cambuskeith, near Kil-
 marnock, is the person referred to. See Notes.

² The MS. is blank.

Ane parlia-
ment.

[wha gaue him in mariage]¹ lady Margarit quho was king James the fyftis sister and king Harrieis sister dochter and lauchfull douchter to the earle of Angus, quhilk buire efterwart to the earle of Lennox fair succesioun as we sall schaw zow at length efterwart. Bot we 5 will leif him weill intertenit in Ingland and returne againe to our historie, that is to say, the governour and cardinall sune heirefter sett ane parliement and forfaltit the said earlie and all his wassellis that held land of him quhilk was to ane great number quhairby the gover- 10 nour obtenitt great sowmes of money ffor thair releif and composissoun, quhairby he tint money of thair heartis ffor the extreme dealling with thame.

THE VII CHAPTER.

Hou the inglismen brunt Jedwart and Kelsou. Hou thay tuk the abay of Codinghame: And hou the governor raid to it and seigit the samyn and hou he reteird bakwart to Dumbar and left the queins arteilzerie behind him quhilk was rescewit and brocht away be the Erle of Angus. Hou Schir Raff Iweris was maid wardan and luftennand upone the bordouris of England and hou he conquest great boundis in the realme of Scotland. And usit gret tyrannie in the doing of the samyn.

The bor-
dearis
brokin.

² In this meane tyme the borderis was brokin in all pairtis baitht eist and wast, great heirschipis and slaugh- 15 ter maid baitht be Inglischemen and Scotischmen, quhilk was great pettie to sie the contrie so distroyit, the poore

¹ B and I insert these words, omitted in A by mistake.

² I begins this chapter somewhat differently, as follows: "In this meintyme the inglismen come in Scotland and brunt Jedwart and Kellsow with mony vther willages and townis adiaçant thairvnto and syne come to Codinghame and tuk that abay and held it and fortifeit as their awin and manit the steppill thair of with men wictwallis and arteilzerie and keipit [it] as ane strenth quhairbe they layed the cuntrie waist round about. Quhan thir nowellis come to the governour and quein and cardinall gart incontinent conveyne the counsall quha haistelie consultit," &c.

- so oppressit all be wollfullnes of the cardinall quhilk
 wald haue no peace keipit witht Ingland withtout the
 king of France was content thairwitht quhilk was sair
 aganis our common weill of Scotland. Nocht-the-les
 5 this continieit on all the sommer quhill the winter come
 that the Inglischemen had waistit all the haill Merse
 and Tuiedaill and taine money of the strenghtis thairof
 and also had maid great slaughter wpoun the Homes
 quhilk wald nocht be subiect to thame; and in spetiall
 10 wpoun Patrick Home of the Brome house¹ quho had
 his place seigit and cassin down and had his wyffe
 and bairnes kin and freindis all mordreist in the samin
 heirefter that they war taine and randerit be the Ing-
 lischemen. Thir wnlauchfull and schamefull weiris was
 15 wssit be Schir Ralf Everis and Schir Birnie Lattine²
 captans and lutennentis to the king of Ingland for the
 tyme, quho gat thair revard for thair labouris haistalie
 as ze sall heir heirefter. In this meane tyme the Ing-
 lischemen grew so proud and dantined so the Scottis
 20 that they war all faine to be sewerat³ and to tak on the
 reid crose and to be suorne as natiue subiectis of the
 king of Ingland and ryde and tak pairt witht his sub-
 iectis quhairever thay war, contrair thair natiue contrie
 and the inhabitantis thairof. Quhilk was great dis-
 25 plesour to the nobillis of Scotland, quho at that tyme
 had no credence at court, nor durst not come thairinto

How Patrick
 Home of the
 Brume house
 wyff, bairnes,
 kin and
 freindis war
 all mordreist
 and his
 house cassin
 doune.

Fol. 146 a.

¹ I inserts here, "Schone eftir this Schir Raff Iweris and Schir Brime latowne come in the merce and did gret crweltie to Patrick home of the brumhous quha slew and cuttit the throtis of his wyff and bairnes kin and freindis and his hous eftir war taine in Lowthiane and the hous givin ovir and brunt the samyn with all his cornis and guddis quhilk was nocht lang onrewengit as ze sall heir eftirward. This Schir raff Iweris and Schir briem latowne vsit gret crueltie in the south of Scotland and speciallie in the merce and tevindeill and laderdaill and conquest meikill of the samin to king haryis opinioun."

² The MSS. vary much in spelling this name. Brian Layton appears the correct spelling.

³ "Sewerat" = sworn.

to drese thair bussienes for feir of the cardinall quho
 misgydit the governour and the autorietie at that tyme,
 sua that the lordis durst nocht come to gif thair weil
 adwyssit consall to the governour ffor weillfair of the
 realme withtout they had the governouris and the car- 5
 dinallis assuurance that they sould nocht be trublit; the
 quhilk was werie displeissant to all trew Scotismen and
 werie ioyfull and plessant to Inglischemen ffor they
 seing this devissioun amangis the nobilietie of Scotland,
 they steirit thair tyme and wssit thair weiris the mair 10
 scharpelie, ffor at this tyme they tuike the abbay of
 Coldinghame and laid all waist to the castell of Dunbar.
 Thir nowellis come to the governour and cardinal quhilk
 pleissit them not, quho haistalie consultit to raise and
 mak procliamatioun throw all the cuntrie to all earleis 15
 lordis, barrouns and friehalderis substantious gentillmen
 to come to the governour incontinent and to pase witht
 him witht aught dayis wictuallis quhair he pleissit. So
 the governour went to Coldinghame witht the number
 of xij M men of the quhilk war money nobillis of the 20
 realme, sic as the earle of Angus, the earle Bothwell,
 the lord Erskin, the lord Ruthven, the lord Dromond,
 the lord Gray, with money wther nobillis quhilk I neid
 nocht to rehearse at this tyme. Bot it was in winter and
 the wather was werie extreme and cauld and quhene 25
 they come to Colldinghame to the abbay quhilk was
 keipit then be the Inglischemen they layd to thair
 artaillze, to wit, ane cannon witht wther small artaillze
 and syne stude all night wpoun thair feit in arrayit
 battell and in the meane tyme schott at the house witht 30
 the cannon and wther small artaillze quhill the breaking
 of the day; and syne because they saw that they come
 no speid at the said house they war assuirit that the
 said Inglischemen war at hand witht great power for to
 reskew the said house. Thairof the governour had no 35
 will to tarie ffor he had suspissioun of money of his

Ane procli-
 matioun
 maid.

The raide of
 Collding-
 ham.

lordis and barrouns that was in his companie that they
 sould haue put him in the Inglischemenis handis; thair-
 for he tuik the post and fled to Dunbar and left the
 quens artaillzerie behind him. Then sum of the lordis
 5 seing the artaillze in danger of the Inglischemen, sum
 gaif consall to break the cannoun or the Inglischemen
 gat hir, sum said they wald pase away and leif hir, bot Fol. 146 B.
 the earle of Angus and George Douglas his brother
 lyghtit doune on thair feit and said thir wordis as efter
 10 followis, 'God forbide that the quens artaillze be left in
 'danger or zeit breikin for feir of Inglischemen. I had
 'lever fight to deid in keiping of the quens artaillze nor
 'fie witht schame and leif it behind me. I wow to
 'god and be S. Bryde I sall put it frie in the castell
 15 'of Dunbar or ellis die for it.' Witht this he caussit
 his haill kin and freindis to light and go behind the
 artaillze in arrayit battell and left it not till he pat it
 frie into Dunbar; the Inglischemen command fast ford-
 wart to haue fauchin the Scottis at thair returning bot
 20 fre tyme they saw the earle of Angus wpoun his footte
 in arrayit battell and reteir so in order, they had no will
 to mell witht him because they knew him to be ane auld
 man of weir, bot fre tyme they saw thame neir the pinche
 they returnit and lut thame allone. Be this the earle
 25 of Angus and George his brother wan them selffis great
 honour in the bringing hame of the said artaillze and
 keiping the samin; bot fre tyme the Inglischemen hard
 of the governouris depairting and maner thairof, they
 became werie proude and thocht no les to conqueis all
 30 the southt of Scotland to Edinburgh.

How the
 earle of An-
 gus brocht
 the quens
 artaillze to
 Dunbar.

THE VIII CHAPTER.

Hou Schir Raff Iweris and Schir Brian Latoun past to Londoun and desyred thair reward frome king Hary. Hou king Hary was counsallit to gif thame all that thay have conquest in scotland. Hou thay come to scotland and to quhat purpois.

Sune efter this schir Ralf Everis and schir Birny Lattin past to Loundoun to king Harrie thair to gett thair rewaird ffor thair good service and labouris that they had maid to him in the conquessing of the landis of Scotland, quhilk they gart the kingis grace wnder-stand that they had conquiest all fre Fourth south; ffor they had allredy the Merse, Tiuedaill and Lawderdaill and caussit the inhabitantis thair of to tak on the reid crose and to be suorne subiectis to king Harie and to pay him thair maillis and dewtieis lykas they payit to the king of Scotland befor. Thairfor the said captans desyrit thair rewaird at king Harie for thair labouris, the quhilk he was werie reioyssit thairat and promissit to reward thame heirefter honestlie thairfor and to that effect gart call the counsall, and in spetiall the Duik of Norfolk to be advyssit witht him quhat revaird he sould gif the nobill men quho had conquest him so great landis and honouris in Scotland. The Duik of Northtfock being desyrit of the king to gif his wott and consall as I haue schawin to zow, quhat revaird thir nobill men sould haue that had win him so great landis and honouris in Scotland, the Duik of Northfock ryplie advyssit in this matter, gaif ane hastie ansuer to the kingis grace in this maner as efter followis. That is to say the Duik ansuerit and said, 'Schir and it wald
'pleise your grace I think it best gif thir nobill men
'haue maid sic trawell and deliegence to conques into
'Scotland I think your grace sould gif thame to revaird

How Schir
Birnie Lattin
and Ralf
Everis de-
syrit thair
reward fre
king Harie.
Fol. 146 b.

How king
Harie gat
consall to gif
thame all
that thai

' the same landis quhilk they haue conquest in Scotland
 ' for thair rewaird.' The king ansuerit and said, ' Me
 ' lord, be the mese, I think it to muche ffor it hes cost
 ' me xxx^m pund starling.' The Duik of Northtfock
 5 ansuerit the king and said, ' Schir and it pleise zour
 ' grace, the mair ze gif thame the greattar is zour honour
 ' and seing they haue ieopard thair bodyis at zour plesour
 ' and hes conqueist so honourabill wnto zow, it is zour
 ' grace honour to make thame lordis and great men
 10 ' that the contrie may ken zour liberallietie wnto manlie
 ' men. It will cause zow to find tuo goode and hardie
 ' subiectis in tymes comming, ffor zour grace can never
 ' rewarde thame better nor mor eassilie nor witht that
 ' thing quhilk they haue conqueist out of wther menis
 15 ' handis, and spetiall of zour enemeis and it will be
 ' ane occatioun to thame to be more deliegent and
 ' fervent in the keeping of the samin to zour maiestieis
 ' service and plesour. And quhair they say thay haue
 ' conquest Merse and Tiewedaill the quhilk is ane werie
 20 ' plenteous contrie and bestiall thair is few the lyk in
 ' Scotland or Ingland and also money nobill gentillmen
 ' dualland thairin quhilk gif they haue heidis¹ will be
 ' werie acceptabill to serue zour grace ether in peace
 ' or weir thairfor I think it best that thir tua nobill
 25 ' men be maid lordis of thir tuo schereffdomes, to witt,
 ' Merse and Tiwiedaill, and tak thame haldin of zour
 ' grace as zour subiectis haldis in Ingland of zow and
 ' they to cause the contriemen to hald of them the
 ' same, quhair by zour grace may be ether servit be
 30 ' thame in tyme comming.' Be this persuatoun and
 consall of the Duik of Northtfock the king was hartlie
 weill content to gif thir landis forsaidis to the waliezeant
 campieouns² and causet thame to mak thair chairtouris
 and evedentis conforme to the same as I haue schawin
 35 to zow, and thairwpoun gaif thame his greit seill of

conquest in
 Scotland,
 be the Duik
 of North-
 fock.

Fol. 147 a.

¹ "Guid heidis," I.

² "Captanes," I.

Thir lordis
being an-
suerit of the
king come to
Scotland
and to quhat
purpoise ze
may heir.

Ingland to the conformatioun of the samin and bad
thame pase in Scotland and tak ceassing¹ wpoun his
expenssis and he sould furnische thame iij^m men of
weir ffor zeir and day by the bordaris that wald tak
thair pairtis. Thir captaneis war werie glade and hartlie 5
reioyssit of the kingis benevolence unto thame thinkand
thame selffis greatlie addettit to his grace that had gevin
thame sic lordschipis so gladlie and sic men of armes
to defend thame wpoun his expenssis; thairfoir they
caist thame haistalie to Scotland ffor to tak ceassing 10
of the samin lordschipis that the king had gevin wnto
thame be his evedentis maid thairwpoun and come to
Jedburgh the viij day of Marche the zeir of god I^m v^c
and xliij zeiris and brocht witht them the number of
v^m men to wit iij^m men of weir and ij^m bordararis, 15
quhilk purpossit hallielie to tak thair seassing of Merse
and Tivedaill as I haue schawin to zow; and thairefter
past to Hadingtoun and heirfourtht to Edinburgh gif
they war nocht stopitt.

THE IX CHAPTER.

Hou Schir Raf Iweres and Schir Brian Latoun come to Gedwart
to tak seassing and hou the Erle of Angus gave counsall to the
governor to brek and stop the seasing and he sould be witness
thairto. Hou the gowernor passit to Geodwart to meit Schir
Raf Iweris and straik the feild of Ancrame and brak and
disolvit the seasing and redemit all the landis that war con-
querit be ingland in winning of the feild.

Bot quhene thir nowellis come to Scotland to the 20
governour and the haill lordis of Scotland, and spetiall
to the earle of Angus, they war all werie ewill discon-
tent heirat; and spetiall the earle of Angus, because
mony of thair landis of Tivedaill was his natiue herietage

¹ "Ceassing"—*i.e.*, sasine.

- and his forbearis, thairfor he was the laither to want
 thame and namelie to be reft witht his enemeis quhilk
 he was never in wse nor his forbearis befor him, ffor
 they war wont to do tuo ewill turnes to Ingland for ane.
- 5 Thairfor the said earle come hastalie to Edinburgh to
 the governour quhair he was for the tyme schawing to
 him the secreit of the tydingis as he was advertissit,
 declairand to him, 'gif he lay still and wssit the consall
 ' of the preistis, in spetiall of the cardinall, he wald tyne
 10 ' Scotland and be chassit out of it or ellis be trebuttar to
 ' the king of Ingland. Thairfor gif he wald tyne the
 ' haill realme of Scotland in zour sleuthfullnes, mis-
 ' governance and ewill consall, zeit I sall not, will god,
 ' tyne my herietage, the quhilk my forbearis wane witht
 15 ' the blode of thair body, as I sall rather die and my
 ' freindis in defence of the same nor to be reft of our
 ' auld enemeis quho can never be satisfeit with thair
 ' awin, bot gif they haue thair nichtbouris to. I wow
 ' to god they sall nocht tak seassing of my landis bot
 20 ' I sall beir thame witnes gif I may and help to mak
 ' thair instrumentis witht langer pennis and reder ink
 ' nor they bring witht thame.' To this ansuerit the
 governour, 'my lord, quhat is zour consall, quhat wald
 ' ze that I sould do in that matter; I wald faine that all
 25 ' war weill and that Scotland was haldin at fredome
 ' and libertie as it was wont to be, bot at this tyme I
 ' haue no companie to pase witht zow to resist the
 ' Inglischemen nor far fewar quhene they are gadderit
 ' that I may lippen into.' The earle of Angus ansuerit
 30 to this and said, 'my lord, ze haue the wytte of that
 ' zour self, bot wald ze wse the consall of zour nobilietie
 ' and gif tham credence, ze might do as great actis as
 ' ony prince of Scotland that hes bene governour befor
 ' in ony man's dayis; and as to my self I sall gang
 35 ' befor zow and ieopard my lyffe in the defence of the
 ' commone weill of Scotland and our king and natie

How the
 earle of An-
 gus inter
 comonit
 witht the
 governour
 tuiching the
 resisting of
 the Ing-
 lischemen.

Fol. 147 b.

The gover-
 nouris an-
 swer to the
 earle of
 Angus.

How the
earle of An-
gus per-
suadit the
gouvernour to
ryde ford-
wart to meit
the Ing-
lischemen.

Fol. 148 a.

'herietage. I had rather die witht honour in defence
 'of our natiue contrie nor to leif witht schame and tyne
 'the same slouthfullie, the quhilk I wan never.' Quhene
 the earlie of Angus had this endit his speiche the gover-
 nour ansuerit and said, 'my lord, I wald pase fordwart 5
 'faine, gif I had ony folkis witht me to tak pairt to
 'defend ws aganis our enemeis.' The earle ansuerit
 and said, 'go fordwart witht thame ze haue and cause
 'proclamatiouns to be maid in all pairtis hastalie that
 'the lordis and gentillmen may follow zow and tak pairt 10
 witht zow in defence of the contrie.' Be thir wordis
 the earle persuadit the governour to ryde fordwart that
 night to Millrose and thair thocht to haue tairrieit thair
 that night quhill on the morne and quhill efterwart that
 the lordis and gentillmen had comed to him ffor he had 15
 send procleratioun in all pairtis in Fyfe, Angus, Low-
 thieane, Streearne and Stirling schyre, bot few come in
 tyme the procleratioun was so schort, and he him self
 was werie few in number to be so neir his enemies, ffor
 he and the earle of Angus baitht was not iij hunder 20
 horse in company to feight aganis the enemeis of Ing-
 land, quho was in number v^m men by¹ contriemen and
 bordararis and come that night to Jedburgh porpossing
 to tak thair seassingis of thair conquest landis as I haue
 forschawin zow. Bot they war advertissit schortlie of 25
 the governouris coming to Millrose quyitlie witht ane
 small number of men witht him quha caussit thame to
 tak the greater curage and they come fordwart that
 same night to Millrose and thair thocht to haue the
 governour at thair plesour. Nocht the les he was adver- 30
 tissit quyitlie of thair coming and reteirit [himself]²
 backward abone the brige of Millrose wpe to ane pairt
 callit Gallascheillis quhair thair me lord of Angus con-
 sallit him to remaine to the breaking of day, and send for
 ane trumpetour to Lauder and wairnit all the folkis that 35

¹ *I.e.*, "besides," I.

² I. A has "thamselffis."

was thair to come and meit the governour abone the
brige of Millrose. Witht this the Inglische airme come
to Millrose beleiffand to haue the governour at thair
will, bot he was away; they gat him not bot they re-
manit thair in spoillzeing of the place quhill it was day-
lyght and syne reteirit bakwart to Jedburght. This
being done thair came certane gentillmen out of Fyfe
that had ridin all the nyght to the governour and mett
him at Gattounsye¹ fornent Millrose in goode order, to
10 wit, Normand Leslie, Maister of Rothous witht my lord
Lyndsayis servantis kin and freindis witht wther sindrie
barrouns and gentillmen of Fyfe sic as the Laird of
Lochlleuin and wtheris of the wast pairt of Fyfe witht
him quhilk was to the number of the hail xij scoir abill
15 gentellmen weill horssit witht jack and speir. Of thair
comming the governour was reioyssit and tuik sic curage
that he passit haistallie fordwart to the Inglischemen
quho was marchant thame fast to Jedburght, and tairieit
ane lytill at ane pairt callit Ludgarttouns² corse to sie
20 quhat purpois the Scottis wald tak and quhat was thair
intent towart thame. Bot the Scottis sieand this past
southtwast to³ Millrose round about ane hill abone
Ancrome, lyk as they wald had no thing ado witht the
Inglischemen. The Inglischemen sieand this merchit
25 fordwart to Jedburght quhill they come to ane place
callit the sandie callsay and thair the passage was so
strait that they might not pase bot tuo men thik, quhilk
spendit lang tyme or ane airmie might pase that way.
In this meane tyme the laird of Ballcleuch come to the
30 governour witht ane small number, quho raid post and
tyrit his horse ffor he had ridin all night to come to the
governour, bot he schew him his folkis was command
allis fast as they might win within the space of vj myleis;
thairfor he consallit the governour and me lord of

The Ing-
lischemen
coming to
Millrose and
spullzeit the
place thair of

The Ing-
lischemen re-
teirit bak to
Ludgartis
crose.

How the
governour
followit.

Fol. 148 b.

The laird
of buck-
cleuchis
consall.

¹ On the left of the Tweed opposite Melrose.

² "Legertounis," I.

³ "Frome," B.

James went in their company to fight against their son
 and sent their horse backward to the hill and put the
 Englishmen were in the low ground to the English place
 and the Englishmen were in the high ground to the English
 place together for the Englishmen would have fought
 that they were in the high ground and that they were in
 the low ground and the Englishmen would have fought
 against the Englishmen so they would in the high ground
 together in the high ground of their will and pleasure
 And as the Lord of Bannockburn said so it was done 10
 The Englishmen fought their horse and sent with
 their bows to the hill head where the English and in the
 middle of the hill where the English were and fought. The
 Englishmen heard this the English men were put
 away, behind well it had been the English that had 15
 led backward for fear of them, which caused the English to
 say with great noise and din. "O the Scots are
 'fede' let us make haste and follow, we will have the
 'all in our will to do with the English what we please." 20
 With this they came fast backward againe after the Scots
 handings. Out of order which they were all out of order to
 wit, the first battell that came forward to have chassit
 the Scots was Schir Battle Lamm and Schir Robert
 Bowis, with the English men that is to say, in the middle
 of their battell one thousand speiris and on the right 25
 hand and wing of bows and on the left hand and wing
 of haghbottaris. Then followit efter him Schir Ralf
 Everis with the great battell with the number of iij^m
 speiris and one thousand haghbottaris, one thousand 30
 haitht of England and Scotland, quho war sewerat² with
 the English and had taine on the reid crose and sworne to
 tak their pairt. Thir men, I say, come furiously ford-

The Eng-
 lishmen to
 fight against
 the Scots

The battell
 of Eng. com.

1445

¹ "Fede" — i.e., high place = a low place.

² "Sewerat" = sworn or assured allies by oath. They were commonly called "The Assured Lords."

wart, trowand that the Scoittis had bene fled bot quhene Fol. 149 a.
they come neir and saw thame stand in goode order, they
war nocht content witht thame selffis zeit they persawit
thame so few in number thai thocht thame nothing to
5 thame, ffor indeid the Scotis was nocht abone v^c men,
quho was devydit in tuo knowis¹ or companieis, that is
to say, ij^e speiris witht the earle of Angus and ij^e witht The earle of
my lord governour. Bot quhene Schir Birny Lattin and Angus Im
his host persauet thame stand in this maner com ford- speiris.²
10 wart furieously, sounding thair trumpatis witht ane
aufull contenance and curage to fight, bot the Scottis
nathing affrayit heirof, come pairtlie fordwart and incon-
terit him cruellie. Be than the bowis, hagbutis and
artaillze schott on ilk syde witht ane terrabill sound and
15 woyce lyk into the crak of thoundar, quhilk was so terri-
bill and odieous to heir and to sie, it wald haue caussit
cowartis to haue bene knawin; bot never-the-les the
battellis ioynit so cruellie that they might nocht be sene
for the stour and reik of poullder. Bot the Scotismen
20 had waitit thair tyme quhill the sone was going wast
about and the day drawing doune to the height, and
they had baitht the sone and the wind³ quhilk was ane
great wantage to thame ffor it blew the smuik and reik
of thair poulder wpoun thair marrowis in the great
25 battell that was behind thaím that they might nocht sie
quhat become of thame nor zeit of the Scottis and also
the Scotis speiris war langer nor the Inglische be fyue
quarteris of ane ell, quhilk quhene they iunit witht the
Inglischemen they had thame all run doune ore ever
30 the Inglische speirs might tuiche thame and so they
ruschit thame rouchlie to the earth that the noyse and
clamor and sound was lyk the roring of the sie in ane
storme wond. Bot at last the wangaird was so dung⁴

¹ "Knottis in cumpanies," I.

² This seems a blunder, as the text says "ij^e," not "Im."

³ "In thair backis," I.

⁴ I has "dung" = beaten.

94. cap. i.

How the
governour
gaid allmigh-
tie god
thankeis for
his victorie.

Upon the great battell witht so sad stralkis and sair
that baird the wargaird and the great battell was
schortlie discomfist and put out of order, and the captans
chaird cruelle slaine, witht thame of Ingland to the
number of vi¹ gentillmen and men of weir and viii¹ scoir 5
taine and the remanent chaisit to Roxburgh and the
governour soundit his trampatis and retein his airmie
to thair standart againe and syne fell on his knyvis and
thankit god of his victorie that he had send him by²
the expectation of man: for thair was never hard nor 10
sene in Scotland nor Ingland sa few ane number to
fight³ win and gair battell and fight witht so money
and so great ane airmie and win the victorie without
slaughter. For thair was never ane Scottisman slaine
bot tuo and they war nocht slaine in the battell bot 15
witht the artaillze schot and slaine throw raklesnes; bot
of Inglishemen war slaine schir Birnie Latin⁴ captane of
Norham and schir Ralf Ewers⁵ quho was Lutennent
to the kingis maiestie witht mony wther gentillmen of
Ingland quhilk I neid nocht to rehearse at this tyme. 20
And also thair was money gentillmen taine, to wit, Mr
Hawart⁶ the quens onkill, Mr Huchoun M^r of Zork,
the Herrouns and the Selbeis, Lord Bowis, schir Johnne
of Witheringtoun with money wther knyghtis of the
bordar of Ingland witht wther gentillmen quhilk war 25
langsum to rehearse thair names. Bot the hail number
that was taine and slaine at the battell was xv⁶ Inglishen-
men and bot tuo Scotischmen quhilk I schew to zow,
quhilk was appeirantlie to be ane manifest maracle⁸ to
be declairit baitht throw Ingland and Scotland. This 30

¹ "Fourscoir," I, which seems more probable.

² "By"—*i.e.*, beyond.

³ "Joyne," I.

⁴ "Latoun," I.

⁵ "Evers," I.

⁶ "Howard," I.

⁷ Master.

⁸ "Maracle" = miracle. The numbers at l. 5 and l. 27 do not agree. See Notes.

battell was strikin at Ancrum besyde Ludgartis crose¹
the tent day of Marche the zeir of god I^m v^c xlv zeiris.²
This being done, the governour callit for the earle of
Angus and tuik him in his armes and thankit him
5 greatlie of his manheid and wisdome and goode service
baitht to the quens grace and to him. So did hie to
George Douglas his brother and thankit him greatlie in
lyke maner ffor his goode seruice done that day pro-
missand thame that all suspitioun sould be away to-
10 wartis thame in fawour of Ingland ffor he testifieit that
he had sen thame subscriwit witht Inglischemens bloode
and had win thame selffis great honour that day in
Scotland; and allso he thankit the laird of Buckcluch
of his goode consall, ffor he said he was the instrument
15 wnder god and occatioun of the winning of the feild be
his goode consall gevin to thame quhilk caussit thame
lyght and put thair horse frome thame quhilk was the
cause the Inglischemen left thair strength and came to
thame trowand that they had bene fiede, quhilk they
20 war not. And siclyk thankit Normand Leslie maister
of Rothous, the laird of Lochlevin witht all the barrouns
and gentillmen of Fyfe quhilk war thair at that tyme
sayand that they had done the quene and him ane trew
darge³ that day and had win thame selffis great honour.

How the
governour
thankit the
nobilitie
ffor thair
manheid and
victorie.

Fol. 150 a.

¹ "In Ancram muire besyd ligert cros," I—i.e., Lilliard's Edge.
See Notes.

² The correct date is 17th February 1545.

³ "Darge" = "day-werk," an old Lowland contraction. See
Glossary.

THE X CHAPTER.

Ane proclamatioun maid. Hou the gowernor was counsallit to pas to Wark and norem. The slauthter of my Lord Lowet. Ane ambassador send in France. Ane fals enarratioun maid of the Erle of Lennox to the King of France. Hou Monseur Lorge come in Scotland. Ane armye raisit be the gowernor and passit to Wark.

Quhene the governour had thankit everie man conforme to his estaitt he gart mak ane procliematioun and all maner of man to pase witht him to Jedburght and that no man sould pase hame wnder the paine of deid, so he soundit his trumpatis and lap on his horse and syne maid throw the feild, quhair the deid bodyis lay and wesietit thame and also he saw the tuo captans lyand deid, to wit, Schir Bryane Lattin and Schir Ralf Evers ffor they war spoillzeit of thair clething lyand witht thair bodyis bair, bot he gaif command to burrie thame or ellis to deliuer thame to thair freindis and suffer thame to burrie thame. And heirefter raid that night to Jedburght to his supper and gart eat the provisioun that was ordainitt for the Inglische captans and maid mirrie that night till on the morne he caussit ane herald to pase to the corse and maid oppin procliematiounis that all the lordis of Scotland that king Harie or his captans ¹[had conquest] in the zeiris bypast witht great labour in waine and great expenssis was trewlie redemit be godis grace at that tyme; thairfor beseikand all trew Scottismen and all trew subiectis to the quens grace and him quho had bene constranit be Inglischemen and king Harieis puissance to be severit ² and tak on the reid crose and obey thame selfis to be trew subiectis to king Harrie, nochtwithtstanding ³[prayed

How the
governour
past to Jed-
burght.

How the
governour
gart mak
procliema-
tioun.

¹ I inserts.

² "Suirit," I.

³ I inserts.

- thame to] come hame and serve the quene grace and
 him according to the auld manner as all ower subjects
 sould do and all bygynis to be bygynis and evyne man
 to haue ane remission that he deservit continue in his
 5 office. Then sowe counsaill the governour in paise in
 Wark and Norham because for for they war left wnto
 wnto him bot he wald nocht gae for to paise because
 he had nocht astatute and was few in number; thairfor
 he wald not leopord himself at that tyme bot return
 10 hamewart to Edinburgh and syne thairfor to Scoring
 to the quene quho was welle rejoynt of his walding. For he
 that god had send him besekand for god of his grace
 for to increase him in maintaining of the defence of Scot-
 land and the common weill thereof. Bot syne thairfor
- 15 this act the post tyme to King Harrie quhen he was for
 the tyme and schew to him quhat was happen in Scot-
 land and how his men was defet and slaine in Scotland
 and be the governour, thairfor and all the land that he
 had conquest and his captives in Scotland war all re-
 20 demed in ane hour be marchand and small fighting of
 the governour of Scotland and his subjects schawed to
 him that baith his captives and marchandis was creche
 slaine, witht money wther nobillmen of England and
 how money knyghtis and barons was take and kept
 25 in Scotland as prisonaris, and never ane Scotsman
 slaine bot two. At this novellis King Harrie brunt as
 fyre and grew so marvell in anger that no man durst
 anes come speik with him for ane lang tyme efter that
 he gat this tydingis, zeit beirether he send for the Duke
 30 of Northfok and sum wther of his wyse consail and
 lamentit and deploirit the cace wnto tham, sayand to
 thame that thair never was sic ane marvell sene, so few
 ane number of Scottis to defait so money men bot
 slaughter in thair syde. The Duk of Norfok answerit.
 35 'Tak ze comfort, it is bot chance of battell and god

How King
 Harrie was
 overcome
 of the turrel
 and of the
 turrel of his
 the captives.

The Duke
 of Northfok
 consail to
 King Harrie.

¹ "Macclat"—i.e., spotted. See Glossary.

' gies wictorie quhene he plessis; this tyme is bene
 ' thairis, the nixt salbe ouris as pleissis god. Thairfor
 ' lat zour grace tak no thocht, thair is men anew in
 ' Ingland ready to serue zour grace at all tymes baitht
 ' contrair France and Scotland, thairfor zour grace neidis 5
 ' nocht to panse on this singill number, thocht they be
 ' lost thair salbe allis goode found in thair rowmes for
 ' to debait zour bordaris at zour plesour.' At thir wordis
 king Harie was sum thing paciefieit, thinkand that the
 Duike of Northtfock had spokin, all was bot chance in 10
 weirfair, the nyght in prosperatie, the morne in thrail,
 thairfor he skaillit¹ his mynd and held out his porpois in
 France to haue his pensieoun bot of this the king of
 France was on nowayis content of king Harieis com-
 ming to France, knawand that he had bene thair befoir 15
 in the tyme of his progenatouris and had done great
 skaitht in his realme in the seiking of his pensieoun.
 [At this tyme thair was ane combat betuix the lord
 louit² and the clanranald quhairat thair was gret
 slauchter on bayth the syddes To wit the lord lowit 20
 was slaine with his eldest sone and his brether and
 vtheris of his freindis be the clanranald and thair was
 nocht ane of all his pairtie onslaine and als of the vther
 pairtie alennerlie except ane auld man callit Johne
 Mudroyt, and the laird of glengarie, and the erle of 25
 Huntlie micht haue sawit my lord lowet gif he had
 pleisit bot he was slaw in the samyn matter quhairthrow
 he was slaine as ze haue hard In the zeir of god I^m v^e
 xlv zeiris.]³ In this meane tyme thair was ane ambassa-
 dour⁴ in France, schawand the king of France how the 30
 Inglischmen war defeat in Scotland and quhat danger
 the realme was in, desyrand his grace for sum support

1, fol. 101 a.

Lord louit
slaine be the
clanranald
1545 zeiris.

¹ "Stableid," I.

² Lovat.

³ This passage is from I. The battle of Blair-nan-leine, or the "field of shirts," was fought in July 1544.—Gregory's 'Highlands and Islands,' pp. 159-161. Johne Mudroyt was John of Moidart. See Notes.

⁴ "Of Scotland," I.

of men of weir and captans ffor to gyde thair cuntrie,
 beleiffand that the Inglischmen wald invaid thame
 haistalie to haue ane revenge of the last wictorie that
 was gottin on thame at Ancrum; and allso this am-
 5 bassadour schew how the earle of Lennox and the
 cardinall was fallin at warience, and pleinzeit that the
 earle of Lennox had nocht wssit the king of Frances
 command and in spetiall the dispositioun of the money
 quhilk was send in Scotland be the kingis grace of
 10 France to the said earle witht money wther lessouns¹
 he schew to the king of France of this nobill man the
 earle of Lennox, quhilk was gevin to him be commis-
 sioun of the cardinall to put the said earle out of the
 king of France consait and cause him to tyne his loue
 15 and benevolence in tyme comming. To this effect the
 king of France gart call his consall to sie quhat was left
 to be done in thir effairis, ffor the king of France knew
 that the king of Ingland was come in France witht his
 airmie and had no will to spair men to pase in Scotland,
 20 zeit nocht witht standing the consall concludit that he
 sould send sum nottabill man quhome he gaif credit,
 to try the matter and sie quhat was the fact and occa-
 tioun of the earle of Lennox banischment or gif it war
 trew the cardinallis naratioun or complement that he had
 25 send to him of the said earle. And to that effect the
 king of France drectit and send ane nobill man and
 ane wyse captane in Scotland callit Monseur Lorgie²
 of Muntgomrie, witht him ane certane men of airmes to
 the number of v^c men of the best Monseur Lorgie wald
 30 waill, to that effect that he might try the occatioun or
 fact³ the earle of Lennox had maid to the quene or
 the cardinall quhairthrow he was banischit out of the
 realme; witht ane commissioun to the governour to
 raise the haill airmie of Scotland and to pase to the

¹ I has "lesingis"—*i.e.*, lies.

² "Lorge," I. See p. 46, note.

³ "Fault," I. "Fact" in A=deed.

Fol. 151 b.
How Mons^r
Lorgie come
in Scotland.

How the
gouvernour
past to Wark
witht ane
great airmie
at the re-
quist of the
regent.

borderis and syne in Ingland as Monseur Lorgie wald
devyse to draw the Inglischmen out of France. This
being done this captane come in Scotland to wit, Monser
Lorgie,¹ the ix day of Julij in the zeir of god I^m v^c xlv
zeiris, and presentit him self beffor the quene and gover- 5
nour schawand to thame his commissioun and desyre of
the king of France quhilk was to the airmie of Scotland
to pase in Ingland to that effect to draw the king of
Ingland out of France. Off this desyre the quene was
werie glade and solistit the governour and the lordis to 10
the same purpois quho hastalie consentit thairto, to that
effect gart mak procliematiounis throw all Scotland that
all maner of man betuix sextie and sexten baith sperituall
and temporall, burght and land sould compeir at Had-
ingtoun to pase witht the governour quhair he pleissit 15
with ane monethis wictuall. This the haill body of the
realme of Scotland essembelit together at Hadingtoun to
the number of xl^m men and thairefter the governour and
the airmie witht the Frinchemen past fordwart and
campit at Birgem hauch fforment Wark and lay thair 20
the space of viij or nyne dayis and everie wther day
passit in Ingland and in Inglische ground in arrayit
battell the space of sex myleis and brunt the tounis and
cornes that was wpoun the ground witht wther heir-
schipis that lay in thair gait and everie night com hame 25
to thair campt. Bot the Frinche captane and the lord
Home wald haue had the governour passand ower the
watter of Tueid to Wark witht his host and to haue
seigit the samin, bot the governour and the consall
wald nocht consent thairto because thai wantit great 30
artailze and wther provisioun quhilk was convenient
for ane seig, so they returnit hame againe towart Edin-
burgh the xij day of August in the zeir of god forsaid.
Bot Mons^r Lorgie the frinche captane past to Stirling to
the quene and thair remanit witht her ane certane quhill 35

¹ Le Sieur Lorges de Montgomery. See Notes.

for his plesour, and sum of his companie remanit in
Edinburgh, sum in Sanctandrois quhill the deid of
the wintar¹ was past.

THE XI CHAPTER.

Hou Monseur Lorge and the cardinall fell in alteratioun of wordis.
Hou Monseur Lorge passit hame to France with the rest of his
companie. Hou the gowernor passit to the cardinall in Sanct-
andros to the zoule. Hou the Erle of Angus and George his
broder war put in captivite. Hou the cardinall in the blak
freiris held ane prowintiall counsall at Edinburgh. The takin
of Maister George Wishart. Hou the gowernour and cardinall
past to saint Johnstoune and quhat thay did thair.

In this meane tyme the cardinall and Mons^r Lorgie
5 being baitht present in Stirling beffor the quene, fell
in ressoning tuiching the earle of Lennox quhat was
the cause of his banishment. The cardinall alleigeit
that he had faillit to the quens grace and to him
in disposing of the money that come frome the king
10 of France to him bot gaif it as he pleissit and nocht
to the quene nor to him bot gaif quhom to he lykit.
Bot Mons^r Lorgie was wtherwayis informit off the Fol. 152 a.
matter be thame that knew the earle of Lennox
pairt and allis he favorit himself because they war
15 companieouns in the court of France; thairfor he
spak the mair scharplie in his cause and requyrit
the cardinall quhy he keipit nocht promise into him,
that is to say, he send to France and desyrit the
earle of Lennox to come in Scotland promissand
20 that he sould mak him governour thairof and the
quens husband, schawand to him that he had the
iust tyill thairto, and in this maner caussit him to
leif France and his honest leiffing that he had of
the king and come into Scotland to this effect, bot

¹ "Dead of the winter," a phrase still used.

How the
cardinall
and Mons^r
Lorgie fell
out.

quhene he come he was bot mokit and scoirnit, and
no promise keipit to him be the cardinall nor the
quene bot plainlie defraudit thair of. The cardinall
ansuerit furieouslie againe and gif the lie and mante,¹
bot Mons^r Lorgie wpe witht his neif and² gaif on 5
the halfit ane blow befor the quene and in hir
presentis, and gif thay had not gone betuene³ the
soner, he had bene stikit be the said Mons^r thair
inmediatlie bot he was hurlat to the doore and senderit
at that tyme. Bot Mons^r Lorgie said befor the quens 10
grace he was ane fallis huresone preist and caussit
the king of France to spend his money in waine
and had put that gentillman the earle of Lennox
out of the kingis consait be his fallis report; quhair
he was the kingis servant befor he hes maid him 15
now his eneme. The quene discontentit of this all-
teratioun desyrit the cardinall hame to his awin cietie
and to remaine for ane quhill and scho sould pacifie
all thingis at his plesour. Bot Mons^r Lorgie wald
nocht luike on him fre that⁴ fourth nor come in the 20
toun and place quhair he was at no tyme efter that;
bot the laif of the Frinchemen that was witht Mons^r
Lorgie, sic as Mons^r Candrie,⁵ Mons^r Gogie, Mons^r
Herald, Mons^r Muilling⁶ quho war captans and luten-
nentis to Mons^r Lorgie for the tyme, they come to 25
the cardinall to sanctandrie and was weill intertenit
witht him witht great propyns gevin wnto thame be
the cardinall, as horse, houndis, halkis and money
witht wther giftis according to thair estaittis, and re-

¹ "Mantie," I. French "dementi"? Perhaps = "ment," raising an arm as if to give a blow, but not striking. See Glossary.

² "And wald [have] given him one the haffatt," I. "Neif"—*i.e.*, fist; "haffat"—*i.e.*, cheek. See Glossary.

³ I inserts "thame all."

⁴ I inserts "day."

⁵ "Sanct andrie," I.

⁶ "Muling," I. See Notes as to these French names, which are not given in the earlier editions.

manit mekill of the winter sessone quhill the spring
tyme they passit in France witht thair captane.

How Mon^r
Lorgie past
in France
again.

I, fol. 102 a.

¹[At this meintyme the cardinall persawing himsellff
nocht to be weill favourit throche the cuntrie nather
5 with the quenis court nor zit with the governouris nor
with mony of the lordis and barronis for thay durst
nocht cum to the court for him to reull thair bes-
sines without thay had assurance of the governour
and of him and speciallie the erle of angus buire
10 him na favour becaus he gart put him and his
broder bayth in presoun in the blaknes² and thocht
to haue gart strukkin bayth the heiddis frome thame
gif he had gottin his will bot as goddis grace was
wer sawit and that be the cuming in of the inglis
15 airmie that come in at that tyme and sum pairt be
the laird of Blanerne quha was captane of tamtalloun
at that tyme and was cummand to Edinburgh on
the day afor that the erle and his broder sould
haue beine justifeit and happnit to meit be the gait
20 cummand to Dumbar the laird of stenous³ the cap-
tane of Dumbar and Mr Gavin hamiltoun beand the
nommer of xvj hors and the laird of blanerne⁴ xij
of wondrous tryed geldeinis⁵ the best on the bor-
douris of Scotland and the said laird of Blanerne

The erle of
angus es-
chaippit on-
beheiddit be
meanis of
the laird of
blanerne.

¹ The passage in brackets is from I. A's shorter version is: "At this mean tyme the cardinall persaiffit him self nocht to be weill savourit nether in the quens court nor witht the governour, ffor he saw the earle of Angus throw his manheid and wosdome, and George his brother win great favour of the governor; thairfor the said cardinall caist his ingyne witht his counsall and effairis. To that effect he gat his eldest sone in keiping in the castell of Sanctandrois, together witht the lord Ruthven's sone and the wther gentillmens souns as pledgis that the governour sould remaine at the cardinallis counsall in all thingis concerning the effairis of the realme and his plesour quhatsumewer. Ffarder he desyrit to pase to Sanctandrois to the zoull" (Yule), and continues at p. 51, l. 25.

Fol. 152 b.

² This was in April 1544.

³ James Hamilton of Stenhouse. See Notes.

⁴ Lumsden of Blanerne. See Notes.

⁵ "Geldeinis"—i.e., geldings. See Glossary.

thinkand intill his mynd that his maister the erle of
 angus and george Douglas war to be justified on the
 morrow Thairfoir he thocht he wald jeopard his
 lyff at that tyme to sie for remeid of his maister
 and thairfoir he pat the caus in godis handis and 5
 set crwellie vpone the said hammiltownis and faucht
 lang with thame with oncertane victorie quhill thair
 was slauchter on bayth the syddis. Bot at last the
 hammiltownis zeildit and war taine and had to tam-
 talloun presoneris To wit the laird of stenous,¹ Mr 10
 Gawin, and the captane of Dumbar quha war the
 thrie principallis that rewlit the governour and his
 court at that tyme thairfoir the laird of blanerne
 causit thame to wrett with thair awin handis ane letter
 to the governour and to the rest of his freindis that 15
 was about him declairand the chance that was hapnit
 on thame as I haue schawin to zow afoir and quhat
 danger they stuid intill at that tyme for thay war in
 the handis of James Douglas perteinand to the erle
 of mortoun and alsua in the laird of blavernis handis 20
 the captane of tamtalloun quha had sworne and maid
 thair wowis gif ocht come to the erle of angus or
 George Dowglas his broder but guid that thay all
 thrie sould be hangit ovir the wallis of tamtalloun
 but² mercie thairfoir thay besocht the governouris grace 25
 to continew the erle of angus and his broder and
 till intertenie thame as he wald that thay war inter-
 tenit. This letter come to the governour wrettin be
 thir thrie fairsaid personis in all heist that I haue
 namit to wit the laird of stenous Mr Gawin ham- 30
 miltoun and Robert hammiltowne captane of Dumbar.
 Bot quhan the governour got this letter at xij houris
 at evin in the nicht afoir that the erle of angus and
 his broder sould haue sufferit he was vondrous sorie
 and callit his freindis togidder and schew thame the 35

¹ See note 3, p. 49.² Without.

caice quhat had hapnit and alswa lut thame sie the
 wreitting quhat was to happin and to be done gif
 he pat hand in the erle of angus. The haill ham-
 miltownis seand this thay gave counsall to the gov-
 5 ernour to releiwe the erle of angus vpone catioun
 that he sould enter agane quhan it pleisit the gov-
 ernour and so the erle of angus and his broder war
 releivit at that tyme¹ and so war the hammiltownis
 that war in the castell of tamtalloun bot the erle of
 10 angus nor his broder had nevir favour to the car-
 dinall fra that tyme furth bot socht all meanis that
 thay culd to get him cuttit of as thay did at lenth
 as ze will heir heireftir. Bot we will return to the
 cardinall quha standing in feir at this tyme as I haue
 15 schawin to zow was nowayes contentit of himsellff
 for he feirit the erle of angus and george his broder
 that thay buire him na guidwill for the causes foir-
 said. Thairfoir the said cardinall cuist his ingyne to
 get the governour sicker bound to his counsall and
 20 effaires he thinkand that he had his sone in keiping
 with vther lordis sonis bot zit he thocht he had him
 nocht sicker annewche. Thairfoir he onbethocht of
 ane vther meane this beand in winter at zuile for
 the quhilk caus he desyred the governour to pas to
 25 Sanctandros with him to the zuile] and thair that he
 might persuad him at length to this effect. The gov-
 ernour consentit heirinto and come to the cardinall
 werie willinglie to the zoull to Sanctandrois quhair he was
 resawit werie thankfullie and weill intertenit, he and
 30 his court, the space of xx dayis and then returnit to
 Edinburgh baitht hie and the cardinall.

In this meane tyme thair was ane principall² counsall
 haldin be the cardinall and his bischopis witht the rest

How the
governour
past to the
cardinall to
the zoull to
Sanct tan-
drois.

Ane generall
counsall
haldin be
the bischopis
and preistis.

¹ Knox, i. p. 111, refers their release to the English army (cf. p. 120) in May 1544.

² "Provinciall," I. Knox, i. pp. 243, 244. See Notes.

1546.

of his clairgie at Edinburgh the xxviii day of Januarij
 in the Blak freiris in the zeir of god I^m v^c xlv zeiris¹
 quhair they consultit to all thingis pertening to the
 libertie of the kirk, all faultis thairin to be correctit.
 Bot in this meane tyme thair was ane gevin wpe and 5
 delattit callit Mr George Wischart² and servant to god
 and ane preichar of Christis evangell quhairat the
 papistis had great invy, concluding they wald persew
 him to the deid gif thai might get him or comprehend
 him in ony place. At the last this past ower a quhill. 10
 February word come to the cardinall in Edinburgh
 that Mr George Wischart was within sex mylis in ane
 gentillmanis place callit Ormestoun. To this effect the
 cardinall passit hastalie to the governour desyrand him
 to send his servandis and men of weir to tak the said 15
 Mr George that he might be persewit as ane arrattick.
 The governour had no will bot zeit at length, be per-
 suatioun of the cardinall, the governour consentit heir-
 into and send his servandis to Ormestoun to tak the
 said Mr George and bring him wnto him. On nawayis 20
 the laird of Ormestoun wald deliuer him bot keipit him
 still till night thinkand to haue gottin him transportit
 away be sum meane or wther. Bot the governour
 and cardinall advertissit heirof, lape on horse at mid-
 night and come to Ormestoun and lape about the 25
 house and desyrit the said Mr George to be deliuerit.
 Bot they could not obteine him be no way quhill the
 earle Bothwell come and was cautioun wpoun his faitht
 and honour that he sould keip him skaithles at that
 tyme fre ony man and sua he was deliuerit to the 30
 said earle of Bothuell traisting that he sould saif him
 fre the cardinall and the preistis malice quhilk thay
 buire to him ffor preiching of Christis evangell. Nocht-

Fol. 133 a.

The taking
 of Mr
 George
 Wischart.

¹ This should be January 1546 N.S. See Robertson, 'Concilia Scotie,' pref. p. cxliv. Pitscottie or his transcriber is not consistent in the use of old and new style. Next page, line 15, he has 26th February 1546.

² I spells the name "Wirschit," but Wishart is right.

- withstanding this facell earle Bothwell for flattering the
 cardinall brak his promise maid to the said Mr George
 and deliuerit him in the cardinallis handis to do witht
 him as they pleissit. Bot fre that tyme fourtth the
 5 earle Bothwell thraif newer bot zeid bakwart in his
 effairis in all porpossis that he tuik in hand. This
 being done the governour and cardinall past to Edin-
 burgh witht the said Mr George and thairefter past
 ower the watter to Sanctandrois and put the said Mr
 10 George in pressone in the sie tour quhair he remanit
 the space of viij weikis thairefter and in Marche heir-
 efter thair was ane conventioun of the quene, governour
 and cardenall witht the remanent of the haill lordis,
 quho convenit at Sant Johnnstoun the xxvj day of
 15 Februarij the zeir of god I^m v^o xlvj zeiris.¹ Thair the
 cardinall and the governour witht the earle of Argyle
 iustice of Scotland condemnit to deith foure honest
 men and gart hang thame because they eat ane rostit
 guse in Lentroun; and ffordor condemnit ane zoung
 20 woman to deid and gart droune hir because scho wald
 not pray to our Lady in hir birth² and deliuerance of
 hir birth, thairfor they tuik the zoung babe of hir breist
 sucand, and dronit hir but mercie as I haue schawin
 to zow. Thir iudgementis war gevin wpoun the ser-
 25 vantis of god be the earle of Argyle sitand in iudgement
 and proper persone quhill fre that day fourtth had never
 ease nor health of his body bot ane continuall seiknes
 and meledie³ into the houre of his death quhilk was
 schort tyme efter. This being done the cardinall past
 30 hame to Sanctandrois quhair he remanit bot schort tyme
 and syne passit to Edinburgh to ane conventioun of the
 lordis quhair he tarieit bot schort quhill and esckipit

The conven-
 tioun of the
 lordis at
 Sant
 Johnnstoun.

The execu-
 tioun of the
 marteris at
 Sanct
 Johnnstoun.

¹ Knox, i. p. 117, gives 25th January 1544 as the date of the Perth martyrdoms, and this is confirmed by the Treasurer's accounts. The Provisional Council was adjourned to St Andrews in March 1546.

² "At hir birth and delyuerance of chylde," I.

³ "Meledie"—i.e., malady.

Fol. 153 b.

narulie of his lyfe ffor his death was devyssit be sindrie lordis of the realme quho could nocht be content of his proceedingis and cruell persecutioun of the servandis of god. Zeit he sckipit¹ at that tyme because of the great confluence of pepill that was witht him and spetiall 5 of the gentillmen of Fyfe and barrouns of quhom he was so weill lowit that they saffit him at that tyme ffor thair cause.

THE XII CHAPTER.

Ane conventioun of clergie haddin at Saint-andros upone the examination and accusatioun of Maister George Wirschit. And hou he was condampnit to be brunt and hou he sufferit patientlie the cruell deith for Chrystis saik.

The proces
laide aganis
Mr George
Wischart
and execu-
tion thairon.

The consall
of the laird
of Prestoun
to the
gouvernour.

This beand done the cardinall passit haistalie ower the watter to his awin castell of Sanctandrois and thair 10 convenit all the clargie and cunning men of Scotland, that is to say, bischopis, abbottis, pryouris, persouns,² dennes and archedeins, monkis, chanouns, freiris, preistis and all that was of reputatioun or leirning sowmond thame to convene at sic ane day at Sanctandrois to heir 15 and sie Mr George Wischart accusit as ane arrattick; and also send for the governouris commissioun together witht ane iudge criminall to gif dome and sentance wpoun the said Mr George gif neid be or gif the said clargie fand him guilltie as ane arrattick. This mes- 20 singer come to the governour desyrand this commissioun and iudge as I haue schawin zow bot ane of the governouris awin kinsmen³ stude wpe and said into this maner as efter followis, that is to say, 'And it 'pleise zour grace I marwell of zour wisdome and con- 25 'science that on this wyse consentis to put hand in 'the servantis of god to lat murdres thame for the 'preiching of Christis evangell, considering that ze haue

¹ "Sckipit" = escaped. See Glossary.

² *I.e.*, parsons.

³ I inserts "to wit, the Laird of Prestounne,"—David Hamilton, Laird of Preston. See Notes.

- ' profest the same and hes promovit be the grace of
 ' god to be gouvernour of this realme and pepill to the
 ' effect to mantein and sett fordwart his glorie in the
 ' preiching of his trew evangell and to mantein thame
 5 ' that ar the samin, and to that effect ze haue set fourth
 ' this book of god allredy quhilk is the new testament
 ' and the auld and hes commandit everie man that
 ' plessis to reid the samin to thair edificationn and
 ' instructioun of thair sallwationn in Christ that they
 10 ' may be the more apt and redy to serue god and to
 ' haue his knowlege ingraftit in thame be the reiding
 ' of the samin, and this ze haue done be oppin proclie-
 ' mationn to all zour leigis. Now quhat will thay say
 ' in the contrie of zow bot ze haue revoltit and gaine
 15 ' bak frome godis word and become as ane bairne¹
 ' to the preistis; quhairfor I consall zow to remember
 ' on the great benifeittis of god throw his kyndnes that
 ' he hes bestowit on zow, first, in the taking away ane
 ' goode king and planting zow in his rowme to ring
 20 ' in autorietie abone his pepill, secundlie, of the great
 ' wictorie that he gaif zow aganis zour enemeis and he
 ' preseruitt zow to this houre ffrome all dangeris out
 ' of the realme and in it of all thame that wald haue
 ' persewit zow. I trast gif ze defend not godis cause *Vol. 154. c.*
 25 ' stoutar nor ze do and salve his servandis fire the
 ' daith so far as ze may, I trow ze sall nocht haue so
 ' goode succes of all matteris pertenant to zour autor-
 ' ietie as ze haue had in tymes bypast, and gif ze mell
 ' farther and consent to the preistis wickit persute and
 30 ' malice to the servandis of god, that ze suffer thame
 ' to be murdrest in zour default that may keip thame
 ' and will nocht, ffor this cause I haue no doubt bot
 ' god sall rent the autorietie out of zour handis and
 ' gif it to ane wther lyke as he did witht king Saull
 35 ' quhene he rent the kingdome frome him and his, and
 ' gaif it to Dawid because Saull brak godis commande-

¹ "Burriour," I; from French *bouvrreau*—i.e., executioner.

'ment. Bot I wald ¹ zow war not Saull that sufferis
 'the innocent bloode of his servandis ² to be sched
 'into waine persecutioun quhilk ze know the cause and
 'articlis that ar layit to thame ar of no availl nor ar
 'not found in godis booke, bot may be weill found ³ 5
 'thai ar knawin that preichis the word of god trewlie
 'and senceirle and they bot hiepocretis and phar-
 'iessieis ⁴ that persecuttis thame; and that god sall
 'punische zow and thame baitht for zour demereittis.'
 Thir wordis, being spokin to the governour be this 10
 godlie man, persuadit him to wryt to the cardinall
 desyrand him to continew Mr George Wischartis per-
 secutioun and examinatioun quhill he was farther ad-
 vyssit that they might speik together and gif he wald
 nocht his awin bloode be wpoun his awin heid, ffor 15
 he wald not consent that ony skaitht sould be done
 to that man at that tyme. Nocht witht standing of
 this wrytting the cardinall was so inflamitt witht furie-
 ous burning ire contrair the servantis of god and that
 be the consall of his bischopis and freiris and the rest 20
 of his clargie that he wald in novayis continew the
 said Mr George, bot hastalie and crewallie persecutit
 him into the death in maner as efter followis;—That
 is to say, he was brocht out of the castell to the abbay
 kirk, thair to be examenit and accussit of sic articles 25
 as they had to lay to his charge. Bot first Dene Johnne
 Winram suppryor of the abbay and Doctour of theol-
 ogie maid the sermond that day. His text was the
 xiiij chapter of Mathew and that declairit maist cuninglie
 and ferventlie to persuad the bischopis and kirkmen 30
 to leif rancor and malice out of thair heartis towartis
 that man that was accussit, desyrand thame to follow
 Christ in loue and cheratie towartis thair bretherine
 conforme to his text, as Christ did gif derectioun to

The gover-
 nouris writ-
 ting to the
 cardinall.

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¹ "Hald," I.

² "The serwandis of God," I.

³ "That thay ar innocent men and trew men that preichis,"
 &c., I.

⁴ "Ipharesies" = Pharisees. See Glossary.

his appostillis in lyke maner. Bot notwithstanding,
 all this avallit nocht ffor thair cruell heartis could not
 be assuagit witht thair great ire and malice towart this
 innocent man bot cruellie accussit him and condemnit
 5 him to death, that is to say, Mr Johnne Lawder, Mr
 Andrew Oliephant was accussar of the [said] Mr George
 and said to him as efter followis. Then the said ser-
 moin being done maist honourabillie and clarklie be
 the preminatioun¹ of the said Mr Johnne Winram and
 10 quhene the said Mr Johnne was come doune of the
 poullpit, thai caussit Mr George Wischart to assend
 thairin and heir his accussatioun lede aganis him be
 Mr Johnne Lauder and Mr Andrew Oliephant as said
 is, quho begane to him in this maner witht dispytfull
 15 and blasphemous wordis as ze will heir heirefter in his
 accusatioun; the quhilk accussatioun contening the ar-
 ticlis heirefter quhilk was pronounceit befor the hail
 bischopis pryouris and wther small preistis, as gray
 freiris and blak freiris chanonis monkis, preistis and
 20 the sawin² sort.

³ The ACCUSSATIOUN of Mr GEORGE WISCHART Gentill
 man quho sufferit marterdome ffor the faith of
 CHRIST JESSUS at SANCT ANDROIS in SCOTLAND
 the first day of Marche anno I^m v^o xlvj zeiris,
 witht the ARTICLIS he was accussit of and his
 sueit ANSWERIS to the same quhairin ar ioynit
 his godlie wriesouns and prayeris as followis.

The Oratioun to the Reader.

With maist tender affectioun and wnfenzeit heart con- Fol. 155 a.
 sider gentill reddar the wncheritabill maner of accussa-
 tioun of Mr George Wischart maid be the blodie enemeis

¹ "Preminatioun"—i.e., premonition.

² Shaven.

³ The Accusation of Wishart, which is also given in Knox's
 'History of the Reformation' (Laing's Ed., vol. i. p. 149), seems
 to have been taken from a black-letter tract, printed in London by
 Day. See Notes.

of Christ ; not ¹ also the articles quhairof he was accussit
 by order degestit, and his meik ansueris sa far as he had
 leif and lasure to speik. Finallie ponder with no desemb-
 ling speiche ² the tiranicall furie and infernall crudelietie
 of the malignant kirk in approuing the said artickillis and 5
 of the contrarie the humble patient and maist plessant
 ansueris of Mr George maid to thame suddenlie withtout all
 feir nocht haueing respect to thair glorieous manassingis
 and bostows ³ [threates] and wncheritabillnes and without
 stope of tounge ansuering nocht moveing his continance 10
 nor changing his vessage, as in his accusatioun heirefter
 followis manifestlie sall appeir. The said Mr George
 being in captiuetie in the castell of Sanctandris, the
 dene ⁴ of the same toune was send be commandement
 of the cardinall and his wickit consall and thair sow- 15
 mond the said Mr George that he sould wpoun the
 morne following appeir befor the judge than and thair
 to gif accompt of his seditious and heritcall doctrene,
 to quhome Mr George ansuerit, ⁵ 'Quhat neidit,' said he,
 'my lord cardinall to sowmond me to ansuer for my 20
 'doctrene oppinlie befor him wnder quhois powar and
 'dominioun I ame this straitlie bund in irons; may
 'nocht my lord compell me to ansuer of his exhort
 'powar, or beleiffit he that I ame wnprovydit to rander
 'ane accompt of my doctrene to manefest !zourselvis 25
 'quhat men ze ar. It is weill done that ze keip zour
 'auld sermons and constitutions maid be men.' Wpoun
 the nixt morne my lord cardinall caussit his servandis
 to addres thame selffis in maist weirlyk array witht jake,
 knapsco ⁶ splent and speir and aixe and serving ⁷ for the 30
 weir then for the preiching of the trew word of god, and
 quhene those airmitt men marching in weirlyk order had
 convoyit the bischopis into the abbay kirk incontenent

¹ "Not" = note.

² "No dissembling spreit," I.

³ "Bosteous threattis bot cheritabillie," I. Knox has "boysterous."

⁴ Dean John Winram.

⁵ Knox, vol. i. p. 149.

⁶ "Knapsco" or "knapskull" = skull-cap.

⁷ "Moir seimming," I ; and Knox, p. 150.

they send for Mr George, quho was convoyit into the said kirk be the captane of the castell and the number of i^e men addressit in maner forsaide, lyk as ane lambe led they him to sacrefice. As he enterit in at the Abbay
 5 kirk doore, thair was ane poore man lyand wexit witht great infirmaties askit at him allmes to quhome he flang his purse; and quhene he come beffoir the cardinall by and by, the suppryor of the abbay callit Mr¹ Johnne Windrom, quhilk I schew to zow befor, maid the ser-
 10 mone in maner forsaide, takand his matter out of the xij chapter of Mathew quhois sermon was [devydit]² in foure principall pairtis. The first was ane schort and breif declaratioun of the evangell, the second pairt of interpretatioun of the goode seid, and because he callit
 15 the word of god the good seid [and heresie]³ the ewill seid he declarit quhat heresie was and how it could be knawin quhilk he defendit on this maner;—heresie is ane fallis oppinioun defendit witht pertinacie cleirlye repugning the word of god. The third pairt of this
 20 sermone was, the cause of heraisie withtin the realme and wther realmeis:—The cause of herasie, quod he, is the ignorance of thame quho hes the cure of mens saullis to quhome it necessarlie belongit⁴ to haue the trew wnderstanding of the word of god that they may be
 25 abill to win aganis the fallis doctrene of herasie witht the suord of the spreit quhilk is the word of god; and nocht onlie to win againe bot also to owercome as sayit Paull, ane bischope most be gentill as becommeth the minister of god, not stuburne, not angrie,
 30 no drunkart, no fighter nor gevin to fillthie luchier, bot harborus, on that lowis good men,⁵ sober myndit, richteous, godlie, temporat and such as cleveth to the trew word of doctrene that he may be abill to exort quhat-

Fol. 155 b.

¹ Knox has "Dean Johnne Wynreme."² I inserts.³ A has wrongly "and heirefter"; I and Knox, p. 151, "heresie."⁴ "Belongeth," I and Knox.⁵ "Gudnes," I and Knox.

sumewer leirning and to improve that they say aganis him. The fourt pairt of this sermon, was how herasie sould be knawin. Herasies to god be knawin on this maner, as the goldsmyth knaweth the fyne gold frome the wnprofettable by the tuiche stone, so lykwyse may 5 we know herasie by the wndoutit tuiche stone that is the trew sensour and wndefyllit word of god. ¹[The last he addit, that heretickis sould be put doune in this present lyfe to quenche and quhilk propossitioun the gossell appeirit to repung quhilk he intreit of lait 10 thame nocht growin to ² the harvest is the end of the world; never the les he affirmit that thay sould be put done be the ciuiell and magistrat law.] And quhene he had endit his sermon, incontenentlie thay caussit Mr George assend to the pulpit, thair to heir his 15 accusatioun and articlis, ffor right ³ aganis him ane of the fed folk ⁴ Mr Johnne Lauder laidin full off curssingis written in paper, of the quhilk he tuik out ane roll baitht lang and also full of curssingis malie-dictiouns and wordis of dewilsche dispyte and maliece, 20 sayand to the innocent Mr George sa mone cruell and abbominabill wordis and heit ⁵ so spytfullie witht the popische thundar that the ignorante pepill dreidit lest the earth sould haue suallowit him wpe quick; nocht-witthstanding he stude still witht great patience heiring 25 thair sayingis nocht ans ⁶ moving or changing his continance. Quhene they had ⁷ red throw all his lang manassingis his face runing done witht sueit and fuming ⁸ at the mouth lyk ane bair, spat at Mr George face, sayand, 'quhat ansueris thow to those thingis, 30

Fol. 156 a.

¹ I omits all in brackets, but the passage is in Knox.

² Knox, p. 151, has "he intreated of 'Lett them boith grow unto the harvest.' The," &c.

³ I inserts "stuid up."

⁴ "Flock," I; Knox, "flok."

⁵ "And hat him," I.

⁶ "Once," I.

⁷ "That this fiend had," I; Knox, "this fedd sow."

⁸ "Frothing," I and Knox.

'thow ranigat tratour theif quhilk we haue dewlie
 'previt be suffiecient witnes aganis the,' Mr George
 heirand this satt done on his kneis in the pupit
 makand his prayeris into god. Quhene he had endit
 5 his prayer suettlie and Christiane lyke he ansuerit
 thame all in this maner. ¹['Mony and horribill sayingis
 'vnto me ane christian man mony wordis abhominable
 'for to heir ze spokin heir this day quhich nocht onlie
 'to teache bot also once to think I thocht evir abhom-
 10 'inatioun quhairfoir I pray zour discretionis quyetlie to
 'heir me that ze may knaw quhat wer my sayingis and
 'the maner of my doctrin. This my petitioun (my
 'lordis) I desyre to be hard for thrie causis. The first
 'is becaus throche preaching of the word of god his
 15 'glorie is maid manifest it is ressonable thairfoir for the
 'adwanceing of the glorie of god that ze heir me teich-
 'ing trewlie the puire word of god without ony dissimu-
 'latioun. The secound ressoun is becaus that zour
 'health springeth of the word of god for he worketh all
 20 'thing by his word. It was thairfoir ane vnrichteous
 'thing gif ze sould stop zour earis frome my teaching
 'trewlie the word of god. The thrid ressonne is becaus
 'zour doctrin speiketh furth mony pestelentious blas-
 'phemous and abhominable wordis nocht cuming by
 25 'the insperatioun of god bot of the deuill on no
 'les perrell than my lyff. It is iust thairfoir and
 'ressonable zour discretiounis to knaw quhat my
 'wordis and doctrin ar and quhat I hawe evir taucht
 'in my tyme in this realme that I perrische not on-
 30 'iustlie to the gret perrell of zour saullis. Thairfoir
 'both for the glorie and honour of god zour awin
 'health and saiffgard of my lyff I beseik zour dis-
 'cretiouns to heir me and in the meintyme I sall
 'recitt my doctrin without ony cullour. First and
 35 'cheiflie sen the tyme I come in this realme I taucht

¹ The passage in brackets is from I, and Knox, p. 153.

'nothing bot the commandementis of god the xij
 'artickillis of the faith and the prayer of the lord in
 'the mother tounge. Mairover in Dundie I taucht
 'the epistillis of sanct paull to the romanis. And
 'I sall schaw zour discretiounis faithfullie quhat fas- 5
 'soun and maner I vsed quhen I taucht without ony
 'humane dreid so that zour discretioun gif me earis
 'benevolence and attent.' Suddanlie than with hiche
 woyce cryed the accusar¹ the fed sow. 'Thou heretik
 'runagat traitour and theiff. It was nocht lawfull for 10
 'the to preich thow hes takin power at thyne awin
 'hand without ony auctoritie of the churche we foir-
 'think that thow hes beine ane preicher so lang.'
 Than all the hail congregatioun of the prelattis with
 thair complices said thaies wordis, 'Gif we give him 15
 'leive to preiche he is so craftie and in the holie
 'scripture so exerceised that he will perswad the
 'peopill to his opinioun and rys than aganes ws.'
 Mr George seing thair malicius and wickit intent
 appeilled to ane indifferent² judge.³ To quhome the 20
 accusar John Lawder afoirsaid with hoggische woyce
 ansueris 'Is nocht my lord cardinall secound persone
 'of this realme chancellor of Scotland archbischof of
 'Sanctandros bischope of Meripois commendatour of
 'Arbrothick legatus natus a latere' and reciting als 25
 mony titillis of his vnworthie honoris as wald haue
 laidin ane scheip much moir ane ass. 'Is nocht he'
 (quod John lawder) 'ane equall Judge appeirandlie
 'vnto the quhom other desyrest thow to be thy Judge.'
 To quhome this humble man ansuerit saying, 'I refuiss 30
 'not my lord cardinall bot I desyre the word of god
 'to be my judge and the temporall estait with sum
 'of zour lordschippis my auditouris becaus I am heir

¹ John Lawder, Knox, p. 154. ² "Indifferent" = impartial.

³ "From the Lord Cardinall to the lord Governour," Knox, p. 154. These words are supplied from Fox, 'Martyrs,' v. p. 629.

' my lord governouris presonar' quhairvpone the pryd-
 full and scornfull peopill that stuid by mockit him
 saying, 'Such man such Judge' speiking seditious and
 reprochfull wordis aganes the governour and vtheris
 5 the nobillis meaning also to be enimyes to thame
 and to be heretickis and incontinent without all delay
 thay wald have givin sentence vpon Mr george and
 that without forder proces had nocht beine certane
 men thair counsallit the cardinall to reid agane the
 10 artickillis and to heir his ansueris thairvpone that the
 peopill micht nocht complaine of his wrongfull con-
 dempnatioun and schortlie for to declair thaies wer the
 artickillis following with his ansueris als far as thay wald
 gif him leive to speik for quhan he intendit to mitigat
 15 thair lesingis and schew the maner of his doctrin by and
 by thay stoppit his mouth with ane vther artickill.]

The Accusar.¹

' Thow fallis arratrick runigat tratour and theif, des-
 ' sawer off the pepill, dispysser of the hollie kirk curs-
 ' singis and into lyk maner contempes me lord gover-
 20 ' nouris autorietie and this we know for suirtie then
 ' quhene thow preichit in Dundie and was chargit be
 ' me lord governour and his autorietie to desist, never-
 ' theles thow wald nocht obey bot perseverist in the
 ' same and thairfor the bischope of Breichin curssit the
 25 ' and deliuerit the in the devillis hands and gaif the ane
 ' command thow sall preiche no more, that nocht witht
 ' standing thow didist continew.'

The Ansuer.

' My lords I haue red in the actis of the appostillis
 ' that [it] is nocht lauchfall for the threittis and manas-

¹ I, instead of "first artickill, second artickill" of the other MSS.,
 has always the words "The Accusar" and "The Ansuer," as in the
 text. Knox, following the text from which Fox took his narrative,
 divides his account into Articles and Answers.

'singis of men to decest frome the preiching of the
 'gospell thairfor it is writtin we sould rather obey god
 'nor man. I haue also red in the prophit Malachie I
 'sall curse zour blissingis and blise zour curssingis; gif
 'ony consciences had iudgit me to haue done ewill I 5
 'sould have decistit ffor zour curssingis or ellis ffor zour
 'brotherlie wairningis. Be cause I wssit no wngodlie
 'deid I sufferit patientlie [zour curssingis into bliss-
 'ingis],¹ beleueing firmelie that the lord will turne zour
 'curssingis into blissingis.' 10

The Accusar.

Fol. 156 A. 'Thow fallis arratick didest say that ane preist stand-
 'ing at the allter saying mese, was lyk ane fox wagand
 'his taill in Iulie.'

The Ansuer.

'My lordis, I said nocht so, those was my sayingis,
 'the murning of the body outwart withtout the inuart 15
 'moving of the heart is nocht ellis bot the playing of
 'ane ape, and nocht the trew serwing of god; ffor god
 'is ane secreit searchar of mens heartis, thairfor quho
 'will trewlie adorne and honour god he most in spreit
 'and werietie honour him.' Then the accussar stopit 20
 his mouth witht ane wther artickill.

The Accusar.

'Thow fallis arratick preichis aganis the sacramentis
 'sayand that thair was not sevin sacramentis.'

The Ansuer.

'My lordis and it be zour plesour I taucht never of
 'the number of the sacramentis quither thair was sevin 25
 'or elleuin; so money as ar institut be Christ and ar
 'schawin to ws be the evangell I profes oppinlie, except
 'it be the worde of god I dar affirme nothing.'

¹ These words seem copied here by mistake.

The Accusar.

' Thow fallis arratick thow hes oppinlie taught that
' auricular confessioun is nocht ane sacrament and thow
' sayis that we find onlie to confes ws to god and to no
' preist.'

The Ansuer.

5 ' My lordis, I say that auricular confessioun seing it
' haith no promise of the evangell thairfor it can nocht
' be ane sacrament. Of the confessioun to be maid to
' god thair ar money testaimoneis in scriptur, as quhene
' Dawid sayith, I thocht I wald haue knowit myne in-
10 ' niquitie aganis myself into the Lord and he forgaif the
' trespass of my sinns; heir confessing signifieit the
' secreit knowlege of our sinns beffoir god. Quhene I
' exortit the pepill in this maner I reproved no maner Fol. 157 a.
' of confessioun, and farther [Sanct]¹ James said, know-
15 ' ledge zour sins and to ane wther and so lett zow haue
' peace amang zourselffis.'

Quhene that he had said so those wordis, the bischopis
and thair compleces cryit and girnit witht thair teith,
sayand, 'Se ze nocht quhat coullouris he had in his
20 ' speiking that he may beguill ws and seduce ws to his
' oppinioun.'

The Accusar.

' Thow arratick did say oppinlie that it was necessar
' to everie man to know and wnderstand his baptisme,
' and quhat was contrair to our generall consall and
25 ' estait of hollie kirk.'

The Ansuer.

' My lordis, I belief thair be nane so wnyyse that will
' mak marchandice witht ane frincheman or ony wther
' wnknawin stranger except he knew or wnderstude first
' the conditioun or promise maid be the frincheman or

¹ I has "Sanct James," A has "Schir James."

‘stranger; so lyke I wald we wnderstude quhat thing
 ‘we [promeis]¹ in the name of the infant wnto god in
 ‘baptisme, ffor this cause I beleif ze haue confirmatioun.’

Then said Mr Walter² chaplaine that he had the
 Devill withtin him and the spreit of errour; then an- 5
 suerit him ane child, saying, ‘the Devill can not speik
 ‘suche wordis as zone man dois speik.’

The Accusar.

‘Thow arratick tratour and theif thow said, at³ the
 ‘sacrament of the allter was bot ane peace of breid
 ‘breikin wpoun the assis and na wther thing ellis, and 10
 ‘all that is thair done is bot suppestitious rytte aganis
 ‘the commandement of god.’

⁴[*The Answer.*

I, fol. 105 a. ‘Och⁵ lord god such manifest lies and blasphemeis
 ‘the scripture doeth not teiche zow as conserneing the
 ‘sacrament of the aulter (my lordis) I nevir taucht any 15
 ‘thing aganes the scripture the quhilk I sall (be godis
 ‘grace) mak manifest this day I being reddie thairfoir to
 ‘suffer death. The lawfull vse of this sacrament is
 ‘most acceptable vnto god bot the gret abuse of it is
 ‘verrie deteistable to him. Bot quhat occasioun thay 20
 ‘haue to say such words of me I sall schortlie schaw
 ‘zour lordschippis. I once chancit to meit with ane
 ‘Jew quhen I was sailling vpone the watter of Ryne⁶
 ‘I did inquiry of him quhat was the caus of his per-
 ‘tinacie that he did not beleive that the trew Messias 25
 ‘was come considering that thay had sein all the pro-
 ‘phesies quhiche war spokin of him to be fulfilled.

¹ I, and Knox, p. 158.

² I has “Mr Blether,” Knox “Bleiter.” Fox has “Blester.” See Notes.

³ “At”—*i.e.*, that. See Glossary.

⁴ The passage in brackets is from I.

⁵ “Och”—*i.e.*, Oh, which Knox has.

⁶ Rhine.

' Mairovir the prophesies taikin all in and the cepter of
 ' Juda be mony vther testimonyis of the scripture I
 ' wincuist him that Messias was cum the quhich thay
 ' callit Jesus of Nazareth. This Jew answerit agane
 5 ' vnto me "quhan Messias cummeth he sall restoir all
 ' " thingis and he sall nocht abrogat the law quhilk was
 ' " givin to our foirfatheris as ze do for quhy we sie the
 ' " puire almost perrische throuche hounger among zow
 ' " zit ze are nocht mowit with pitie toward thame. Bot
 10 ' " among ws Jewis (thocht we be puire) thair ar no
 ' " beggaris fund. Secundarlie it is forbiddin be the
 ' " law to fain ony kynd of Imagerie of thingis in heuin
 ' " abone or in eirth beneth or in the sea vnder the
 ' " eirth bot in god onlie to honour bot zour sanctwaries
 15 ' " churchis ar full of Idollis. Thridlie ane peice of
 ' " breid baikin vpone the ashes ze adore and virschip
 ' " and say that it is zour god." I haue reheirsit heir
 ' bot the sayings of the Jew quhich I never affirmed to
 ' be trew.' Then the bischoppis schuik thair heiddis
 20 and spittit into the eird and quhat he meinit in this
 matter forder thay wald not heir.

The Accusar.

' Thow falls heretik did say that extreme vnctioun
 ' was nocht ane sacrament.']

The Ansuer.

' My lord, for suith, I nether taught any thing of ex-
 25 ' treme unxioun in my doctrene quhither it war ane
 ' sacrament or nocht.'

The Accusar.

' Thow fallis arratick rinigat said that hallie watter
 ' was nocht so goode as wasche, and siclyk thow con-
 ' tempest coniuring and said that hollie kirk curssingis
 30 ' availis nocht.'

¹[*The Answer.*]

‘ My lordis as for holie watter quhat strenth it is of
 ‘ I taucht nevir in my doctrin coniuringis and exerzismes
 ‘ gif thay war conformable to the word of god I wald
 ‘ commend thame bot in so far as thay ar nocht
 ‘ conformable to the word of god and commandement 5
 ‘ thairof I reprove thame.’

I, fol. 105 b.

The Accusar.

‘ Thow fals heretick and runagat hast said that evirie
 ‘ ley man is ane preist and suchlyk thow sayest als wa
 ‘ that the paip hath no moir power than ony vther man.’

The Answer.

‘ My lordis bot [in] the word of god I remember that 10
 ‘ I haue red in sum plaices of Sanct Johne and Sanct
 ‘ petter of the quhiche the on sayeth “he hath maid
 ‘ “ws kingis and preistis.” The vther sayeth “he hath
 ‘ “maid ws the kingleie preistheid” quhairfoir I haue
 ‘ affirmed any man being cunning in the word of god 15
 ‘ and the trew faith of Jesus chryst to haue his power
 ‘ givin him frome god and nocht by the power and
 ‘ violence of men bot by the vertew of the word of god
 ‘ the quhiche word is callit the power of god as witnessis
 ‘ Sanct paull evidentlie anewch and agane I say ony 20
 ‘ onlearned man and nocht exerceisit in the word of
 ‘ god nor zit constant in his faith quhatsoever estait or
 ‘ ordour he be of I say he hath no power to bind or
 ‘ lous seing he wanteth the instrument by the quhich
 ‘ he bindeth or looseth that is to say the word of god.’ 25
 Aftir that he said thais wordis all the bischopis lauched
 and mocked him. Quhen that he beheld thair lauch-
 ing² ‘lauch so meikill as ze pleis’ said he ‘my lordis
 ‘ thocht thaies sayingis appeir scornefull and vorthie of
 ‘ derisioun to zour lordschippis nevirtheles thai ar verrie 30

¹ The passage in brackets is from I.² Knox, p. 161.

‘wychtie to me and of ane gret walour becaus thay
 ‘stand nocht onlie on my lyff bot also the honour and
 ‘glorie of god.’ In the meantyme mony godlie men
 behaulding the woodnes and gret crudelitie of the
 5 bishopis and the invincible patience of Mr george
 did gretlie murne and lament.]

The Accusar.

Fol. 157 b.

1 ‘Thow fallis arratick said that ane man had no
 ‘fre will bot is lyk to the stokis² quhilk say it is
 ‘nocht in manis will to do ony thing bot that all
 10 ‘concupissance and desyre commeth of god, of quhatso
 ‘ewer kynd it be.’

The Ansuer.

‘My lordis, I said not so. Trewlie I say that allis
 ‘money that beleif in Christ firmlie, into thame is gevin
 ‘libertie conforme to the saying of Schir Johnne, “gif
 15 ‘sin³ mak zow fre than sall ze weralie be fre.” Of the
 ‘contrair as money as beleif nocht in Christ Jesu thay
 ‘ar bund seruandis to sin, he that sineth is bund witht
 ‘sin.’

⁴[*The Accusar.*

‘Thou fals heretick didest say that it is als lawfull
 20 ‘to eit flesche vpon the fryday as one the sonday.’

The Answer.

‘Pleised zour lordschippis to vnderstand I haue red
 ‘into the epistillis of Sanct paull That quho is cleane
 ‘vnto thame all thingis ar cleane Of the contrairie
 ‘to the filthie all thingis ar vncleane. Ane faithfull
 25 ‘man cleane and holie sanctified by word the creature
 ‘of god so that ane creature may nocht sanctifie ony

¹ This is not in Knox (at this place, but at p. 161, foot), or in Fox, which omit or alter the order of several articles of the accusar and Wishart's answers.

² Stoics.

³ Knox has “If the Sone.” The text is corrupt, or “sin” = sone.

⁴ The passage in brackets is from I.

‘impuire and vnfaythfull man. Bot to the faythful
 ‘man all thingis ar sanctified by the prayer of the
 ‘word of god.’ Eftir thais sayingis of Mr george
 than said all the bischopis with thair complices ‘quhat
 ‘neideth ws ony witnes aganes him hath he nocht 5
 ‘opinlie heir spokin blasphemie?’]

The Accusar.

¹ ‘Thou fallis arratick dois say that we sould nocht
 ‘pray to sanctis bot to god onlie; say wither thou
 ‘had said this or no, say scharplie.’

The Ansuer.

Ffor the waiknes of infirmatie of the heararis he 10
 said withtout dout plainlie that sanctis sould nocht be
 honourit. ‘My lordis’ said he, ‘thair is tuo thingis’
 said hie ‘to wit, the on is certane, the wther wncertane.
 ‘It is fund plainlie and certan in scriptour that we sould
 ‘worschip and honour god according to the saying of the 15
 ‘first command “thow sall onlie worschipe and honour
 ‘² [“the lord thy god with all thy hairt” bot as for
 ‘praying and honouring to sanctis thair is gret doubt
 ‘among mony quhiddir thay heir the inuitatioun maid
 ‘to thame or nocht. Thairfoir I exhorted all men 20
 ‘equallie in my doctrin that thay sould leave the
 ‘onsein way and follow that way quhich was teachid
 ‘be our maister and sawiour chryst Jesus. He is our
 ‘mediatour and maketh intercessioun for ws to god
 ‘his fader. He is the dore by the quhich we most 25
 ‘enter in. He that entereth not in by this dor bot
 ‘cleimmeth ane vthir way is ane theiff and murtherar
 ‘he is the veritie and lyff he that goeth out of this
 ‘way thair is no doubt bot he sall fall into the myre
 ‘Ze verielie he is fallin into it alreddie. This is the 30

¹ This is the twelfth article in Knox, p. 162.

² The passage in brackets is from I.

‘fassoun of my doctrin the quhiche I haue evir followit.
 ‘Weriellie that quhich I haue hard and red in the word
 ‘of god I taucht opinlie and in no corneris and now
 ‘ze sall witness the same gif zour lordschippis will heir
 5 ‘me bot it be by the word of god I dar affirme no
 ‘thing.’ Thais sayingis he reheirsit diuers tymes.]

The Accusar.

‘Thow fallis arratick hes preichit plainlie saying that
 ‘thair is no purgatioun and it is ane seinzeit thing ony
 ‘man efter this lyfe to be punischit in purgatorie.’

The Ansuer.

10 ‘My lord, as I haue oftymes said heirafoir, without
 ‘expres witnes and testamone of the scriptour I dar
 ‘affirme nothing. I haue oft and diuerse tymes red
 ‘ower the bybill and zeit sic ane terme fand I never Fol. 158 a.
 ‘nor zeit in ony place of the scriptour applyabill heir-
 15 ‘into, thairfor I was eschameit ewer to teiche in that
 ‘thing quhilk I could nocht find in the scriptour.’

‘Then said he to Mr Iohnne Lawder his accuser,
 ‘gif ze haue ony testamoney of the scriptour be the
 ‘quhilk ze may proue ony sic lyk place, schaw it now
 20 ‘befoir this awditour.’ Bot this man had not ane word
 ‘to say for himself bot was allis dwme as ane bittill¹ in
 ‘that matter.’

²[*The Accusar.*

‘Thow fals heretick hast taught plainlie aganes the
 ‘wowis of monkis freiris nunes and preistis saying that
 25 ‘quhosoevir was bound to such lyk vowis thay vowit
 ‘thame sellffis to the estait of dampnatioun. Mairovir
 ‘that it was lawfull for preistis to marie wyffis and nocht
 ‘to leive solitter.’

¹ “Bittill” = beetle, which Fox has,—a wooden instrument used for beating clothes while being washed. I has “deid as ane bishe,” a word not known.

² The passage in brackets is from I.

The Answer.

'Off suith (my lordis) I haue red in the evangell that
 'thair ar thrie kynd of chast men. Sum ar geldit from
 'thair motheris wombe. Sum ar geldit by men and
 'sum haue gildit thamesellffis for the kingdome of heavins
 'saik Verrilie I say thaies men ar blessit be the scrip- 5
 'ture of god bot als mony as haue nocht the gift
 'of chastitie nor zit for the evangell haue nocht ovircum
 'the concupiscence of the flesche and haue vowit chas-
 'titie ze haue experience all gif I sould hauld my pace
 'to quhat inconvenience thay haue vowit thame sellffis.' 10
 Quhan he had said thaies vordis thay war all dum
 thinking better to haue taine concubines than ony
 marieit wyff.]

The Accusar.

'Thow fallis arratick and runigat said that thow wilt
 'not obey our generall and provinciall consall.' 15

The Ansuer.

He ansuerit, 'my lordis, quhat zour generall consall
 'are I know not I was never exerceissit in thame bot to
 'the puire word of god I gaif my labouris thairto. Reid
 'heir your generall consallis or ellis gif me ane buik
 'quhair thay ar contenit that I may reid thame; gif that 20
 'they ar agreabill to the word of god I will nocht
 'dissagre.' Than the revenning wollffis ar turnit into
 widnes and said, 'quhairto lat we him speik ony farther.
 'Reid fourt the rest of the artickill and stay not.'
 Among those cruell tigaris thair was ane fallis hepocreit 25
 and seducear of the pepill callit Iohnne Gray¹ standing
 behind Iohnne Lauderis bak, haisting him to reid the
 rest of the artickillis 'ffor we might nocht abyde thame,'
 quod he, 'no more then the Devill may abyde the
 'signe of the crose quhene it is nameit.' 30

¹ So also B and I; but Knox on the margin has, "this was Friar Scott."

¹ [*The Accusar.*

‘Thow heretick sayest pairt it is waine to build to the
 ‘honour of god coistlie churches Seing that god re-
 ‘manit nocht in the churches maid by menis handis nor
 ‘zit god can be in so littill space as betuix preistis
 5 ‘handis.’

The Answer.

‘My lordis, salomon sayeth ‘gif that the heavin of
 ‘heavinis cannot comprehend the how much les this
 ‘hous that I haue buildit’ and Job consenteth to the
 ‘same sentence seing that he is hiehar than the heavins
 10 ‘thairfoir quhat can thow build vnto him he is deipar
 ‘than hell than how salt thow know him he is longer
 ‘than the eirth and bredder than the sea so that god
 ‘can nocht be comprehendit into ane plaice becaus that
 ‘he is infinit. Nochtwithstanding thaies sayingis I said
 15 ‘nevir that churches sould be distroyit bot be the con-
 ‘trair I affirmed evir that churches sould be sustenit and
 ‘vpholdin that the peopill sould be congregattid into
 ‘thame thair to heir of god And mairsovir quhairsoevir
 ‘is the trew preaching of the vord of god and the lawful
 20 ‘vse of the sacramentis vndoutedlie thair is god pre-
 ‘sentt him sellff so that both thais sayingis ar trew
 ‘togidder god can not be comprehendit intill ane place
 ‘and quhairsoevir thair ar twa or thrie gatherit in his
 ‘name thair is he presentt in the middis of thame.’
 25 Than said he to his accusar, ‘gif thow thinkest ony vther
 ‘than I say schaw furth thy reassounis befor this
 ‘auditour.’ Than he without all ressoun was dum and
 culd nocht answer ane vord.

The Accusar.

‘Thow fals heretick contempnest fasting saying that
 30 ‘thow sould nocht fast.’]

¹ The passage in brackets is from I.

The Ansuer.

‘ My lordis, I find that fasting is commendit in the
 ‘ scriptour, thairfor I war slanderar of the gospell gif I
 ‘ contempt fasting and nocht so bot I haue leirnit, ay,
 ‘ be experience, that fasting is goode for the health of
 ‘ the body bot god knaweth the trew fast.” 5

The Accusar.

‘ Thow fallis arratick hes preichit oppinlie saying that
 ‘ the saull of man sall sleip to the latter day of iudge-
 ‘ ment and sall not obtaine lyfe immortall unto that
 day.’

The Ansuer.

Fol. 158 b.

‘ God, full of marcie and goodnes ffor gif thame that 10
 ‘ [sayeth] suche thingis of me. I wait and knaw trewlie
 ‘ be the word of god that he quhilk had begune the
 ‘ faitht of Iessus Christ and beleiffit firmelie in him, I
 ‘ knaw that the saull of that man sall never sleip, bot
 ‘ ewer sall leif ane imortall lyffe, the quhilk frome day 15
 ‘ to day is renewit in grace and agmentit nor zeit sall
 ‘ never perische or haue ane end but evir immortall sall
 ‘ leif witht Christ, to the quhilk lyfe all that beleif in him
 ‘ sall come and rest in eternall glorie. Amen.’

¹[Quhan the bischopis with thair complices had 20
 accused this innocent man in maner and forme afoir-
 said incontinentlie thay condampnit him to be brunt
 as ane heretick nocht haweing respectt to his godlie
 ansueris and trew ressounis quhiche he alledgit nor zit
 to thair awin conscienceis Thinking verelie that thay 25
 sould do to god gude sacrafice conformable to the
 sayingis of Sanct Johne. ‘ Thay sall excommunicat zow
 ‘ zea and the day sall cum that he quhich killed zow
 ‘ sall think that he had done to god guide service.’
 (Zit thay desyrit him to rewoik all thingis that he had

¹ The passage in brackets is from I, and is not in Knox.

precht sen that ze come in the realme of Scotland
without ony licence or admissioun of the kirk.

The Answer.

' God forbid broder that I rewoik the preachin of
' goddis word quhilk is the evangell of Jesus Chryst
5 ' that will I nevir do bot rather die thairfoir.]

¹ THE PRAYER OF MR GEORGE WISCHART.

' O Immortall god, how lang sall thow suffer the
' wodnes and great cruelltie of the wngodlie to exerceis
' thair furie upoun the servantis quhilk do furder thy
' worde in this world seing thai desyre to be contrarie,
10 ' that is to choke and distroy thy trew doctrene and
' werietie by the quhilk thow hes schewit the into the
' world quhilk was all drownit in blindnes and misknaw-
' ledge of thai name. O Lord we know suirly that thy
' trew serwandis most neidis suffer, for thy names saik,
15 ' persecutioun, afflictioun and trubillis in this present
' lyfe, quhilk is bot ane schadow, as thow hes schawin
' to ws be the profiteis and appostellis, bot zeit we desyre
' the hartlie that thow conserue, defend and helpe thay
' congregatioun quhilk thow hes chossin befor the be-
20 ' ginning of the world and gif thame thy grace to heir
' thy word and to be thy trew servandis in this present
' lyfe.'

Then by and by they caussit the commone pepill to
remove quhose desyre was allwayis to heir that innocent
25 man speik, and the sentence [was] pronounced, that
sentence nocht haiffing respect to the iudgement of god.²
Quhen all this was done the cardinall caussit the tor-
mentaris to pase againe witht the meik lambe into the
castell into sic tyme that the fyre was maid redy.

¹ I omits the Prayer.

² Knox (I, p. 168) says, "and the sonis of darknes pronounced
thare sentence definitive not having respect to the judgement of
God."

Fol. 159 a.

¹ The said Mr George condemnit in this matter and
 maner to the deid was brocht out of the abbay kirk
 and haid agane to the castell to the captans challmer
 in the sie tour² quhair he remanit all the night at his
 contemplatioun and prayer quhill on the morne the 5
 bischopeis send the freiris into him to mak his con-
 fessioun schawand to him that he behovit to suffer.
 Mr George ansuerit and said, he had nothing to do
 witht the freiris nor he wald nocht speik witht thame
 bot wald they send to him the honest and godlie man 10
 that maid the sermone zeisterday, he wald oppin his
 mynd into him and be recounsellit in ony thing his
 conscience movet him. This being done the ansuer
 come againe to the bishopsis quho was glad thair of
 and caussit the suppyr to pase to him incontient 15
 and to sie his mynd. Bot as sune as the suppyrour
 come to him and hard of his mynd knawing him to be
 ane innocent man and ane poore servant of god, not
 mellit witht sic thingis as they layd to his charge, bot
 fand him innocent thair of, thairfor for pettie he begane 20
 to wepe and lamentit his death; and efter lang com-
 moning he requyrit at the said Mr George gif he wald
 haif his sacrament. He ansuerit and said againe, quhy
 not, gif I might haue it as Christ institutit of baitht
 the kyndis I will and desyre the same effectouslie. 25
 Then the said suppyrour past to the bishopsis and
 schew tham that he had spokin Mr George Wischart
 at length and thair schawand him his mynd effec-
 touslie, and had taine it wpoun him and his saull that
 he was innocent of all the artickillis that was layd to 30
 his charge and gif he dieit this day he sould die ane
 innocent befor god and the world of those crymes
 that was laid to him befor thair consall. The cardinall

¹ The account of Wishart's last hours is fuller in Pitscottie than in any other narrative, though Knox gives a few additions. See Notes.

² Sea Tower of the Castle.

heirand this narratioun of the suppryour and was werie
 angrie thairwitht and ansuerit him furieouslie and said,
 'Weill, Weill, we knaw zow and quhat ze ar sewin
 'zeir syne. It is no tyme to him to make purgatioun
 5 'now.' The suppryour ansuerit and said, 'now my
 'lord, he bad me speir at zow and the laif of the
 'bischopis gif ze wald be content he had his sacrament
 'of the hollie kirk.' Of this the bischopis zeid to ane
 consall and concludit that they wald nocht suffer him
 10 to haue the sacramentis off hallie kirk because he was
 condemnit to the deid as ane heretick thairfor he aught
 nocht to haue aney benefeit of the kirk. With this
 ansuer the suppryour past againe to Mr George.
 Quhene he had schawin him the same he thankit god
 15 patientlie beseikand god to forgif thame of thair great
 ignorance and malice towartis him. This being done
 the suppryour tuik his leif ffrome him exortting him to
 be blyth and mirrie in god and sett his hope in his
 marcie ffor he saw no marcie witht man. Thairfor
 20 he exorttit the said Mr George to pray for him
 and he for him and so thai depairtit witht cheikis
 watt on baitht the sydis. At last it grew neir
 the houre of nyne, the captane of the castell and
 gentillmen that was witht him past to thair disjone
 25 in the captans challmer quhair the said Mr George was
 present for the tyme. Quhene the captane requyrit gif
 he was dispossit or gif he wald tak ane pairt of the dis-
 geoun, Mr George ansuerit gladlie and said, 'witht
 'goode will, ffor werelie I ame better content to eit
 30 'witht zow at this tyme nor ewer I was in my dayis
 'bypast because I knaw zow to be honest and godlie
 'companie and it to be my latter meit, bot I exort zow
 'in the name of god and for the luffe ze haue to our
 'Maister and Sawieour Christ Jessus that ze will sit done
 35 'at the tabill ane lyttill quhill and put sielence in the
 'house and gif me awdience that I may mak zow ane

' exortatioun and syne heirefter to blise this meat that
 ' we sould eit as brether in Christ and heirefter I will
 ' tak my leif and goode night at zow.' Be this quhene
 the tabill was coverit and breid sett thairon, Mr George
 begane to his exortatioun, the quhilk declairit to thame 5
 Christis latter supper, death and passioun quhilk con-
 tennewit the space of half ane hour exortand thame to
 leif rancor and malice and Invy and affix in thair heartis
 lufe and cheratie on to ane wther that they may be
 memberis in Christ and thair adwocat and medicatour 10
 to his father that thair sacriefice and prayer may be
 accepit at our fateris hand conforme to our sallwatioun
 or redemptioun. This beand endit Mr George tuik breid
 and wyne ; he cuttit this breid in sindrie pairtis in peices,
 he blissit it in the name of the fater, the sone and the 15
 hollie gost and tuik ane peace of it and eittit in the
 samin maner saying thir same wordis and gaif ane
 portioun of it to the captane and to everie man round
 about, beseikand thame to eitt and drink witht him for
 Christis saike and in his name and remembrance of his 20
 death ; and drank to thame all round about beseikand
 thame on this samen maner to drink witht him of that
 cupe for Christis saik, quhilk was wine, ffor thai wald
 drink no more witht him at that tyme ffor he was to taist
 ane better cupe within schort tyme and that for the lufe 25
 to god and preiching of the evangell off Christ. ' Bot
 ' tak ze no slander thairof bot pray for me and I sall
 ' pray for zow that our ioy may be in heavun witht our
 ' Sawieour thairof ffor thair is nothing in this earth bot
 ' dollour.' Quhene Mr George had maid ane end of 30
 this he said the grace and thankit god and syne thaireftir
 past to challmer to his contemplatioun and prayer and
 continewit in the same quhill the cardinall and bishopis
 had done witht thair dener. Inmediatlie heirefter the
 dener thar was tuo tormentouris send to Mr George 35
 Wischart, the on haueand ane cott of bucrum, the wther

certane pokis of pulder and quhene they had putt the
 cott wpoun the said Mr George, the wther pat the pulder
 round about him in his sleiffis and in his body and
 bucklit it fast thairinto witht cordis. Syne he brocht
 5 him fourtht to the captane to his wtter challmer thair
 quhair he remanit ane quhill, quhill the fyre was pre-
 pairit and the skaffald was maid and syne the artaillze
 chargit and laid ower the wall and cuschouns laid on
 the wallis prepairit for the bischopis to sitt wpoun and
 10 also all the gentillmen and men of weir war chargit to
 pase to thair airmor, that is to say, tak speir and harnes
 to stand about the skaffald and fyre quhair the said Mr
 George sould suffer, and also the gouneris to stand be
 thair artaillze for dreid of bak heir.¹ In this meane tyme
 15 quhene they war prepairit, all thingis as I have schawin
 to zow, Mr George was talkand to the captane and
 schawin to him sic thingis as wald schortlie come to
 pase, as he wnderstud the signes and takinis that he had
 sene nocht lang tyme befor,² takand the air and luikand
 20 about him seand the cuntrie and makand his prayer and
 devotioun to allmightie god; bot thair appeirit into his
 sight and in the north nocht witht standing wpoun the
 sie ane great fyre burneand extremlye, movand heir and
 thair in sindrie pairtis quhilk at last it appeirit to him
 25 abone the cetie of Sanctandrois and castell thairof and
 lightit thair on and brak in sunder quhilk signiefieit to
 him the wraith of god to fall wpoun that castell and the
 men thairof and nocht allanerlie wpoun the castell and
 that ignorant man quho was lord thairof bot also wpoun
 30 the haill toun and inhabetantis thairof the quhilk sould
 come schortlie, by the expectatioun of man. Ffor³ he
 beheld south eist and luikit to the sie, he saw ane clud
 ryse of great mist and reik and held round togither and

Fol. 160 b.

¹ "Bakfear," L. See Glossary.

² I inserts, "He schew the captane that quhan he was in Ormestoun a lytill afoir he was taine he hapnit to be vpone the heid of the tour of Ormestoun."

³ I has "flooder."

movit fordwart northt wast quhill it come to Dumpender law,¹ and thair stude abone the law the space of ane quarter of ane houre and efter that devydit in tuo pairtis and the on half passit wast abone Hadingtoun and thair movit abone the toun and turnit in fyre ; the wther half 5 passit northt wast abone Indernes² kirk and thair appeirit to him as it had bene bloode discending out of the lift. The captane inquiryt of him quhat these thingis signefieit to his iudgement. He ansuerit and said, the reik that raise abone Dumpendar law signefieit to him thair 10 sould come ane consall and be haldin in the said law, quhilk sould devyse mekill trubill in Scotland and cause mekill bloode to be sched and in spetiall sould wrak and distroy Hadingtoun ffor ewer and money of the inhabetantis thair of and all be the occatioun of this 15 wickit man that stopis the peac betuix England and Scotland, god ffor gif him, ffor he is so ignorant that he waittis nocht quhat he dois.

Be this the officers and tormentaris was chargit to proceed all fordwart. Then the trumpatis blew and the 20 officecaris and tormentaris brocht fourtht this poore innocent man to the fyre quhilk was buldit³ and prepairit befor the castell zeitt, on the wast syde forment the wast blok house quhair the bischopis might ly on the wallis and sie the sacriefice. And quhene Mr 25 George was put on the skaffald and bund to it witht irone chennzieis he desyrit licence to mak his spetiall prayeris to allmightie god for support of his kirk quhilk was in danger of wollfis that was lyk to devoir the samin, nochtwithtstanding godis promise was ane sicker targe 30 to all thame that wald beleif thairin, and at lenth wald confound the enemeis quhene he thocht tyme. At the last quhene Mr George had maid ane end of his prayeris and wriesouns to allmightie god and had randerit his

Fol. 161 a.

¹ "Dumpender." Now called Traprain Law, in Haddingtonshire.

² "Enderesk," I. Inveresk. ³ "Bulided." See Glossary.

spreit in the handis of the Lord, then they laid fyre
 into him and gaif him the first blast of pulder quhilk
 was werie terribill and odieous to sie, for thair raise so
 great ane bobe of wind out of the sic and so great ane
 5 clude of raine out of the heavnis that quhene the wind
 and weit mett to gither it had sic noyis and sound that
 all men was affrayit that saw or hard, it had sic force
 and strength that it blew doune the stane wallis and the
 men that sat thairin to the number of ij^e persouns,
 10 quhilk fell on the bischopis zaird abone the wall thairof
 quhilk so money of thame fell thairin that ane of thame
 was drowinitt immediatlie and so thair was sacrieifice
 botht of fyre and watter. Then the captane of the
 castell exortit Mr George Wischart to remember on
 15 god and ask forgiveness of his sinns. He ansuerit againe
 stoutlie howbeit the fyre had perturbit him, and said,
 'Captane, god forgif zone man¹ that lyis so glorieous on
 'the wall, and withtin few dayis he sall ly allis scham-
 'fullie as he lyis glorieous now.' Witht that they put²
 20 the tow and lute him speik no more bot buldit the great
 fyre round about him; and quhene he was brunt all fre
 the waist doune, they bad him remember on god and
 mak ane signe thairof. To that taikin he bend into the
 fyre ane fute of height, quhilk was great reioyssing to
 25 thame that faworit godis worde; bot the bischopis and
 preistis dischargit all men wnder the paine of curssing
 to pray for him because they said he was ane herietick
 he aught nocht to be prayit for. Ffor we will lat him
 rest witht god and Iesus Christ his maister whome he
 30 sufferit [painis]³ and marterdome ffor his evangell and
 we will returne to the bischopis and preistis quho be-
 come so glorieous and sa proud of that sacrieifice that
 no man might hald wpe heid witht thame heirefter, bot
 all thair glorie and pryd was turnit in dollour and mis-

¹ I adds, "zour maister." ² "Pullit," I.

³ I has "patient," which seems a mistake.

cheif withtin ane schort space; howbeit that day in ane winam¹ aganis the poure man quhilk sufferit and in spetiall the cardinall and² the bischope of Glasgow was great that day at that poure mans bloode scheding lyk as Pylat and Caiaphas was at the death of Christ. This 5
 marter of god sufferit on this wyse as I haue schawin to zow the day of the moneth of [March] in the zeir of god Im^v ffourtie sex zeiris at Sanctandrois befor all the clargie and wniverssietie of Scotland was thair for the tyme witht money wther gentillmen quhilk saw that 10
 servant of god suffer marterdome patientlie.

Fol. 161 A.

1 March
1546 (N.S.).

THE XIII CHAPTER.

Hou the Erle of Craufurd mareit his freind the Maister wpone the Cardinallis dochter. How the Cardinall and Normond Leslie fell in alteratioun of wordis. The slauchter of the Cardinall.

How the
 Cardinall
 past to
 Arbroth and
 marieit his
 dochter
 wpoun the
 earle of
 Craufurd.

This being done, the cardinall passit ower to Arbroth to his abbay quhair he mett the earle of Crafurde and thair inmedeatlie he mairieit his eldest dochter wpoun the Maister of Crafurd with great solemnitie and pryd. Bot sune thairefter he returnit to Sanctandrois to his 15
 awin castell quhair he gat word that the Inglischemen was preparand ane great navie of schipis to come wpoun the costis of Scotland and thair to burne and distroy the same, and in spetiall about Sanctandrois withtin the cost of Fyfe; quhairto he sett his intent to find remeid, 20
 and send for all the gentillmen that dualt neir the costis to haue thair consall and in spetiall my lord of Rothous, my lord Lyndsay, the laird of Wemes, the laird of Lochlevin, the laird of Lundie, the laird of Largow, the laird of Ardrose, the laird of Sanctmen- 25
 nance³ witht money wther gentillmen that dualt neir-

How the
 cardinall
 desyrit the
 gentillmen
 of Fyfe to
 pase witht
 him to wessie
 the costis
 for landing
 of Inglische-
 men.

¹ "Winam"—i.e., venom.

² "Thay war all aggreit in ane vnioun," I. ³ I.e., St. Monance.

hand the costis and sie syde, that he might haue thair
 consall quhair strength sould be maid to resist the
 Inglischemen and chargit thame to be redy at sic ane
 day as he appointit to ryde witht him to wessie the
 5 said cost. Bot in this meane tyme Normand Leslie
 come to him for certane bussienes he had to do at
 that tyme bot they fell schortlie to alteratioun¹ of wordis
 that everie ane of thame rebakit ane wther witht ewill
 dispossit² wordis quhilk was nocht chrietabill amangis
 10 men. Nochtwithtstanding Normand depairtit his way
 to his ludging that night, quhill on the morne betuix
 foure or fyue houris of the knok,³ come doune to the
 castell witht the rest of his compleces and thair enterit
 in and dang out the portar ffrome the zett and wschit
 15 all the rest of the place at his plesour. And syne thair-
 efter Iohnne Leslie⁴ his father brother, and Petter
 Carmichall, Iames Melvill, past wpe to the eist bloke
 house challmer quhair the cardinall lay and thair ruschit
 at the doore. The cardinall inquiryt quhat they war.
 20 They schew thair names into him ffor he was then
 effeirrit and said, 'ze will slay me,' and thai said, 'nay.'
 Then he opinitt the doore and lat thame in bot so
 sune as thai enterit in, they muredrest him to the deid.⁶
 Then the cry raise into the toun and said the cardinall
 25 was slaine; then they that favorit him gat ledderis to
 leder the wall, trowand that he had bene on lyfe to
 haue helpit him. Bot the men of war thairin persaiffit
 thame, and to that effect brocht him done in ane pair
 of scheitis and laid him on the wall heid, that all might
 30 sie him deid that they might mak no defence for his
 lyfe. And in the mean tyme quhene he was lyand
 on the wall deid as I haue schawin to zow, ane callit

The
 slaughter
 of the
 cardinall.⁵
 Fol. 162 a.

¹ *I.e.*, altercation. ² "And dispytfull," I. ³ "Knok" = clock.

⁴ John Leslie was brother of the Earl of Rothes (Knox, p. 172).

⁵ B has on margin, "Praised be god."

⁶ *Cf.* Knox's fuller account of the slaughter of the Cardinal,
 pp. 171-177.

Guthrie loussit done his ballope¹ poynt and pischit in his mouth that all the pepill might sie; bot it was ane misnurtartnes² deid and he was bot ane knaif that did it, and thraif never the better efterwart bot dieit ane sudden deid³ ffor he could not gett lessur to say god 5 help him, and so endit money of tham that put hand in him. ⁴[And than quhen they had done quhat thay pleisit to him thay tuik him and saltit him and pat him in ane keist and eirdit him schamefullie in ane midding quhair he lay the space of sevin monethis or 10 evir he was eirdit in kirk or queir. This act was done in the monethe of Maij in the zeir of god I^m v^o xlvj zeiris. About this tyme come hame the bischope of Cathnes⁵ to Scotland furth of Ingland and landit at the castell of Dumbartane accompanyit with xix Scoittismen in nom- 15 mer allennerlie and was glaidlie resaiffit be the captane of the said castell. Bot schone eftir he was betrayit be the said captane efter that the seig was layd to be the governour and a gret pairt of the nobilitie of scotland To wit the erllis of huntlie angus glencairne 20 and Schir george Dowglas with quhome the said bishop was at his returneing weill intertenit with the said governour and lordis. Bot at last nathing is keipit to him that was afoir promiseit that he had resauit his remis- sion for na cryme committit onlie saiffand that he 25 chancit to come to the castell fairsaid nocht to mak lang tarie thairin and that he past af the cuntrie of scotland without licence of the said governouris auctoritie at the desyre and chairge of his awin broder the erle of lennox as said is heirtfoir.] 30

¹ "Baglop," I. See Glossary.

² "Mishortourit," I. "Deid" = "deed," still colloquial for "indeed."

³ I inserts, "in ane littill puill of watter amang his hors feit and gat na time to say god haue mercy on him," &c.

⁴ The passage in brackets is from I.

⁵ See Introduction as to Bishop of Caithness, the patron of Fitzscottie.

THE XIII CHAPTER.

How the committaris of the Cardinallis slauchter war sumond to find cautioun. And disobeyit and hou eftirward the castell was seigit be the gowernour. And hou the gowernour returned frome it and left it for feir of the pest. Hou the inglismen did gret skaith on the west bordouris and speciallie to the Lord Maxwell.

- Nocht withstanding the novellis of the cardinallis slaughter come to the quene and gowernour quho was werie discontentit witht the deid and hevelie displeissit witht the doaris thairof, and caussit incontinent lettres
- 5 to be derect and sowmond the committaris of the said cryme to find sowertie to wnderly the law withtin sex dayis or ellis to gang to the horne. The sex dayis be rune and no cawtioun fund bot they war put to the horne and so they held still the castell and furnischit it weill
- 10 witht wictuallis and all thame that was suspectit of consall gevin to the said slaughter and knew thame selffis guilltie and thairfor past into the said castell for thair defence, to wit, the auld laird of Grange, Mr Henrie Penney¹ the auld laird of Pitmillo, the auld persone
- 15 George Leslie, Schir Iohnne Flect² witht money wtheris that was nocht at the slaughter bot was willing and contentit thair into, thairfor they knew thame selffis to be put at for the said cryme. Thairfor they lap in³ castell witht the laif for thair defence the space of wther half zeir
- 20 and wald obey the autorietie on na way nor zeit wald heir of na appoyntment nor offer that was offerit into thame
- be the autorietie bot still malignit aganis the quene and gowernour thinkand thame selffis strang anewch to defend aganis thame baitht, and send thair messingeris to Ingland
- 25 to seik support thair bot quhat they gat I cane not tell.

The putting
to the horne
[of] the
slayaris of
the cardinall.

Fol. 162 b.

¹ "Benneis," I; Balnavis (?).

² "Flecter," I; Fletcher (?).

³ "The," I.

Bot this draif ower quhill neir Martemes that the winter was comett in hand and all men cryit and blasphemit the governour that he punischit [nocht] sic iniuriéis done withtin the realme and so did the quene, persuadand the governour sa far as scho might ffor to put 5 remedie heirunto to punische thair attemptis done in the realme. The governour heirand this that the quene and the cuntrie was not content witht his sluthfullnes in this matter, nocht putting iustice to execusioun as he aught to do, thairfor incontenent he raissit ane airmie 10 and come in Fyfe to the said castell of S.tandrois haldin be the forsaidis and brocht witht him tuo great cannonis, thraw mow and hir marrow,¹ tuo battardis, tuo dubill fallcons witht wther small artaillze as effeirit, syne layit ane seige to the castell quhilk continewit the 15 space of iij monethis and never ane hair the war. Bot quhither the wytte was in the gounnaris or wther tressonabill men I cane not tell bot all the tyme they war, they did no goode bot spendit pulder and bullatis quhill at last the pest come wehementlie and spetiall in 20 the toune² that the governour behovit to skaill the seige and reteir and skaill his airmie and passit ower to Edinburgh to ane conventioun.³ Bot thir men that war in the said castell seand the governour reteirit and skaillit the seige, then they become so proud that no 25 man might leif in rest besyde thaim ffor they wald ryde and wshe out athort the contrie quhair they pleissit and quhillis burnand and raissand fyre in the contrie and slay and sched bloode as they pleissit, quhillis wasit thair bodyis in leichorie witht fair wemen, servand thair 30

The first
seige of the
castell.

¹ "Thraw mouthed and hir marrow," I; "Cruik mow and deaff Meg," B.

² I adds, "of Sanctandros."

³ I adds, "quhilk was hauldin at Edinburghe in the moneth of february at this tyme the inglismen war makand fast forward in Scotland and speciallie come in vpone the west bordouris, and did meikill skaith to the lord Maxwell."

appietyte as they thocht goode. Sum godlie man was
 in the castell¹ that thocht thair conversatioun and lyfe
 not godlie nor honest and reprovit thame scharplie
 thairof and said gif they left not of thair ewill condi-
 5 tiouns god wald punische thame for thair iniurieis
 quhene they luikit leist for it. Zeit nocht witht standing
 thir admonitiouns they wssit thair awin sinsuall lustis
 in this wocatioun and lyfe as I haue schawin to zow the
 space of thre quarteris of ane zeir heirefter, nether
 10 obeyand² the autorietie, thinkand that no man might
 owercome thame thair hauld was so strang, bot they
 war beguild withtin schort dayis quhilk come to thair
 great ruine as ze sall heir efter.

The consall
 of Iohnne
 Knox.
 Fol. 163 a.

THE XV CHAPTER.

How the Lord Maxwell passit for support to the quein and gower-
 nour Ane armie gadderit. Hou my Lord Rothus was accusit
 for slauchter of the Cardinall and was clenzit How the castell
 of Saintandros was seagit be the frenchmen. How it was wone
 and the haulderis thairof had to France to the king thairof.

Bot in this meane tyme was great weiris in the wast
 15 border betuix the Inglischemen and one lord Maxuell,
 ffor the Inglischmen had taine money of the strengthis
 that lay in my lord Maxwellis boundis and be way they
 laid the contrie waist quhilk was great heirscheip to
 Scotland. To this effect to gett remedy heirof the lord
 20 Maxwell come to Edinburgh to the quene and governour
 desyrand support aganis the Inglischemen that he might
 conqueis his place and houssis againe out of thair handis.
 The governour and consall thocht expedient to raise
 thair airmie and pase fordwart to the bordaris to seige
 25 the said house and in spetiall the castell of Langwpe,³
 and to that effect gart mak procliamatiouns athort the

¹ I adds, "to wit Johne Knockis."

² "God nor," L. ³ "Langop," I; Langholm.

The pro-
cliamatioun.

cuntrie to all lordis lairdis barrouns frehalderis and
gentillmen to meit the governour at Pebillis the xx day
of Iuly witht xx dayis wictuall to pase witht him quhair
he pleissit. So the airmie conwenit at Peblis the day
appoyntit and passit fordwart witht the governour con- 5
forme to the procliamatioun and fordwart on the morne
to Meggat land and as they war passand out thair way
to ane pairt callit Guddieiscleuch, at the houre of ten,
the haill lordis convenit together and fenceit thair ane
court of Iustice in the quens name and governouris and 10
thairefter callit my lord of Rothous for slaughter of the
cardinall, quho compeirit personallie and thollit ane
syse be the adwyse of haill nobilietie and thair was
clangit¹ and maid fre of the cardinallis deid be the
number of xvij persouns, that is to say, lordis, earleis, 15
to wit the earle of Angus, the earle of Argyle, the earle
of Huntlie, the earle of Craford, the earle of Glen-
cairne, the earle Marchall, the earle Bothwell, the earle
of Menteith, the earle of Montrois, the earle of Buchan,
the lord Gray, the lord Ruthven, the lord Droumond, 20
the lord Lyndsay, the lord Maxwell, the lord Somervell,
the lord Home, the lord Borthuik. Thir ar the
nameis of that syse that clangit this nobillman and maid
frie of thir crymes that was laid to his charge at that
tyme, and soun heirefter the ost passit all fordwart to 25
Langwpe castell and seigit at it thrie dayis and wan the
samin and brocht the captans thairof pressonaris hame
witht thame to Edinburgh.

The clinging
of the earle
of Rothous
of the
cardinallis
slaughter.

Fol. 163 b.

And in this meane tyme thair come ane post to the
governour schawand to him that the frinche airmie was 30
wpoun the sie and withtin our watteris neir hand by
Sancttibs² heid, to wit, sex gallayis witht tuo great
scheipis and as they beleif they ar makand for Sanct-
androis. The governour was glade of thir tydingis and

The in-
coming of
the galayis.

¹ "Clangit" = clenzit—i.e., "cleaned" or "acquitted."

² "Sancttabis," L.

haistit him fast to Edinburgh and immedeatlie thairefter
 past to Sanctandrois witht money of the gentillmen of
 Fyfe, Angus Stretherne witht him and thair resawit this
 captane of France callit the pryour of Cap,¹ quho was
 5 derectit in Scotland be the king of France his maister
 to seige the castell of Sancttandrois and to win the
 samin and to bring the halderis thair of to his presentis
 the quhilk was done haistalie as ze sall heir heirefter.
 Ffor they come so suddanlie wpoun the said castell but
 10 ony maner of wairning maid to thame that was thairin
 that no man might wsche nor enter in tymes comming
 and sum of thair compleces that was fourtht could nocht
 get in nor he that was thairin could not gett fourtht.
 The frenchemen lap sa haistalie about the said castell
 15 and trinchit the samin round about, that they war all
 haistalie inclossit, syne montit artaillze [on]² the colledg
 stepill and in lyk wayis wpoun the wallis of the abbay kirk
 and³ cudemnit all the close and wallheidis witthin the
 said castell that no man might trawell thairin ffor feir of
 20 his lyffe. Syne this captane spake into the governour in
 this maner saying, ' my lord, I mervell of thir gentillmen
 ' that hes hald this castell so lang, I can nocht count
 ' thame for no man of weir that lut this Abbay kirk or
 ' colledge stepill quhilk might at all tymes [have] con-
 25 ' damnit the said castell and put thame fre schutting or
 ' defending off thame selffis in ony way; thairfor zour Fol. 164 a.
 ' lordschip sall sie, will god, the morne or sex houris at
 ' ewin that I sall mak eassie passage to zone castell, and
 ' mak the hiest stone the leuchest and gar tham obey
 30 ' zour grace, quho had said the contrair of it.' Then
 this captane laid to the great batterie to wit, tuo Scottis
 cannons quhilk was befoir and foure frence cannons.
 This frinche captane devyssit this great ingyne,⁴ thir

¹ "Caip," I—*i.e.*, Leon Strozzi, Prior of Capua.

² "On," I. A has "and."

³ I has, "quhilk condampnit all the close," &c.

⁴ "To caus," I.

cannons to pase doune the gait thair lane witht the
 ingyne of man witht widdies¹ and towis. and that he
 gart do to saif men from slaughter of thair artaillae that
 was thairin. Bot thair hapnit to be ane Itallieane in
 the castell for the tyme quhilk was maist² devysser to
 thame, send to thame out of Ingland to thair support;
 bot fre tyme he saw the cannons command doune the
 gait thair lane, then he marvellit mekill and said to the
 captane and gentillmen thair of, 'Defend your selfis
 ' good maisteris for ze deill witht men of weir, ffor I
 ' persae they haue great prattick and ingyne wssand
 ' aganis zow be ressonne they cause thair artaillae to be
 ' laid to by the sight of men.' At thir sayings the
 captane and his consall sett nothing by and said they
 sould keip thair castell fre Ingland, Scotland and France
 all thre. Bot they war all beguild ffor withtin sex houris
 efter the battering was laid to the cannons was schot at
 the said castell they might haue callit³ in cairtis and
 waines at the on syde thair of ffor the new wark zeid
 frome the auld and sched the self so that I^c men might
 haue passit in ower the wall at once. Then the captane
 of the castell grew effeirit and zeid to thair consall to
 sie whither they sould gif ower the castell or gif they
 wald fight and defend it manfullie; bot the wyse men
 concludit that they wald nocht fight to ieopard tham
 selfis aganis ane meinzie of cairllis cheinzeit in gallayis,
 bot rather it war better to gif ower the castell into the
 king of France and put ws in his will. And so they
 did immediatlie gaif ower the castell and pat it in the
 frenchemenis handis quho spullzet it werie rigurouslie
 of all thingis that was thairin, that is to say, gold, silluer,
 clething beding, meat and drink, witht all the haill
 artaillzeis great and small and all the weapouns witht
 all wictuallis and all wther plenisching pertening to the

The wining
 of the castell
 of Sanct-
 tandrois.

¹ "Windassis," I.

² "Maister," I.

³ "Callit" = ca-ed—i.e., driven. See Glossary.

castell. They left nothing behind tham that they might Fol. 164 b.
 gett cairit into thair gallayis and syne tuik the men and
 wemen thairin into thair gallayis and had thame to
 France witht thame as pressonaris to the king. Syne
 5 the captane tuik leif at the governour and depairtit to
 France witht all the spoillze and men thairof. Then
 the castell was deliuerit in the governouris handis quho
 drectit witht the advyse of his consall that the said
 castell sould be cassin doune to the eard, never to be
 10 haldin againe as ane strength quhilk was done heirefter
 haistallie at the command of the consall. This castell
 was wone in the moneth of August in the zeir of god I^m
 v^c xlvij¹ zeiris. 1547.

THE XVI CHAPTER.

Ane procleratioun maid. Ane armie gadderit Hou the inglis
 armie send ane ambassadour to the governour and quhat was
 thair desyre The governors ansuer Hou yay send ane
 uther letter to the governor and hou yay gat na answer yairof.
 The field of Pinkie money of the nobillis of Scotland slaine
 Hou the quein fled to Stiruling and out of that to Inchmohume.

Bot at this meane tyme word come to the governour
 15 and to the quene and consall that the Inglische airmie
 was preparand fast to come in Scotland witht all the
 haist that thai might, ffor to seik thair promisse and
 conditiouns of marieage of the zoung queneis grace be
 the governour and his consall quho had promist and
 20 gevin the great seill of Scotland thairwpoun. Of thir
 nowellis the governour quene nor consall wald noch
 consent heirwitht zeit they gart mak procleratioun
 incontenent throw all Scotland witht the Yillis Orknay
 and Zetland and commandit all maner of man betuix
 25 sextie and sextene baitht sperituall and temporall, the

Ane pro-
 cleratioun
 maid.

¹ I has " xlvij " ; 31st July 1547 is the true date (Knox, i. p. 205).

father allis weill as the sone, gif he war abill, to com-
 peir at Edinburgh in thair best airmour and array witht
 xxx dayis wictuall to pase with governour and to defend
 the realme fre the Inglischmen quho was comed to
 persew the samin. This being done the haill airmie of 5
 Scotland gadderit and convenit at the day appoyntit
 be eist Edinburgh wpoun the wast syde of the watter
 of Innerask¹ abone Mussillburgh and thair gaif thair
 mustaris to the governour quho war compleit the iust
 number of xl^m fightand men by² bordararis with xij 10
 schot of artaillze witht wther small feilding peices to
 the number of xx schot and was chossin the earle of
 Angus to leid the wangaird, witht him ten^m men;
 the earle of Huntlie the reirgaird witht wther x^m men
 and my lord governour the great battell himself witht 15
 xx^m men and so war put in order as I have schawin
 to zow, that might be redy to debait thair enemeis.
 Bot nochtwithtstanding the Inglischmen had bene
 foure dayis in Scotis ground and that night come and
 campit abone Prestoun wnder Tranent, and on the 20
 morrow quhene thay saw and spayit the Scotismen so
 greit ane airmie and so weill orderit, they war greatlie
 effeirit and belieffit nothing bot schort battell. Zeit
 they send thair ambassadouris witht sueit and human
 lettres, beseikand the governouris grace ffor the lufe 25
 of allmightie god, and Christ his souns saike that they
 wald wse thame selfis lyk Christiane men into thame
 that is to say, to keip thair promise and conditiounis
 that thay maid to thair maister, king Harie, of baitht
 peace and marieage contractit be the said king Harie 30
 and his consall and the marieage and goverment of
 Scotland and his consall, quhilk is writtin and put
 in forme as ane contract be adwyse and consall of
 baitht the realmes and maiestratis thair of and baitht
 thair great seillis interchangit and hung thairto for 35

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The com-
ming of the
Inglischmen
in Scotland.

The lettres
and message
that passit
betuix Ing-
land and
Scotland.

¹ "Ederesk," I—i.e., Inveresk.

² "By" = beside.

securietie of the same, beseikand the governour and
 his weill adwyssit consall to send thame ane good ansuer
 heirwpoun ffor weillfair of baitht the saidis realmeis.
 This desyre declairit befor the governour and his consall
 5 quho was nocht content heirof and gaif nothing againe
 bot ane repullsit ansuer, quhairat the Inglischmen war
 nocht content. Zeit nochtwithtstanding they buire
 greatlie witht the matter considrring the danger that
 was to appeir ffor blood scheiding on baitht the sydis;
 10 thairfor they send againe on the morne wther lettres
 to certiefie the governour and his consall gif that thai
 war nocht contentit that the contract of peace and
 marieage sould stand, zeit they desyrit thame that they
 wald lat thair young quene remaine still in Scotland
 15 in hir awin realme wnder the goverment of hir awin
 lordis and not to deliuer hir to no forrane natioun
 in hope of marieage nor zeit to contract hir witht
 France nor na wther realme ffor the space of ten zeiris
 quhill scho may be in lauchfull aige to cheise hir lauch-
 20 full husband witht adwyse and consent of hir lordis
 and nobilietie of the realme, and in this meane tyme the
 peace and rest may be keipit betuix the tuo realmeis
 and gif thair was ony skaith done in tymes past betuix
 the tuo realmeis or now instantlie throw our coming heir
 25 at this tyme it sould be weill amendit incontient and
 doubill restoirit to ony Scottismen that wald pleinze
 thairon. Thir lettres command againe to the governour
 and to his consall that they might advyse and consider
 witht thir said offeris and gaif ressonabill ansueris thair-
 30 into according to the weill fair of baitht the saidis
 realmeis that peace and rest might be thairin and to
 stanche bludscheding at that tyme quhilk was appeir-
 andlie haistalie to be. Bot the governour of Scotland
 and his brother the bischope of Sanctandrois, the Abbot
 35 of Dumfermling, Mr Hew Rige, and Archibald Bettoun,
 thir fyue persouns allane ressawit the wryttingis and

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The offeris
 and the
 effect
 thairof.

offeris frome the protectour of Ingland and his consall,
 quhilk gat no goode ansuer thairinto nor zeit wald lat
 the lordis of Scotland nor weill adwyssit consall thairof
 sie the said writtingis nor offeris contenit in thame that
 they might haue gevin ressonabill ansueris thairinto 5
 conforme to the common weill and saif gaird of thair
 realme. Bot the governour and thir particular persouns
 forsaidis lyke fyrie serpentis wntuichit witht the feir of
 god, nor zeit sieand the danger of the common weill
 befor thair eies bot inflamet witht yre and malice, 10
 gevand no cair for scheding of christiane blode to the
 great damage of thair saullis nocht haueing god befor
 thair eies bot lyk as they had [bune]¹ befor inchantit
 be the Dewill or intoxicat witht the evill and previe
 consall seikand the damage of thair awin realme, kipit 15
 close thir writtingis forsaidis and offeris thairin, fre the
 great lordis of Scotland and the wyse consall thairof
 bot was informit be thir forsaidis persouns, the gover-
 nour and his brother and thair compleces forsaid that
 the Inglischmen war comett to conques Scotland and 20
 to tak away thair quen be force. Thir wordis they gart
 gang throw the haill host of Scotland baitht amang the
 nobilietie and commons and so inflamett thame all witht
 thir lettres garand thame wnderstand the thing that was
 nocht trew ffor gif thai had consederit the fair and sueit 25
 offeris that Ingland send that day baitht in word and
 wrott, thair had not bene so mekill bloode scheid as
 thair was in thair defaultis that had the said offaris and
 wryttingis and wald nocht schaw thame nor mak thame
 patent to the haill lordis and nobilietie of Scotland and 30
 wyse consall thairof quhilk gif they had done wald haue
 saiffit the haill realme fre skaitht and slauchter quhilk
 come efterwart in great abundance in thair defaultt as
 we sall schaw zow heir efter. This beand done, the
 Inglischemen heirand no goode ansuer fre the governour 35

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¹ I, "bune" = been.

nor fre the consall zeit they concludit that on no vays
 fight witht Scotland gif they might reskew¹ the same
 and that was for conscience for scheduling of Christiane
 bloode bot rather concludit that they wald pase hame
 5 butt thair desyris nor put the realme in ieopardie throw
 battell knawand that the wictorie stude in godis handis
 and they war wncertane quhome to he wald gif it ; thair-
 for ffor his saik they wald leif all regour and extrimitie
 and pase hame in peace, and suffer quhill Scotland was
 10 better adwyssit and was contentit in the meane tyme to
 redrese all ewellis done to thame be² the Scotismen that
 they had sustenitt be thair comming in Scotland. Thir
 [novellis]³ past into the governour schawand to him that
 the Inglischmen war to depairt hame to Ingland because
 15 they lacyt wictuallis and might nocht get nane at that
 tyme in Scotland witht favouris bot of all thingis they
 desyrit war ewell repulsit, zeit they thocht they wald
 nocht burne nor slay nor herrie the contrie. [Of this]⁴
 adwertisment the governour grew werie proud and so did
 20 his wickit and ewill consall quhilk allurit him and puffit⁵
 him fast fordwart to fight witht Inglischemen and wald
 nocht suffer thame to depairt in peace to pase hame as
 they come afeild doand the Scottis no skaitht nether in
 comming nor ganging zeit thir wnhapalie⁶ prevat consall
 25 of the governour and wald nocht tholl no goode wyse to
 be done nor peace to be had betuix the tuo realmes, bot
 caussit incontienent the heraldis to pase throw the airmie
 of Scotland and chargit thame to inarme thame and pase
 to the order of battell declairing to thame that they wald
 30 fight witht Inglischemen. And this was done by⁷ the Fol. 166 b.
 consall of Scotland and the great lordis advyse thair of
 quhilk knew nothing bot as the governour and his privie
 consall wald direct and command be thame, to wit, the
 governour, his brother the bischope, the abbott of Dinn-

¹ "Onschew," I.² "Be thame to," I.³ I.⁴ I.⁵ "Poussit," I.⁶ "Vnhappily," I.⁷ *I.e.*, "without."

The ordour
of the armie
of Scotland.

ferming. Mr Hew Rig and Archbald Bettoun. Thir was
those and thair consall that tint the nobilietie of Scotland
that day throw thair willfull and particular effairis nocht
having god nor thair commone weill befor thair eies,
bot lyk woode brutte beistis schew thame selffis the men 5
thai war that day to thair haill destructioun and nocht
allanerlie to thairis bot the haill nobilietie of Scotland
quhilk was devorit and defeat in thair misgovernance
and not be the manheid and wosdome of Inglischemen
as we sall schaw zow heirefter. This being done the 10
Scottis airmie put theme selffis in order and standing in
arrait battell conforme to the procliamatiouns of the
heraldis maid befor, to witt, the earle of Angus haueand
the wangaird witht x^m gentillmen in goode order, the
earle of Huntlie haueand the reirgaird in goverment 15
witht xij^m men in the pairtis¹ of Scotland, the governour
himself haueand the midill waird and great battell witht
all the gentilmen of Fyfe, Angus, Streatherne, Buchane
and Stirlingschyre and all the haill borrowis in Scotland,
quhilk was to the number of xx^m men; and wpoun the 20
right hand and wing the earle of Argyle and all the
wast hieland men of Scotland, and on the left hand
Makclaine, Makcloud and Makenze witht all the haill
Yillis men of Scotland; and marchit fordwart in goode
order, quhilk was werie awful to the Inglischemen to 25
sie so great ane number in so goode ordour. They war
no way contentit thair of bot desyrit effectouslie to be at
hame for saif gaird of thair awin bodyis, bot the Scoitis
men was so furieous and wnwyse in thair behavieour
wald not lat thame pase at thair plesour and to haue 30
bene quytt of all cumer, bot wald run on thame so
furieouslie to seik thair mischeif as ze sall heir efterwart.
That is to say, word come to the earle of Angus quho
had the wangaird in gyding, to marche ower the watter

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¹ "Of the north pairt," I. So B inserts "north" before "pairtis."

of Inverask in sight of the Inglischemen bot the said
 earle refussit and wald nocht pase at the first command,
 bot thane the governour send the herald of airmes
 chairging him to pase fordwart wnder the paine of
 5 treassone. The earle heiring thir chargis obeyit the
 samin thankfullie nochtwithstanding it was aganis his
 will that christieane bloode sould be sched that day;
 zeit he passit manfullie at the command of his prince
 ower the watter of Inverask avastetelt¹ the kirk thair of
 10 and stude in arrayit battell in the sight of his enemeis
 till his ost and the governour come ower the bredg to
 Mussillburgh and stude wnder and avastell² the kirk of
 Innerask and abone the fisheraw thair in arrayit battell
 redy to haue ioinitt at command or quhene he saw
 15 appeirance thairto. Be this the Inglischemen seand the
 Scotismen so neir approchand witht so great number
 wpoun thame and that no goode wyse might be had nor
 licence to thame to pase hame at thair awin plesouris
 ffeirit greitlie the tinsall of thair men and artaillze, zeit
 20 the protectour of Ingland throw consall of the earle of
 Warwick commandit the lord Gray of Ingland quho was
 captane to the great horsemen and men of airmes to
 pase fordwart to my lord of Angus and to gif him charge
 of battell witht his greit horse and demolances,³ and sie
 25 gif he could break him of his ost because he had the
 wangaird and come neirest, to break him and hold him
 of quhill the footmen of Ingland was reteirit and passit
 out of danger. The lord Gray heirand this charge past
 fordwart wpoun the Scoittis to the number of iij^m demo-
 30 lances to break the wangaird lead be the earle of Angus
 but quhene the said earle saw thame command, maid
 him stoutlie to incounter him; to that effect blew thair
 trumpatis and caist doune thair speiris and iunitt werie

¹ "A eastill," I. Probably the word in the text is a miscopy for "a westill."

² "A eastill," I. ³ "Dimilanceis," I—*i.e.*, "demi-lances."

Fol. 167 b.

cruellie. Bot the earle of Angus was weill temmert ¹
 witht so money scharp speiris and lang that they rave
 the Inglischemen frome thair horse and slew the
 Inglischmen and thair horse baitht that come in the
 first brunt on thame, quhilk was to the number of ij^e 5
 great horsemen bot the laif reteirit and flaid ² bak to the
 protectour of Ingland quhair he was standand and
 schew to him in this maner, sayand 'my Lord, it is
 'impossibill to break the Scottis in battell as they stand,
 'mor nor to break ane stane wall.' At thir sayngis the 10
 protectour was werie discontent and efrayit and wissit
 to god he had bene in Ingland witht his airmie saifand
 he had never committ in Scotland and in this meane
 tyme gart call ane bordarar quho was callitt [pringall],³
 and desyrit him to tak his jenett in his handis, leid him 15
 and convoy him self the best way that he might that he
 might be saif. The earle of Warwick heirand the pro-
 tectour at this poynt that he was growand so febill and
 his curage so abaittit said to him in this maner as efter
 followis, that is to say, 'my lord I marvell of zour man- 20
 'heid and wosdome that ze ar growin so fleid and febill
 'that ze regaird no schame nor cairis not for zour awin
 'honour nor for the weillfair of zour airmie and cairis
 'nocht the king of Inglandis artaillze bot ze wald leif all
 'behind zow and flie as ane cowart. I wow to god gif 25
 'ze do it I will appeill zow befor the consall of Ingland
 'that ze ar ane fallis tratour and ane cowart that wald
 'tyne so money nobill futtmen as is heir this day of
 'Ingland ffor gif ze flie and leif thame behind zow, the
 'Scotis will ower ryd thame and slay thame, ffor the 30
 'Scottis hes all thair horse at thair handis and so may
 'the better ower rin thame and murdres thame doune;
 'thairfor I wow to god I sall light heir on my futte and
 'tairrie witht thame ffor ony thing I sie.'

¹ "Temmert"—i.e., timmered = strengthened. See Glossary.

² "Fled," I.

³ I. A has "principall."

In this meane tyme the earle of Angus battell was
 comed fordwart and had doung doune money of the
 great horsemen and left thame behind thame and the
 hielandmen of Scotland, quhilk was in the governouris
 5 battell ran to spullze and break order. So in this meane
 tyme quhene they brak thair array, the Inglischemen
 war reteirand bakwart, thane ane into the governouris
 battell cryit, 'fy, fy, treassoune.' Witth this the Maister The feild of
Pinkie.
 10 gounar schot ane great peace of artaillze at the Inglische
 ordinance and slew the maister gouner of Ingland and
 cuttit the quhellis and axtrie of his gone that he was
 schottand. The hieland [men] heirand the noyse of the
 artaillze and the great stur that was amangis thame ffor
 it was in fauch land¹ quhair they movit for the tyme and
 15 the stoure was so great that never ane of thame might
 sie ane wther, so they zeid out of order and begane for
 to flie² in that maner followit haistalie but ony straik or
 inpediement of thair enemeis, for the Inglischemen war
 fre thame the space of ane quarter of ane myle and was
 20 fleit as weill as they. Ffor sic ane marvell was never
 sene, at tuo kingis airmeis meitand so neir hand and
 everie ane of thame fleand frome ane wther but straik
 or iniurie ether witth wther. Bot quhene the protectour
 of Ingland and the earle of Warvick saw the great battell
 25 of Ingland and of Scotland returnand and geiffand bakis,
 they marvellit mekill quhat it might be that sould cause
 thame to do or be occatioun thair of. They iudgit it was
 bot ane traine to cause thame to returne and draw thame
 wpoun thame because they saw the great battell³ standand
 30 still in order, bot fre tyme they saw the Scotismen lat
 thair wapouns fall and caist fre thame thair armour thai
 thocht that all was thair awin and cryit witth ane loude

¹ "Feauche eird"—*i.e.*, yellow or fallow land. See Glossary.

² "Then the borrowis seing the heichland men flie," B. "Than the borrowis seand thame flie," I.

³ "The twa gret battellis," I.

wayce, 'the Scotis ar fled they ar all our awin'; then
 soundit the trumpatis and come togither fordwart agane
 wpoun the earle of Angus battell quho sieand thame in
 so great ane number command wpoun him settlit and
 reiteirit done to the earle of Huntlieis battell to haue had 5
 help of thame. Bot in this meane tyme thair come ane
 blak schour of raine and mist lyk as it had bene ane
 tempest in the air fallane wpoun thame and that be the
 provesioun of god ffor never ane of thame might sie ane
 wther; ffor the earle of Huntlie and his ost beleiffit that 10
 quhene the earle of Angus ost and sum of the governouris
 that had thair wapouns in thair handis came done to
 haue had releif and haue biddin, bot the earle of Huntlie
 trowit weill they had bene Inglischmen and could not knaw
 thame be ressonne of the great tempest of mist and raine 15
 that was wpoun thame and thair caist done thair speiris
 and iunitt witht thame as they had bene thair enemeis
 beleiffand suirle that they bene the Inglischmen and could
 nocht knaw thame and thairfor was maney slaine. In this
 meane tyme the Inglischemen come so fast on thame witht 20
 so great curage, they thinkand all war thair awin so they
 ruschit fordwart on thame baitht horsemen and futemen
 of Ingland witht sic as thay slew and killit mony witht-
 out straik of Scotismen or ony defence maid be thame.
 All the Scottis had cassin thair wapouns and airmor 25
 frome thame so they war the sowuner ower comed but
 ony manheid or fighting of Inglischmen; so the haill
 Scottis that war killit that day war to the number of x^m
 men and money of thame lordis, lairdis and barrouns
 gentillmen and honest burgessis witht persouns and 30
 wicaris monkis freiris chanons and preistis, and great
 pairt heirof war drownit in the watter of anresk be feir
 and thair awin misgovernance and nocht slaine be no
 Inglischemen. Be this quhene the feild was endit, the
 protectour of Ingland gart sound his trumpatis and cryit 35
 'kill no more,' and then the furie ceissit and the battell

endit, and they tuik pressonaris ane great number. Sum
 was had in Ingland and sum was ransonnit in Scotland,
 bot thair was slaine that day be the Inglischmen, to
 wit, the lord Fleming, the maister of Erskin, the maister
 5 of Ghrame, the maister of Bouchan, the maister of
 Levingstoun, the maister of Ogillvie witht money great
 barrouns, quhilk war langsum to rehearse and no fruitt
 nor plesour heirof. Bot of Ingland was slaine that day
 be the earle of Angus wangaird xij scoir of great horse-
 10 men witht the lord Grayis brother and his eldest sone.
 This sorrowfull battell was strickin in September the
 viij¹ day in the zeir of god i^m v^c xlvij zeiris. Sum sayis
 that the Scottismen was betraissit be sum of thair awin,
 and wther sum sayis that it was thair awin pryde and
 15 presumtousnes and arrogance and willfullnes that wald
 not heir no goode ressonabill affaris of the Inglischmen
 nor be content to haue no peace witht thame for no way
 thairfor god sieand thame so willfull heigh and proud
 that he punscht thame by expectatioun of men. Ffor he
 20 sent sic feir and dreadour in thair hairtis that they fled
 and knew nocht quhairfoir, for they had no occatioun of
 thair enemeis, ffor they war allis fleit as they war and
 fled allis fast as they did, bot thai fled lyk men and
 held thame selffis together in order quhill they saw thair
 25 tyme, bot the Scottis fled but² order lyke beistis and
 caist thair wapouns fre thame and thair airmor and maid
 thame selffis ane faccell pray to thair enemeis, the
 quhilk quhene they saw thay war bot instrumentis of
 god in that cace to punische thame witht weir that wald
 30 nocht grant to peace and refussit so money fair offaris
 to thair destructioun. Bot the nobilietie of Scotland
 had no wytte thairin bot the governour and his brother
 and thair privie consall quhilk quhen the feild was done
 fled to Stirling and thair remanitt witht the quene ane

Sept. 1547,
 Pinkie
 Cleuch.

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¹ "vij," I. The true date was 10th September 1547.

² "But" = without.

quhill, quho was in great dollour and displesour for the tinsall of the realme and the nobilietie thair of be evill goverment and ewill consall; bot zeit scho buire witht the matter because scho luffit nocht Inglischmen, think- and be that way to gett hir intent of the governour and 5 his brother and sum of the lordis of hir oppinioun to gar thame consent to send hir douchter in France quhillk was done heastalie efterwarttis as ze sall heir.

THE XVII CHAPTER.

Hou the inglis army remanit in Scotland nyne dayis eftir the feild seigeand castellis and Tounes Hou the gowernour of Scotland send to france for support of men Hou the inglismen tuk Hadingtoun and keipit it aganis Scottismen And alsua Inch- keith and bruchtie and biggit the forth thair of and lay with ane navwie of schippis all that winter in tay Hou thay landit at the east ferrie and war defeit thair be the lordis and bar- ronis of fyfe.

Bot in this meane tyme the protectour of Ingland witht all the lordis and airmie contenuitt still in Scott- 10 land the space of ix dayis efter the feild and remanit at Leyth and all round aboute fyue or sex myleis as he pleissit; everie day seigit houssis castellis and touns, taikand presonaris and guidis as he lykit and no man to stope nor say it was ewill done, and heirefter raid to 15 Ingland againe witht great wictorie. Albeit his ringe lestit bot schort quhill heirefter, ffor oft tymes god makis scourgis to punische realmeis ffor thair inequetie at his plesour and sounne heirefter castis the scourge in the fyre, as he did witht this man as ze will heir thair- 20 efter. Bott swine heirefter the governour of Scotland and quene convenit the consall at Stirling in the moneth of September in the zeir of god i^m [v^e] xlvij zeiris and thair consallit and concludit to send the zounge quene in France for feir of Ingland, howbeit they neidit nocht, 25

bot zeit they send ane ambassadour to France to schew
 the maner how it stude witht thame in thair trubillis,
 desyrand to haue support of France, promissand to
 thame to send thame thair zoung quene quhene the
 5 tyme servit and fair wather that scho might pase throw
 the sieis. Of this the consall of France was weill con-
 tent bot zeit they war slaw and lang of comming. Bot
 in this meane tyme the Inglischemen tuike Hadingtoun,
 and garnischit it witht men and wictuallis and keipit the
 10 same for thrie zeiris and laid all the contrie waist round
 about withtin ten myllis thair into. And in lyk maner
 they tuike Inschekeyth and garnischit it witht men and
 wictuallis; and siclyk they tuike the castell of Brughtie
 be eist Dundie and maid ane great fourt and strength
 15 besyde the said castell callit Bagillow¹ law, the quhillk
 fortht maid all the contrie round about withtin sex myllis
 that was adiacent to thame and lutte tham noway labour
 bot so money as was sewerit and payit thame maillis
 and dewitieis. Witht this the quene and governour was
 20 heavellie discontent of the oppressioun done to the
 poore pepill and commons of the contrie be thir Ing-
 lischemen baitht in Lowthieane and Angus, and quhillis²
 in Fyfe be landing of thair schipis quhillk lay all that
 zeir in the mouth of Tay betuix Dindie and Broughtie
 25 and wald land in Fyfe quhene they pleassit and did great
 skaith, and caussit the gentillmen thair to watch everie
 tyde wpoun thair landing to debait tham as they might
 saiff thair contrie fre skaitht and boundage.³ Quhill it
 hapnit wpoun ane day, to wit, in the moneth of Ianuarij
 30 thair hapnit certane Scottismen to confidder witht the
 Inglischemen to gaird thame into Fyfe and to burne the
 eist ferrie⁴ and that contrie and promist to bring tham
 haill skart in saifgaird into thair schipis againe. Bot
 of this paction the gentillmen of the contrie was adver-

The ambas-
sador passit
to France.

The taking
of Brughtie.

January
1548.

Fol. 170 a.

¹ Balgillo, in parish of Monifieth. See Notes.

² "Quhyloimis," I.

³ "Burneing," I.

⁴ I adds, "and Lucharis."

tissit quyitlie that the Inglischemen wald land and burne
 the contrie as I haue schawin to zow ; bot lord lameis
 commandatour of Sanctandrois, George earle of Rothous,
 Iohnne lord Lyndsay of the Byiris,¹ Androw Wode of
 Largo witht money wther gentillmen and barrouns of 5
 the contrie witht the provist of Sanctandrois knowing
 that the Inglischmen war to land and was suirle adwer-
 tissit thair of came haistallie in the dawing of the day to
 stope thair landing and thair foirgadderit witht thame at 10
 the eist ferrie callit Port in craige, and, quhene the Ing-
 lischmen war landit, zeid betuix tham and thair schipis
 and baittis and gat thame on the land quhene they had
 sett fourtht thair forrie to burne, and thair faught cruellie
 witht thame and slew baitht money of thair stall and all
 thair forrai to the number of viij scoir of thair best men 15
 of weir and marienaris, quhair throw they had great lose
 of thame for the government of thair schipis, bot fre that
 tyme fourtht they desyrit nocht to land in Fyfe.

The landing
 of Inglish-
 men at the
 eist ferrie.

THE XVIII CHAPTER.

The seige of Bruchtie Hou the inglisemen brunt ye castell of
 Pourie. Hou the inglisemen tuk home and fastcastell. The
 bigging of the forth. Hou the zounge quein was send in France.
 Hou the French army come in Scotland and landit in Leith.
 The seige of Hadingtoun. The battell of Sanctmonance muire.

In this meane tyme the governour raissit ane airmie
 and past to the castell of Burghtie to seig it, and lay at 20
 it the space of ane quarter of ane zeir bot he come no
 speid of the wining of it, ffor it was said that his captains
 and gwnnaris desawit him and schot nocht trewlie at the
 house as they aught to haue done, thairfor they returnit
 hame but ony succes or wictorie. This quhene the 25
 governour had taine wpe his sige and past hame, the

¹ I adds, "Schir allexander bruce of erleshall."

Inglischemen grew werie proud and wantoun that war
 in the castell and went abroad athort the contrie and
 brunt and hierieit quhair they pleissit, to wit, they brunt
 the castell of Purie,¹ waistit and hierieit the same witht
 5 money wther willagis round about. ²[At this tyme I, fol. 113 b.
 the inglismen come in Scotland and tuik the castle of
 hume and fastcastell³ and seagit thame ane lang tyme to
 the gret skaith of the cuntrie zit nochtwithstanding the
 lord home and his freindis fand ane subtill mean
 10 quhairbe they staw the said castell of home fra the
 inglismen and spuilzeit thame thair of and eftirward ob-
 tined fastcastell in the same maner That is to say men
 of the cuntrie war constranit to bring in wictwallis to the
 said castell to susteine the inglismen bot at the tyme
 15 appointed the incuming of the said wictwallis sum gen-
 tillmen dissagysed thame into the husband menis clathis
 and come with the said leiddis⁴ of wictuall to the castell
 zit to the nomber of ane dossoun or fourteine personis
 knawing weill that thair war na inglismen thairin bot
 20 that thay micht be pairtie to thame and for suspitioun
 that na man sould knaw that thay war gentillmen ilk ane
 man tuik on his awin leid vpone his bak as thay had
 beine bot husband men syne come in ovir the draw brig
 with the said wictuall to the Inglisemen quha was weill
 25 resauit be thame beleiwand that thai had beine bot
 husbandmen and fallowis and knew nocht thay war
 gentillmen nor zit thair purpois bot as schone as evir the
 Scoittismen had set downe thair leid in the close they
 lap togidder and set on the inglismen and slew mony of
 30 thame and dang the rest out at the zett and so keipit the
 place this was done in the zeir of god I^m v^c xlviii zeiris.
 At this meintyme] the fortht was begit upoun Bagillow
 law quhilk hierieit the haill contrie round about and was

The wyn-
 ning of home
 and fastcastill
 fra the inglis-
 men anno
 1548.

Ane prette
 devys how
 the castell
 of howm
 was win
 fra the
 Inglisemen.

¹ I has "Powrie wester," omitting "waistit."

² This passage in brackets is from I.

³ Fast Castle, a sea fort in Coldingham Parish. See Notes.

⁴ Loads.

Fol. 170 A.

the occatioun of the burning of Dindie quhilk was brunt
 at this tyme be treassone of the Scotismen ; and also the
 Inglischmen at this tyme did great skaith in Lowtheane
 and in the Merse be halding of Hadingtoun and fur-
 nisching thairof, and also in Leyth and Kingorne, and 5
 the ferryis was so oppressit be the Inglischmen that was
 in Inschekeytht. At this tyme the quene and governour
 war hevellie commovit ze¹ and greatlie affrayit that the
 Inglischmen sould conqueise forder in the realme, to that
 effect callit thair privie consall and concludit to send hir 10
 douchter the zoung quene to France quhilk was aganis
 money of the nobilietieis will and consent quhilk knew
 weill quhat skaitht was to follow thairwpoun, for gif our
 quene war marieit into France wpoun the king thairof,
 thair wald be the cruellar weiris betuix ws and Ingland 15
 and also France wald desyre ws and our realme to be
 ane province or pertienent into tham as thair awin
 subiectis, zeit notwithstanding thocht² sowme of the
 nobilietie thocht this and proponitt the same it wald
 nocht sinke in thair heartis quhilk had sic bluid loue 20
 into France at that tyme they could nocht considder
 quhat was the weillfair of thair awin realme ; bot sum
 pairt they feirit that thai wald never conqueise thair
 realme out of Inglischmens handis but³ the support of
 the king of France and thairfor hastalie consentit and 25
 send the zoung quene to France, and schipit at the wast
 sie in the monetht of [Marsh]⁴ in the zeir of god i^m v^c
 xlvij zeiris. Thair passit witht hir the lord Erskine, the
 lord Iames hir brother witht money wther lordis and
 gentillmen to convoy hir in France as effeirrit ; bot 30
 allace, the governour luikit nocht to his awin weill
 nor honour [nor] to the commone weill of the contrie,
 nor wald not know that inconvenient⁵ was to come

¹ "Zea."² Though.³ "But" = without.⁴ I.⁵ "Inconvenient," I. We should now say "inconvenience."
 A has wrongly "incontienent."

and follow heirefter concerning the libertie of the
 realme of Scotland and his awin commone weill of
 his house, bot as ane blind effectiountt creatour drownit
 in dispair, never thinkand to recover his awin honour
 5 bot raschlie, by the adwyse of the consall and nobilietie
 of Scotland, consentit to this porpois and quhat skaith Fol. 171 a.
 come efterwart heirof, ze sall heir at length. Bot in
 this meane tyme the frinche airmie landit at Leytht to
 the number of vij^m men, to wit, ane i^m horsemen and
 10 men of airmes and vi^m foottmen, heirof iij^m Dutchmen
 and iij^m frinchemen quho war all goode lyk men weill
 arrayit in airmour and wapouns and had to thair cap-
 tane and lufetennent to the king ane callit Monsr
 Dosie,¹ bot he did lytill goode in Scotland and spendit
 15 the kingis money. Thair was captane to the Dutchmen
 ane callit Quhittingraw;² bot thir forsaid men lay still
 ane quhill at Edinburgh efter thair landing quhilk was
 in Maij in the zeir of god i^m v^c xlviiij zeiris. Syne heir- May 1548.
 efter word come to the governour and quene and to
 20 the frinchemen that the Inglische airmie was command
 in Scotland to the number of xxx^m men witht the
 Earle of Hartfurd governour and gydar into thame,
 principall gydar and lufetennent of king Edwart and
 the protectour at that time quho wowit affoir the con-
 25 sall of Ingland to ryde allis far in Scotland as Pinkie
 feild for all the aw of the princes airmie. The gover-
 nour and the frinchemen witht the haill rest of the
 airmie of Scotland came fordwart fast towartis Mussill-
 burght to meit the Inglisch airmie quho than was
 30 comed fordwart fre Hadingtoun to the castell of Faw-
 syde abone the pairt quhair the feild was strikin and
 quhene the frinchemen and governour had persauetit
 the Inglische airmie in sight, soundit thair trumpatis
 and patt thair men in order, and gaif the frinchemen

¹ "Munseur Dasie," I; Monsieur d'Essé.

² "Quintingrave," I.

Fol. 171 b.

and the Dutchmen the waingaird quho passit stoutlie
 fordwart to meit the Inglischmen. Bot on the wther
 syde the earle of Hartfoud thair chiftane, sieand the
 order of freinchemen and Dutchmen command on him
 and syne the Scoitis followand thame witht ane great 5
 airmie at thair bakis was nocht content, and reteirit
 hastalie in goode order and passit southt wast towartis
 Hadingtoun. The frinchemen seand this and the
 Dutchmen, wald nocht follow thame nor break thair
 order because they¹ was not the wse to chase men bot 10
 gif they fled in ane feild. Bot the Inglischmen had
 wictuall² at Hadingtoun and syne heirefter come to
 schaw thame selffis albeit they had no will to fight bot
 passit to Aberlady heavin and thair inbarkit certane
 of thair maist abill gentillmen to pase ower to Fyfe³ 15
 fornent Carraill Anstruder and Pittinweme. Bot they
 saw thame sic popullus touns weill garnischit of men,
 they durst nocht land thair bot come wastwart fornent
 Sanctminians⁴ and thair persauetit ane small village,
 gaif it ane say⁵ and landit thair, and thocht to haue 20
 passit to Pittinweme on futte and thair to haue taine
 the same and garnischit it witht men and wictuallis.
 Bot the contrie raise and come to stope tham quhilk
 was thane standand in arrayit battell in the mure of
 Sanctminnians⁶ ane littill bewast⁷ the kirk and had 25
 brocht sum artaillze out of thair schipis and schot at
 the commoun pepill of the contrie and flieit thame so
 that they gaif bakis and come nocht neir tham bot
 then lord Iames commendatour of Sanctandros came
 hastallie witht the haill men of the toune, and provist 30
 thairof, and siclyk the laird of Wemes,⁸ the laird of

¹ I inserts, "said it was not the ordour to chase," &c.² "Wictuallit," I.³ I has "and thair to do sum wassallage and come to the coist of fyffe," &c. See p. 118, note 2.⁴ "Sanctmonance," I.⁵ "Say,"—i.e., trial. See Glossary.⁶ "Sanctmonance," I.⁷ "Aneistill," I.⁸ "Luftennand in fyff," I.

Largo witht wther gentillmen of the contrie quho speid
 thame fast quhene they saw the fyre ryse in thair
 contrie; and thair fell to the Inglischemen and skirmi-
 schit thame so haitlie that they caussit thame reteir and
 5 gif bakis and fled to thair schipis bot all war slaine,
 and gaif tham the chase and dang wpoun thame so
 fast that few or nane of tham wan thair schipis bot
 all war slaine and drownitt ffor the maist pairt that
 landit that day except sum presonaris war taine. I
 10 hard say thair was drownitt that day bezond vj^o gentell-
 men and ane hunder taine. This act was done in the
 moneth of Junij¹ the zeir of [god] I^m v^o xlvij zeiris. Fol. 172 a.
 Bot at this tyme the gowernour and the frenchemen past
 to Hadingtoun witht the haill airmie of Scotland witht
 15 him bot they did no goode bot lay and waistit the king
 of Franceis poulder and bullit and his money for the
 toune was strong and they war nether hardie nor
 scharpe that persewit it bot lay ane lang tyme in Scott-
 land and did no goode bot ewill.²

THE XIX CHAPTER.

Hou the Frenchmen slew the Prowest of Edinburgh and his eldest
 sone with other gentillmen Hou quhen the gowernour send
 to France and complemit on the said French captane And
 hou the king of France send ane other captane in Scotland
 callit Munseur Determes Hou the Inch was wone The
 seage of Bruchtie and hou it was wone Hou the Inglismen
 left Hadingtoun and brunt it heirettir and hou thay war
 cleine put out of Scotland Hou the Lord Sempill slew the
 Lord Sanchar in the gowernouris chalmer. The laird of Reith
 heiddit.

20 So the Scoittismen left the towne in this maner as
 I have schewin to you and come to Edinburgh slew
 the provest thairof quho was captane of the castell for
 the tyme and his eldest sone witht wther gentillmen

¹ I has "September."

² I adds, "and left it on wone."

and burgessis because¹ they wald haue put order to
 thair misrulle. Bot quhene the governour and the quene
 saw that thir men of weir could not be consallit and
 that thair captane did nocht goode in defence of the
 countrie bot opprese the poore bodyis in ony toune 5
 quhair they come, bot the quene and the gowernour
 send word to France and schew the maner to king and
 consall thair of quho derectit and send heir in Scotland
 ane nobill man of weir callit Paull lord of Termes²
 quho incontenent so swune as he landit in Scotland 10
 caussit Monsr Dosie witht the laf of the frinchemen
 to pase to the Insche and win the samin and thair-
 efter deliuerit in France; and syne passit him³ ower
 to the castell of Brughtie into the fortht and laid ane
 seige to the saming and wan it schortlie baitht the 15
 fortht and castell and syne caussit the Inglischmen to
 depart out of this contrie in all pairtis ffor thame that
 was into Hadingtoun could nocht be weill furnischit
 witht Ingland foir slaughter of men. ffor thair come
 in the said toun ane great airmie of Ingland to furnische 20
 the same bot quhene they had furnischt they war so
 chassit, slaine and taine at thair returning quhilke was
 callit the tuysdayis chace that they war constrant heir-
 efter to leif the toune and burne the same. So Ingland
 and all thair forcess war dounge out of Scotland and 25
 the samin maid fre and woyde of all wther nationis
 allanerlie except witht the Scotismen and that witht
 the suport of France. This realme maid frie in this
 maner as I haue schawin to zow in the zeir of god
 1550. i^m v^c and 1 zeiris, Scotland was at goode peace and 30
 rest of all enemies and that partlie because thair was

¹ I reads, "because the Provest wald not let thame enter in the toune at thair plessur and the said Provest being captane of the castell for the tyme."

² I has "Monseur deterims." "De Thermes" is the proper name of the French envoy who landed in Scotland, 23rd June 1549. See Notes.

³ "And send him in," I—i.e., into.

sic trubill in Ingland and civill weiris in Ingland
 amangis thame selffis that they war the gladder to
 lat ws rest in peace. ¹[ffor about that tyme the earle
 of Warwick tuik the protectour in the consall sittand
 5 and had him to the toune toure, syne heirefter gart
 strak the heid frome him; nocht lang efter that, king
 Edwart was petiouslie put to deid and schort quhill
 heirefter the earle of Warwick was heidit be the quene
 and ane great battell strikin in Ingland stryand for the
 10 autorietie quhilk was the cause we satt in goode peace
 and quytnes in Scotland the space of fyue zeiris.]

And in the same tyme in Scotland the lord Simpill
 slew the lord Sanchar in the gowernouris challmer
 and no correctioun maid thairof because he was the
 15 bischopis goode fater, bot the plaig of god left never
 the gowernouris house and bischopis thairefter because
 they left that publict fact wnpunist conforme to iustice.
 [So]² the gowernour [was] weill obeyit in all thingis
 quhill at last he and the bischop his brother begane
 20 to grow cowettous and gredy and held iustice airis
 throw all Scotland wnder pretence of Iustice ffor to
 fill thair baggis and pookis witht money. Ffor thair
 compositiouns was allyk to theif and leill man so the
 end was never truthfull and so the leill man payit
 25 allis mekill as did the theif or murtherar. Witht thir
 lawis and orderis they passit throw all Scotland and
 extorssit and hierieit the haill contrie and commone
 weill thairoff ffor thair particular weill. And fforder
 they pat handis in the serwantis of god and brunt thame
 30 cruellie ffor preiching of the evangell quho said they
 war the outt settaris of the samin thamselffis bot for
 gredienes and thair awin libertie laid bak thair hand
 frome the pleugh; and knewand thair tyme to be schort
 to ring in autorietie, thairffor thai caist all the wayis

¹ I omits the passage in brackets here, but inserts it later (p. 112, note 2).

² I.

Fol. 173 a.

thai might to mak tham selffis ane letter hand nether
 dreadand sin nor schame heirin bot to fullfill thair lustis
 wssit thair awin appietyte. Ffor at this tyme ane auld
 barroun of the contrie callit the laird of Raith was taine
 be the bischope of Sanctandrois in Fyfe [quhair]¹ he 5
 was for the tyme and had to Edinburgh and iustifieit
 that is to say, he was heidit and his head sett wpoun
 the tolbutth of Edinburgh and his landis forfaltit and
 gevin to the gowernouris freindis, and this was done
 all for sending of ane missiwe bill in Ingland. 10

THE XX CHAPTER.

Guid pace in Scotland the space of thrie zeiris ; iustice airis hauld-
 ing be the gowernour. Hou the quein moder passit to France.
 The protectour of Ingland heiddit be the Erle of Warwick.
 King Edwart poysonit and deid. The quein of Scotlandis
 returning out of France come to Ingland and how scho come
 in Scotland and resaut the autoritie frae the Duik. The
 Erle of Warwick heiddit in Ingland. Hou quein Marie
 resaut the croune. The Erle of Huntlie and the Erle of
 Cathness was impresonit.

At this tyme the² allmightie god mowit the quene
 nocht to stand witht thair proceedingis and thinkand
 that thair tyme was schort thairfor scho prevenitt the
 same and passit haistalie to France, and tuik certane
 of the nobillis of Scotland witht hir and thair procurit 15
 at the king of France and hir dochteris hand that
 scho might have the governance in the realme of Scot-
 land thair to be as regent thairof because scho saw the

¹ I. The laird of Raith was Sir John Melville,

² I here inserts, "At this tyme thair was gret pace and quyetness
 in Scotland the space of thrie zeiris and all becaus of ye troubill
 and discord and evil weir that was in Ingland"; and after the pas-
 sage from p. 111 l. 18 to p. 112 l. 3 continues: "quein moder seand
 the gredie proceedingis of the gowernour and his broder quhairthrouch
 he tint all the hairtis of the nobilitie and commons of Scotland for
 sic extortioun and oppressioun as was vsed on thame at that tyme

realme nocht weill gydit at that tyme, ffor scho saw nothing bot awarice and gredienes in the place of Iustice, nor nothing sought ffor weillfair of the realme nor for the profite of hir dochter that was to succeid thairto.

- 5 The king of France and consall heirand this grantit immedeatlie to hir desyre, that is to say [to]¹ be regent of Scotland and he to tak on him to satisfie the governour ffor his goode will and tytill thair of and that he did schortlie as ze sall heir efter; ffor the quhilk cause
 10 he maid the governour Duike of Chattellaroy² witht wther grit giftis of gould and silluer and satisfieit him, that he was content to renunce ower the office into the quene that scho might be regent induring his will and hir douchteris. To that effect he send ane ambassadour in
 15 Scotland quho was callit Monsieur Doyswall³ to remane witht the quene and to gif hir consall how scho sould rule and gyde the realme to the king of Franceis plesour and hir dochteris profite and to the commone weill of the contrie. Ffor this ambassadour was ane man of
 20 singular goode iudgement and ane weill experiementit in weiris and weill estemmitt in France for the samin, and quhene he come in Scotland he presentit⁴ the king of France awin body at all consall and convensieouns⁵ decreittit in Scotland or was decreitit be quene and
 25 consall be his awyse was performitt and admittit in France⁶ and in Scotland that man in Scotland did

Fol. 173 &

be the said governour and his broder and not alennerlie thanie bot the haill hamiltournis become so awaricius and gredie seand thair tyme was schort they wald mak thair hand nocht cuirand the oppressioun of thair nichtbouris. This lyked quein moder weill thinkand that scho had ane occasioun heirby to tak hir tyme and prowine the governour of his office and so immeidiatlie scho passit haistilie to France," &c.

¹ I inserts.

² "Schetillaroy," I—*i.e.*, Chatelherault.

³ D'Oysel. See Notes.

⁴ *I.e.*, represented.

⁵ I reads "conventions," and inserts, "for quhat he."

⁶ I adds, "be the king and counsall thair of. This man had gret credence bayth in france and in Scotland that the quein of Scotland did no thing by his," &c.—*i.e.*, without his advice.

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nathing but his adwyse and consall. Nocht lang efter
the quene come hame in Scotland thair was ane par-
liament proclamitt to be haldin at Edinburgh in the
moneth of [Julij]¹ in the zeir of god 1^m v^c [lxxi]¹
zeiris, quhair the haill nobilitie of Scotland baitht 5
sperituall and temporall compeirit that day at the day
appoyntit, thair to minister Iustice conforme to the
common order of thair predecessouris, but in this
meane tyme the quene gif sic giftis of gould and siluer
among the lordis that scho drew the maist part of 10
thame to hir effect that they war content that the
governour was deposit of his office and that scho war
placeit² in the same and that because of the gredienes
and cowitousnes of him and his brother in tyme by-
past. Thairfor money of the lordis of Scotland baitht 15
sperietuall and temporall consentit gladlie herinto and
spetiall the governouris awin fameliar freindis quhom
he had done maist for befor, and spetiall be allurement
of the quene consentit swne thairto and so the parlia-
ment procedit wpoun the day appoyntit fordwart as 20
ze sall heir. The governour and his lordis and heraldis
raid wpe the gait frome the abbay to the tolbutht witht
septer suord and croune borne befor him in order
be his lordis as was the wse to be done befor the
governouris and maiestratis at sic tymes. Bot the 25
quene and Monsieur Dosuell the king of France ambas-
sador they come wpe the gait³ efterwart be thair selffis
and raid in lyke maner to the tolbutht and remanitt
thair anc certane quhill, quhill the order was procedit,
that is to say the parliament and court fenceit, the 30
governour dischargit, and the quene ressauwit,⁴ and the
croun sett wpoun hir heid and suord deliuerit into
hir, quho raid doune the gait triumphantlie and the
same scepter suord and croune borne befor hir witht

Fol. 174 v.

¹ I.² "Pleisit," I.³ The Canongate.⁴ "And the crown cepture and sword deliuerit vnto hir," I.

- the lordis of Scotland they buire wpe the gait befor
the governour, in lyke maner they buire it doun the
gait befor hir in signe and takin that scho had resawit
the autorietie and sould rigne ower the pepill of this
5 realme as regent and governour thairof;¹ thocht I can
nocht tell at this present nothing bot godis ire and
wraith to fall wpoun that realme that wantis ane goode²
man and wittie to governe it and syne gif woman³
the gowernment off the same as ze will knaw heirefter.
10 Bot as to the governour he come doune the gait
him allane desolat of septer suord or croun or ony
autorietie in Scotland at that tyme, bot was contentit
to ryde in amang the laif of the lordis and his nicht-
bouris to beir him companie. Than the prophiesie
15 was fullfillit quhilk was spoken into him in the tyme
of the burning of Mr George Wischart, be ane of
his awin freindis sayand in this maner, 'gif ze suffer
' the servanttis of god this wyse to be handlit and put to
' deid⁴ for christis ewangell the quhilk ze have professit
20 ' zour self, and now thoillis the preicharis thairof to
' be murdreist in this maner wnder zour handis I have
' no doubt, gif ze remeid it nocht hastalie, that this
' gowernment and autorietie that god has put zow into
' salbe ruttit⁵ frome zow schamfullie quhene ze leist
25 ' weine.' Thir ar the wordis that war spokin to him
affoir the deid of Mr George Wischart be ane trew
protestane and freind of his awin,⁶ quhilk that day
come to pase quhene his autorietie was schamfullie rest
fra him and gevin to ane woman.
30 Then this proceidit fordwart. The quen went to the

¹ "I can call it na thing bot," &c., I.

² "King and his bot ane woman to governe it as we will knaw heirefter," I.

³ The text of A looks like "wise man," but this must be a mistake for "woman."

⁴ "Brunt to the death," I.

⁵ "Ruttit"—i.e., "rooted." I reads "rent."

⁶ I adds, "callit the laird of prestowne."

Abbay witht great mirrienes and bankating to hir lordis witht great giftis and propynes wnto thame quho war in hir oppinioun and swne efter scho changit all offiecearis that is to say, the thesawrar controllar secretar and maister houshold, to wit, scho maid ane 5 Mr Rwbie¹ controllar, quho withtin schort tyme wssit sic scharpnes that few was content witht him.

1, fol. 126 a. ² [At this meantyme the secund day of Januar in
1, fol. 126 b. the zeir of god I^m v^c lij zeiris the duik of summersyd
and protectour of Ingland was beheiddit at the tour of 10
1553. Londoun. Schort quhyll eftir in the zeir of god I^m v^c
liij zeiris king Edwart was poysonit³ in the tour of
londone and dieit thairefter and on the tent day of
Junij the duik of Northumberland with his adherentis
did proclame lady Jeane dochter to the duik of Suth- 15
woik and wyff to Golfreid Dudlie⁴ the quein quhilk
duik incontinent maid ane gret airmie aganes lady Marie
richt heretour to the crowne of the realme of Ingland
bot his attempt was nocht just for als muche as it was
nocht of god it cuild cum to na guid succes for quhan 20
he thocht himsellf most strang ane pairtie aganes quein
Marie the maist part of the nobillitie ze with all the
common peopill fled frome him so at Eamriche⁵ he with
his sones and his wyff war left thair alone and war
arreisted be the mair of londoun and had to the tour 25
and was heistie heiddit and foirfaltit with all his com-
plices In the zeir of god I^m v^c liij zeiris. So this stryff in
1554. Ingland amangis thame sellffis gart the realme of Scot-

¹ De Rubay, an advocate of Parliament of Paris. See Notes.

² The long and important addition in brackets, p. 116 to p. 128 l. 30, is from I.

³ Edward VI. died July 6, 1552. There were rumours but no proof of poison.

⁴ Lady Jane Grey married Lord Guilford Dudley.

⁵ This place has not been identified. Suffolk was put into the Tower along with his wife, May 27, 1552, but afterwards released. He was again taken in Warwickshire, and beheaded on Tower Hill, February 23, 1554. See Notes.

land sit in guid pace and rest for ane lang tyme. In this
zeir the erle of huntlie was impresonit in Edinburgh
and the erle of Cathnes in Edinburgh bot the erle of
huntlie was sett at libertie the nixt zeir. Bot nocht-
5 withstanding he payit sex thousand pound to the quein.
In this zeir the quein held ane parliament and desyred
ane taxatioun viz. that evirie mark land sould pay four
markis.¹

THE XXI CHAPTER.

Hou thair was ane schip of Muscowiæ that brak at Abirdein. Hou
the schip was spuilzeit be the inhabitantis and indwellaris of the
cuntrie. Hou the lord of the schip past and pleinzeit to the
quein. The forth of haymouth² biggit. Weir proclamit be-
tuix ingland and scotland. How the quein of ingland send ane
airmie in Orknay and war defeitt.

In the zeir of god I^m v^c lvj zeiris thair landit ane schip ^{1556.}
10 of Muscove at Aberdein quhilk schip was richlie leidnit³
with all kynd of coistlie wairis. So our northland lordis
and lairdis seand this schip cum in into Aberdeine thay
zeid and tuik all thair geir frome thame and left thame
nothing nor wald pay thame for the samyn to the maister
15 of the schip. So the maister of the schip seand this
passit to the quein thinkand to haue gottin ane remedie
at hir and so thay pleinzeit to hir and I beleive they gat
bot ane littill answer to effectt. And than thay past to
Ingland quhilk causit thame to speik meikill euill of
20 Scotland thair. At this mean tyme the king of france
send letteris to Scotland to mowe weir aganis ingland
Bot zit the quein and Monseur Doiswell with sum of
her privie counsall thocht it nocht guid to mak weir
quhill thay had maid strenthis on the bordour quhair
25 thay nicht lay thair arteilerie and men to be in raddy-
nes quhatevir hapnit. Be this Monseur Doiswell and

¹ This Parliament was in April 1554.

² I.e., Eyemouth.

³ Loaded.

I, fol. 117 a. Monseur decapis¹ dewysed ane strang fort at haymouth and biggit the samyn verie starklie and garnisit it with men victwallis and arteilzerie and maid it that it micht ludge twa thowsand men of weir and pat in it sex cannonis with sax vthir schot of gret arteilzerie and 5 twentie schot of small arteilzerie, Twa hundreith of lang culwerins, twa thowsand pickis with poulder and bullattis and all thingis that affeired for ane airmie and layd ane thowsand men thair in garisoune and Monsewr Doiswell himsellff captane thairof. At this tyme the 10 inglismen knawand this war no wayis content thairwith and maid gret prowisioun on thair bordouris and raid thick thairin bot the quein incontinent heiring of the Inglismenis conversiounis proclamit weir betwix England and Scotland for pleasour of the king of france In the 15 mean tyme the quein of ingland send ane gret navie of schippis to scotland quha landit in orknay and thocht to haue done sum wassallage² thair. Bot in the mean tyme of thair landing thair come sic ane storme of wind downe at anes vpone thame that it stoppit thame to get 20 thair arteilzeries landit. Thairfoir the inhabitaris of the cuntrie seand that adwantage maid frack³ ill to thame and sett vpone thame stoutlie and dang thame to thair schippis bot the wind blew swa thay culd nocht get schippis and so war dung into the sea and evrie man 25 slaine and drownit that come aland of their schippis, sum of thame eschaipit that landit nocht to gang hame to bear tydingis of the leave bot the orknay men gat gret spuizie of the Inglismen at that tyme bayth of siluir and gould wictuallis and arteilzerie waponis and 30 harnas with mony presonaris quhilk payit thame gret sowmes of money in ransoune that mony inhabitaris of orknay war the better sensyne.

¹ Leon Strozzi, called Prior of Capua. See Notes.

² "Wassallage"—*i.e.*, deed of valour. See Glossary.

³ "Maid frack"—*i.e.*, made ready to do ill.

THE XXII CHAPTER.

Ane airmie^gadderit be the quein and monseur doiswell to pas in England. Hou the lordis wald nocht consent thairto. letteris send by the king of france to the quein and lordis of scotland. The tennour of the letteris hou the lordis con- venit. The lordis choisin to pas to france to the queins mariaige Ane commissioun gewin to thame. The quen is mariaige with the dolphin of france. The desyre of the counsall of france. The lordis answeris thairinto how the lordis war poysonit in france.

In the zeir of god I^m v^c fyftie sewin zeiris thair was ane 1557.
proclamatioun maid be the quein and monseur doiswell
To vit that all the lordis lairdis barronis friehaulderis
and substentious gentilmen ze and all maner of man
5 betuix saxtie and sexteine bayth spiritwall and tempo-
rall to mak thame sellffis reddie at ane certane day to
meit the quein at Edinburgh with fourtie dayes wict-
wallis and to pas with hir quhair scho pleisit in defence
of the realme. The day appointed come the airmie at
10 Edinburgh and raid fordward to the hill of ancrame and
thair remanit the space of thrie dayes and gave thair
musturis and syne thairefter passit to maxwell heuche and
thair held ane counsall that is to say The quein desyred
the lordis and the airmye to pas in England and to seage
15 wark.¹ And to that effectt Munseur doiswell brocht the
frenchmen and the arteilzerie out of haymouth To wit
four gret cannonis and four gros culweringis four bat-
tartis with poulder and bullattis and all vthir necessaris
for seageing of houss or of castellis and brocht thame I, fol 117 b.
20 ovir the watter of tweid at hempfeildis furd bot the
lordis of scotland layd thair heiddis togidder and con-
sultit that thay wald nocht pas in England at that tyme
to invaid it with na sharmes² without they knew ane

¹ Wark Castle, in Northumberland.

² Skarmusche = skirmish, Fr. *escarmouche*.

gret caus quhy. At thir answeris the quein was wery
 discontentit and sa was monseur doiswell bot the lordis
 fra tyme thay hard Monseur Doiswell speik commandit
 him vnder the paine of tressoune to have hame his arteil-
 zerie agane ovir the watter of Tweid the gait that it 5
 come for thay wald nocht pas in Ingland at that tyme
 to seage na castellis nor townis for his plesour nor the
 quenis at that tyme quhill thay war forder adwysed so
 this airmie skailled and passit na forder at that tyme.
 Bot the quein went hame very dolorus and commoweit 10
 at the lordis that wald do na thing for hir saik to Ing-
 land at that tyme and Monseur Doiswell tuik it very
 hich in hairt at that tyme he beand the king of france
 ambassadour thinkand that thay sould haue done sum
 of his counsall and command for the king of france saik 15
 bot the scoittis lordis war sic ane nomber vpon the
 feildis at that tyme that thay cuired nather quein nor
 king for oft tymes the scoittismen growis nevir misnor-
 turit nor dissobedient to thair governouris or magistrattis
 quhilk¹ thay be vpon the feildis and knawis thair awin 20
 power as ze may reid afoir in this buik. Bot quein
 regent beand ane vyse and naturall woman consawand
 the myndis and natur of scoittismen thairfoir consul-
 tit with Monseur Doiswell that scho culd not put at the
 lordis of scotland as scho wald do quhill hir dochter 25
 war maryit with the dolphin of france. And to that
 effectt scho conclwdit and² Monseur Doiswell to send
 priwie wreittingis vnto france schawand the king of
 france how that scho was obeyit in Scotland and his
 ambassadour schawand the king that scho culd mak na 30
 puneishment thairof quhill hir dochter war maried de-
 syrand him to haist the mariaige als schone as he culd
 declairand to him that hir dochter was auld anewche.
 The king of france heirand thir nowellis he adwysed
 with his counsall heirvpone and incontinent send letteris 35

¹ *I.e.*, Quhill = till.² "And" = with.

in scotland to the quein and counsall quhairof desyrand
 certane of the wysest lordis quhome thay thocht maist ex-
 pedient to cum to the quenis mairiaige with commissioun
 to fulfill all things contened in thair contractt Of this
 5 quein regent and the lordis set ane parliament at Edin-
 burghe the¹ and thair be adwyce of the thrie
 estaitis chuisit sex lordis to pas in france to the quenis
 mariaige viz. Twa erlis Twa lordis and twa bischopis The
 erlis was Gilbert erle of cassellis George erle of rothus the
 10 lord flemying the lord seattoun the bischop of glascow
 the bischop of orknay thir sax lordis to pas to france
 with commissioun foirsaid to end the quenis mariaige
 with the dolphin of france lyk as it was commowit and
 forder to the king of france pleasour. This beand done
 15 thir lordis tuk the sea and inbarcat at Kirkcaldie in the
 moneth of ² In the zeir of God I^m v^e fyftie sevin
 zeris To wit the erle of rothus and the bischop of orknay
 passit in ane schip with serwandis and mony vther 1, fol. 118 a.
 gentilmen and barronis passit with thame in ane gret
 20 schip of leith and thair hors in ane vther bark besyd 1557.
 thame and the leave³ of the lordis scheippit in leith
 with vthir schipis and sailled all east the firth togidder
 bot or thay came by Sancttobbis⁴ heid the storme be-
 goud to ryse and blew so strang that it drownit my lord
 25 of rothus schip quhair his hors was befor his ein. Than
 the skipper of the schip spak vnto my lord and said
 'god send ws better handsell and mair forder in our
 'wayage for zon is verie evill at this tyme and dolorus
 'to me for zonder is my eldest sone drownit afor my
 30 'ein quhairfoir I set nocht by now quhat becum of
 'me.' The lordis heiring the skipper at this poynt set
 thair intentis to gif him comfort and baid him be blyth
 and thank god for all wald wirk for the best and this⁶

¹ The date is blank, but was Dec. 1557. A. P. II., p. 501.

² The month is blank. ³ "Leave" is "lave" = the rest.

⁴ St. Abb's Head.

⁵ "This" = thus.

thay sailled on all that nycht with gret stormes of wind
 quhill on the morne at nyne houris that thay come
 ferment the coist of Italie.¹ Than the storme come so
 wehementlie out of the heavins with thunder and fyr-
 flaucht and all vther tempestis that culd blaw that maid 5
 all the marineris and lordis sa agast that thay knew
 not quhat way to turne thame for my lord rothus schip
 was gret and drawe² nar the foirlandis. Than ane
 skipper of leith callit Williame Gibsone past out of his
 awin schipp in ane floitt bott to cum to my lord rothus 10
 schip to help him bot the tempest and storme blew
 so gret that he micht nather win my lord rothus schip
 nor zit his awin bot Immeidiatlíe drownit thair afoir
 all thair eies. Than my lord rothus wist na way how
 to eschaip bot gave all ane evintur and lap in the floitt 15
 bot he and the bischop with vther twa or thrie barronis
 and gentilmen with him sa mony as the bot wald
 hauld on³ drowning thame sellffis and wrocht aland be
 the grace of god and was sawit swa. Bot nathing thay
 culd get saiff bot thair wreittingis and thair sellffis quha 20
 landit vpon the sandis a-eistell Callice and thair stuide
 ane quhyll and saw thair schip perrische befor thair
 eine with mony gentillmen landit and onlandit and
 mony jowallis siluir and cleithin bayth of my lord of
 rothus and my lord of orknay with vther certane barronis 25
 that was with thame beleiwe weil thay war vonder sorie
 and at ane gret stres and eschaiped with thair lywes
 narrowlie betuix the bow and the string. Bot the leave
 of the rest of the schippis raid sturdellie in the reid⁴ of
 Callice quhill the storme was past and syne passit to 30
 the new hewin besyd deip quhair thair thay landit. Than
 my lord of rothus and my lord orknay and thay that

¹ So in the MS., but some place on the English coast north of North Foreland of Kent is meant.

² "Drawe" = drove.

³ Aberdonian idiom for "without." See Glossary.

⁴ "Reid"—i.e., road. See Glossary.

war with thame gat hors to the new heavin and met
 thame that war thair nichtbouris quha wer very glaid
 of thair cuming and that thay had eschaipit for thay
 beleiwit that thay had beine all perrisched and drownit.
 5 And quhan thay war refreschit thair twa or thrie dayes
 thay tuik thair journey to parreis quhair thay war
 honourabillie resaut of king and court and also of
 the cardinall¹ and war weill intertenit be thame bot
 quhan thay schew the king quhat danger and perrell
 10 thay war in In thair cuming to his grace he merwellit
 meikill and thankit god that thay war saiffit and was
 very wo for the gentilmen and marineris that war tint
 and sa incontinent gart send and mak proclamatiounis
 and prowisioun for the mariaige quhilk was solemp-
 15 nouslie ordourit and endit at notrodames kirk in parreis
 in the moneth of² [April]. In the zeir of god I^m v^c
 [lvij] zeiris and thair war convenit in the said kirk
 at the hour of ten The king of france and the quein of
 france The king of neverone,³ the prince of condie the
 20 cardinall of loren, The duik of gwise. Than was brocht
 in the Dolphin of france the duik of Orleance and with
 him in cumpanie all the young lordis of france with the
 king of francis traine and gaird about him. Than was
 brocht in the quein of Scotland with all the young
 25 lustie ladyis of france and the scoittis lordis and the
 scoittis companie with hir. Than war all the bischopis
 and kirkmen and vniwersitie and clergie of france in
 ordour evirie estait as affeired. Than the bischop of
 parreis maid him to the mes and to vse the office of
 30 the mariaige. Than was brocht to our bischoppis keippis⁴
 of gold and mytouris of gould set with pretious stones
 and areyit than in thair pontificall ordour and estait.
 Than was brocht to our lordis and erlis the garmondis
 of the claithis [of] the ordour of the cockill⁵ quha war

Mairiage of
 marie
 queine of
 scoittis on
 the dolphin
 of france.

I, fol. 118 b.

¹ The Cardinal of Lorraine. ² The date is left blank in the MS.

³ Navarre. ⁴ *I.e.*, caps. ⁵ Order of the Cockle. See Notes.

maid knichtis thair of instantlie afor the ordour of the
 mariaige and that be the king of france and gret re-
 wardis givin vnto thame and propynes be the king of
 france conforme to the ordour of the cockill. Than
 thaireftir the mariaige was solempniouslie maid betuix 5
 the dolphin of france and the duik of orleanes and
 Marie quein of Scotland and syne heireftir the pro-
 clamatioun with the herauldis of airmes zeid in ordour
 befor the king with thair coit airmes as pertained to
 thair office makkand the procleratioun and cryand on 10
 this maner Charllis Dolphin of france and duik of
 Orleance and king of scotland and alsua Marie be
 the grace of god quein of scoittis dolphines of france
 and duches of Orleance. Quhan thir procleratiounis
 war endit and messis done than the trumpattis and 15
 schalmes blew and so did the arteilzerie schuit and
 bellis rang and all soundis of Instrumentis played that
 na man mycht for the eirdine¹ heir ane vthir for bellis
 gunis and trumpatis. Than the king went to his palace
 and the king of Neverowne [and] the duik of guise leid- 20
 dand our scoittis quein hame to hir palace with hir tryne
 of ladyes and hir scoittis lordis with hir and eftir the
 dolphin of france was convoyit be the cardinall and all
 the zoung gentilmen and lordis of france with him and
 come to the kingis pallace to the gret hall quhair the 25
 bancat was prepaired and thair was set the king of
 france at the middis of the buird and his quein; on his
 richt hand the quein of scotland and on his left hand
 the dolphin and that day the erle of cassellis of Scotland
 was carver to the quein of scotland quha was bryd 30
 and the Erle of rothus was capper² and the rest of the
 scoittis lordis stuid behauldin³ quhill the ordour and
 tryumphe of bancat was nar endit. And than thair

¹ "Erddyn"—*i.e.*, thunder. See Glossary.

² "Cupper"—*i.e.*, cup-bearer. See Glossary.

³ "Behauldin"—*i.e.*, "beholding."

was ane fair burd prepared for thame quhair thay
 dynnit with gret cheir and all delicattis provydit for
 thame that mycht be had or gottin be thame in france
 Than was thair gret singing playing dansing and pheirsis
 5 quhilk continwed on quhill even quhill¹ supper tyme
 Than quhan supper tyme was done and all ceremonies
 war vsit pertaining to the mariaige so the bryd and
 bryd grome war put to thair beddis. Than the men-
 strallis of musick played and the ladyes dansit quhill
 10 it was neir midd nycht so eviry man bownit to his
 bed quhill on the morrow. So this trywmphe and
 bancatting lestit and continwit the space of xx dayis
 with gret justing and turnament running at the rigne²
 and aircherie and all knyghtlie game convenient for the
 15 tyme. So the xx dayis being past and all the bancatt
 done the king of france and his lordis went to the
 counsall and alsua the scoittis lordis that war thair for I, fol. 119 a.
 the tyme to wit lord James the quenis broder the erle
 of cassellis the erle of rothus the lord flemying the lord
 20 seattoun the bischope of glasgow the bischope of orknay
 all thir lordis war callit to the counsall and plaicit and
 set conforme to thair estait. Than the chancellor of
 france begoud and desyred at the scoittis lordis the
 principall crowne of Scotland that thay micht crowne
 25 the dolphin and mak him king of Scotland. To this
 answerit the Erle of Cassellis and schew thay had noch
 that commissioun at that tyme. Than the chancellor
 desyred thame to promise the samyn. Bot the bishop
 of orknay answerit we will promise na thing forder nor
 30 our commissioun beiris. Than the chancellor answerit
 agane and said 'we desyre na thing mair heir nor zour
 'guid will and woit and zour handwrettis heirvnto.'
 Than answerit my lord rothus rewerentlie and said
 'My lord chancellor of france with leive of zour
 35 'wisdomes that is heir present I man speik for my
¹ "Quhill"—*i.e.*, until. ² "Rigne"—*i.e.*, ring. See Glossary.

'native cuntrie and honour thairof as it becummeth
 'me to do quhen tyme requyres' and than the
 chancellor bad him speik quhat he pleisit. Than the
 erle of rothes begoud in this maner as eftir followis
 sayand, 'my lordis it is nocht onknawin to zow the 5
 'pointis of our commissioun quhilk was maid to
 'ws be the counsall and nobilitie of scotland and
 'that we have na power forder nor it bearis and givis
 'vnto ws and quhair zour lordschip and the counsall
 'heir desyres ws to gif or to promiseis the crowne of 10
 'scotland to the dolphin of france zour lordschip sall
 'vnderstand we have na power thairof and thocht we
 'had we wald be adwysed or we promiseit or gave sic
 'thingis for zour lordschip sall vnderstand our crowne
 'of Scotland is ane Imperiall crowne and was nevir 15
 'conquest nor subiectt to na realme christnit nor hauldis
 'of na king bot god and the lyone thairfoir we can not
 'pairt with our principall crowne in that maner bot
 'quhan evir god sendis the dolphin airis of his bodie
 'gottin vpon our quein as maill childering to be zour 20
 'king and cum in Scotland he sall resawe the crowne
 'with all honouris and digniteis perteing thairvnto
 'and vthirwayes for my awin pairt I will nocht consent
 'forder at this tyme.' The rest of the Scoittis lordis
 heiring this thay held the same opinioun. Be this the 25
 erle of rothus had endit his talking the counsall of
 france was nocht content heirwith and incontinent
 derectit letteris in Scotland to the quein thairof and the
 counsall desyring the same of the quein and counsall as
 thay desyred of the lordis as I schew to zow and in the 30
 meantyme the lordis war hauldin still in france that
 thay sould stop no thing of the king of france and
 counsallis desyres gif thay had come to Scotland at
 that time. And sum sayes eftirward quhan thay
 sould haue depairtit hame to Scotland thay war 35
 callit to ane bancatt quhairin thay gat ane Italiane

posset¹ as weill appeired eftirward for thair was nocht
 ane thair that eitit meikill meat eftir that bancatt that did
 thame guid nor nevir ane of thame come hame to Scot-
 land bot dieit thair except lord James the quenis broder
 5 quha was hangit be the heillis be the metsouneris² to
 caus the poysons to drop out and evir stuid still vnder
 medicine all the dayes of his lyff bot the erle of Cassellis
 depairtit thair, the bischop of Orkney the erle of rothus
 the lord flemyng and the laird of easter Wemys. Sum
 10 sayes that all thir war poysonit thair becaus thay war wys
 men and contrair the will and appetyd and desyre of the
 counsall of france at that tyme. Thairfor thay thocht
 nocht thay sould pas in Scotland againe to stand in that
 contrair. The xxij day of september in the zeir of god
 15 I^m v^c lvij zeiris letteris was send be the king and counsall
 of france to the quein and counsall of Scotland the ten-
 nour heiroy as eftir followis.

Hou the
 lordis of
 Scotland
 was poy-
 sonit in
 france
 amangis
 quhome the
 erle of
 Murray bot
 he was
 remeidit.

I, fol. 119 b.

THE XXIII CHAPTER.

Ane parliament haldin in Edinburge. Hou waltir mill was brunt.
 Hou paull mephin come in Scotland and prechit in dundie.
 The quarter reidis of the bordour thursdayis chess.

Thir letteris fairsaid producit the tennour heiroy
 desyred the Imperiall crowne of Scotland togidder with
 20 the septime sword and rob royall and all that pertained
 to the coronatioun of the king of Scotland that the
 dolphin of france micht be crownit thairwith and maid
 king of Scotland. Fforder that the seallis of scotland
 sould be brokin and new seallis maid to the effectt that
 25 the airmes of france and scotland may be joyned togidder
 in ane ordour and that all bandis and letteris and all

¹ "Italian posset"—*i.e.*, poison brought from Italy, or because Italy had a bad name for its use.

² "Metsouneris"—*i.e.*, medicinaris.

cunzie of money struckkin within the realme may be
 prentit thairwith. Fforder that it sould be liesome that
 frenchmen may by ¹ land with thair money and bruik the
 samyn in scotland and sall have fredome to mak salt
 vpone the coistis quhair thay pleisit. To this the quein 5
 and counsall consulted and set ane parliament at Edin-
 burgh the xxij day of November and thair was grantit
 be the quein and the lordis and the thrie estaitis quhairin
 was grantit the pointis and tennour of the lettres and
 desyres of the king of france and his counsall be our 10
 lordis quhilk heistelic and rashlie lyk febill fuillis and
 vnworthie corrupted beistis aluired and flatterit and
 corruptit be the quein and the king of frances money
 nocht knawand the common weill of thair cuntrie nor
 what inconvenient was to cum heireftir of thair con- 15
 clwsoun bot heistelic granted to all the desyres foirsaid
 of the king of franceis letteris. All the lordis allennerlie
 except the duik maid his protestatioun contrarie and wald
 nocht consent thairto and inlykwayes Atholl quha was
 absent at that tyme and glencairne maid ane protesta- 20
 tioun in the name of the haill barronis of Scotland that
 thai wald nocht consent thairto nor that the crowne of
 Scotland sould pas out of the realme quhill thay saw
 lauchfull successioun that is to say airsmail gottin of
 the quenis bodie and thay to cum in Scotland and 25
 bruik the samyn. This beand done the seallis var inter-
 cheingit and the airmes joyned france and scotland as I
 have schawin to zow bot quhidder the crowne or nocht
 passit at that tyme I can nocht tell.] ²

In the zeir of god I^m v^c lvij zeiris in the moneth of 30
 December the thrid day thairof ane parlieament haldin
 at Dumblaine ³ be the quene and the lordis and the thrie

Fol. 174 b.

¹ "By" = buy.

² The long addition in I ends here.

³ A Parliament was held in Edinburgh on 29th November 1558; but so far as the records show, it continued to sit there at least till 5th December, and did not sit at Dunblane, as stated in MS. A.—*Act. Parl.*, II. p. 522.

estaitis of Scotland quhairin was desyrit be the ambassa-
dour of France in presentis of the lordis of parlieament
and the thrie estaittis of the realme the Inperieall croun
of Scotland together witht the septar suorde thairof to
5 pase to France to that effect that the Dollphin might
be crounit thairwitht and proclamitt king of Scotland;
and also desyrit the seillis of Scotland to be brokin
and new seillis maid to that effect to ioyne the armes of
France and Scotland together in, all the said money was
10 strikin heirefter to be of that same printt, and forder
ane act to be maid that it sould be lesum to all frinche-
men that plessit to come and conqueis landis in Scott-
land witht thair money and also to mak saill wpoun the
costis of Scotland at thair plesour, taxatiounis to be
15 taine wpe be the Dollphin of Franceis name and the
quen of Scotland. Thir desyris and wther ma was
proponit and desyrit in the said parlieament be Monsieur
Dosie the ambassadour conforme to the tenour of the
lettres send be the king of France and his consall. ¹[Be
20 this the quene and consall of Scotland and the thrie
estaittis consultit and concludit to the same, as febill
corruptit beistis,² allurit and flatterit be the quene, nocht
knewand the commonweill of thair contrie nor quhat
inconwenient was to come heirefter of thair conclu-
25 sioun; thai granttit the desyris hastalie and raschlie,
lyke febill foollis as thay war, and maid ane act contrair
the weillfair of Scotland in the maner as efter followis,
gewand thame the croune septar and suord sould pase
to France that the Dollphin sould be crounitt thair-
30 witht and proclammitt king of Scotland and that the
seillis sould be brokin and new maid, and the armes of
France ioynitt to Scotland, and it sould be lesum to
frinchemen to conqueis landis at thair plesouris into

¹ See note 2, p. 130.

² This expression is used here as well as in the passage from MS. I.

Fol. 173 a.

Scotland witht thair money and to mak sail in the
 eist¹ of Scotland as they plessit. Bot at this act the
 Duik was nocht present bot maid his protestatioun
 contrair the samin, and lykewyse the earle of Atholl and
 Glencarne and the haill barrouns of Scotland appoyntit 5
 the contrar of the same and said the croune septer nor
 suord sould nocht depart out of Scotland quhill they
 saw successioun of the quens bodie. Bot the seillis
 was brokin and maid new againe, as it is knawin, and
 Monsr Dosie gat the palice of Lythgow witht wther 10
 landis pertening to the king at that tyme; bot the croune
 was continewit and zeid nocht out of Scotland quhill
 they saw forder about thame.]²

1558.

In³ the zeir of god I^m v^o lvij zeiris, the xx day of
 Appryle ane poore man callit Wallter Myle was taine in 15
 Dysart be Schir Hew Currie, preist to the bischope and
 Schir George Strawchquen. The said Walter Mylie was
 warmeand him in ane poore womans house in Dysart
 and teichand hir the commandis of god to hir and hir
 bairnes and leirand hir how scho sould instruct hir house 20
 to bring wpe hir bairnes in the feir of god. Bot thir for-
 nameit preistis as I have schawin to zow, heiring of this
 poore man came and tuik him, and had him to Sanctandris
 to the bischope thair maister quho incontenent send and
 conwenit certane bischopis, abbottis and pryouris, to 25
 wit, the bischope of Sanctandris, the bischope of Caitnes,
 the bischope of Murray, the bischope of Dunkell, the
 bischope of Dumblane, the Abbott of Cowper, the Abbott
 of Lindoiris,⁴ the abbot of Duinfermling, the Abbott of
 Kilwining witht the docteris of the colledgis Mr Iohnne 30
 Douglas, Mr Iohnne Windrum⁵ suppryour of the abbay,
 witht money wther leirnitt men conwenitt at Sanctandris

¹ Possibly a mistake for "coist."

² The passage in brackets, from A, is evidently a variation of the conclusion of the passage from I; but as the variation is considerable, both are printed in the text.

³ I resumes here.

⁴ I inserts, "the abbot of balmirrinloch."

⁵ Winram.

in the Abbay kirk the 25 day of Appryle in the zeir of
god forsaid and thair putt wpe ane freir callit Maltman
quhilk preichit the wangell and interpretit the sam fer¹
fre the meaning of the spreit of god. But quhene this
5 sillie poore man hard him he fell grovelingis on his face
and crayit witht ane loude woyce, 'Allace, zone freir, he
' leis, my lordis; quho accussit the poore man Walter
' Myle of heresie.' His accuser was Mr Androw Ole-
' phantt quho said to him in this maner following:—

The Accusar.

10 'Arratick, quhy passis thow about in previe houssis,
' teicheis and seduces the pepill to awarice and learning
' charmes and enchantment to hald thame fre the kirk
' service?'

The Answer.

'Werlie brother I do not so, I hald no goode man
15 'nor woman fre the kirk of god bot rather alluris
' thame to serue god witht all my heart and schawis
' thame the commandementis of god as I can witht
' the Lordis prayer and beleif and to gar thame
' wnderstand thair awin sallvatioun.'

The Accusar.

20 'Bot thow was ane preist, quhy hes thow left the
' mese?'

The Answer.

'Brother, because I could nocht win my meit witht
' it² [bot now for my meitt I teiche the commande-
' mentis of god] ffor it was so lichtleit and weliependit
25 'that I could gett nothing for it, bot now for my meitt I
' teiche the commandementis quhair I may instruct the
' pepill or how thay sall bring wpe thair bairnes in godis
' feir.' Then ansuerit Mr Androw Oliephant and said:

¹ "Fer" = far. See Glossary.

² I omits words in brackets.

The Accusar.

'Arratick war thow nocht ane preist and curatt of
 'the parochin of Lunen¹ besyde the Reid castell in
 'Angus, quhair thow fiede as fugitiue and ane witht
 'the callit Schir Iohnne Petre² serwand to the Lord
 'of Ermaith,³ quho war delaittit and gevin wpe to the 5
 'cardinall our maister and to ws as arraticks and seduce-
 'aris of the pepill and for that cause fied out of the
 'contrie as fugitouris and was condemnitt quhair ewer
 'he could be appriehendit to be brunt, thairfor we neid
 'not to mak no accusatioun nor deletioun⁴ of zow at 10
 'this tyme mair.' Then Walter Myle ansuerit and said :

The Answer.

'Brother, trow it is I was currat at Lunen and
 'serwit the cure xx zeir and no man I traist in that
 'parochie will pleinze on me bot they will say I ame 15
 'ane christiane man and leiffit as ane christiane
 'man and in spetiall the lord of the reid castell quho
 'duallis withtin the parochin that I serwit that he never
 'hard me teiche ane erronious doctrene nor zeit wse my
 'lyfe nor conversatioun wngodlie.' Than Mr Androw
 Oliephant said : 20

The Accusar.

'Arratick quhy left thow thy parochin?' He ansuerit
 againe :

The Answer.

'Brother, because the furieous cardinall persecuttit
 'me and money mo, and sought our lyffis to have
 'sched our bloode for Christis word⁵ [and becaus I 25
 'maryed ane puire woman to be marrow to me that I
 'micht keip the law of god to avoyd fornicatioun and to
 'be a help to me in.'

¹ "Lunan in Angus," L. ² "Patrie," L. ³ "Innermeith," L.

⁴ "Delatioun," L.

⁵ I add the passage in brackets.

The Accusar.

'Arratyk knowis thow nocht that it is aganes the
'lawis of haly kirk that thow souldest be ane preist
'and marie ane wyff.'

The Answer.

'It is nocht aganes the law of god howbeit I was
5 'persecuted wrangouslie be the said cardinall] and that
'caussit me to conteneu myself quyitlie, and to gang
'about and ask my meit for godis saik as wther
'poore men, wknawin of ony body bot zeit my heart
'could nocht suffer me to come in the house quhair
10 'banning or sueiring was and blasphematioun of the
'name of god bot wald snibe the same and schaw thame Fol. 176 a.
'that law of god quhat revaird they sould gett that
'blasphemes his name and oft tymes I was wssand my
'self in this maner; thairfoir I was wnwayit¹ and taine
15 'and brocht heir captiue, bot not for no scheip steilling
'nor wrangous geir bot for the law of god and teiching
'of his worde to the pepill.'

The Accusar.

Than said the bischopis, 'will thow obiure,² and
'burne thy faggott and thow salbe saif.' Than ansuerit
20 Walter Myle:

The Answer.

'To obiure that will I nocht grant my self ane
'arratick quhilk I ame nocht bot ane trew serwant
'of god serwand him witht powertie quhillis gangand
'to my bede but my supper ffor I desyre no walth in
25 'this warld, ffor I trust my revaird salbe in heavin.
'Do witht me as ze pleise zour selffis at this tyme,
'I man tholl zour iudgement³ bot better it war to

¹ "Invyed" in I is right.

² "Objure"—i.e., abjure.

³ I here inserts the incident of Friar Maltman (p. 131 line 2), and transfers Myll's appeal to a later place.

' zour lordschipis to helpe and gif me sum thing to my
 ' wyffe and tuo bairnes, quho ar lyk to tyne for faltt ; as
 ' ffor my death I cure not.'

The Sentence.

Then the bischopis and preistis laid thair heidis
 togither and gaif sentance and condemnitt this poore 5
 man to the deith, syne heirefter continewit him tuo
 dayis or thrie because they could not gett ane iudge
 criminall to him to execut that office. Then the
 bischope send for the provest of Sanctandris quho was
 stewart of his regalietye at that tyme and desyrit him to 10
 execut that man into the deid ffor they had found him
 guilltie. The provist ansuerit and said, 'that will I
 ' nocht my lord, I will haue nothing to do witht the
 ' serwandis of god to trubill thame nor gif iudgement on
 ' thame nor to burne thame bot ony wther thing pertene- 15
 ' ing to my office I will wssitt and stand witht it to the
 ' plesour of god and iustice and that I do at zour com-
 ' mand bott wther wayse I will nocht mell witht no
 ' innocent man and spetiall the servantis of god that
 ' preiches his worde.' Then the bischope ansuerit and 20
 said, 'prowist, ze ken ze ar my iudge and stewart of my
 ' regalietye, ze aught to iudge all thame that transgres or
 ' faultis withtin my boundis.' The provist ansuerit
 and said, 'that is of truth and weratie, and gif zour
 ' lordschip pleissis I will be contentit I sall tak him 25
 ' and gif him ane fair syse of temporall men and per-
 ' chance to cleng him of all the ditta and the poyntis ze
 ' haue put to him.' The bischope ansuerit and said,
 'quhy not, witht ane goode will I ame content that ze
 ' vse that order wpoun him and mak me quytt of him 30
 ' ony wyse that ze lyke best, ffor I haue no will that he
 ' sould die at this time.' But sowme wyse men that war
 freindis to the provist at that tyme schew that that
 matter was perralus to cleng him, ffor the bischopis and

the clergie condemnit him all redy, heir for¹ bad him
 be advysit quhat he did, and gif the bischope fair
 wordis in the meane tyme bot haif not ado with that
 man ffor he was innocent. The provist heairand this
 5 desyrit at me lordis to continew the matter quhill on
 the morne quhill they might be advysit thairwoun
 and so my lord did. The provest went hame to his
 ludging quhill on the morne tymose in the morning he
 departit of the town. Than worde come to the bischope
 10 that the provist was departit of the toune, thane he was
 werie crabit that he was frustrat in that maner and wist
 nocht weill quhat to do and sought lang heir and thair
 bot he could not come to his intent quhill at last thair
 was in his awin court ane callit Sumervail ane crapinell²
 15 of the devill without ether faitht or reliegieoun, nocht
 haueing the feir of god in him, tuk the office in hand
 and sett in iudgement and thair accussit this poore man
 criminallie and condemnit him to the deid. And thair-
 efter they sought burieoris and sought towis to bind him
 20 bot they could not obtain nane in all the toune of
 Sanctandris in all the bouthis ane inche of ane tow
 nether to by nor to be sellit for money because the
 marchantis knawin the same matter had hid thame all
 for loue they buire to the servandis of god, so it was
 25 lang or they could obtaine fyre pulder and towis. Zeit
 at length they gat all thingis neidfull according to thair
 desyre and thair they buildit the fyre on the north syde
 of the Abbay kirk on the south hand³ and thair thay
 brocht the poore innocent Walter Myle out of pressone
 30 and presentit him to the fyre and first spoillzeit him of his
 wimest⁴ claithis and syne stuffit him with pulder and sett
 him on the skaffald and syne bad him recant for skorne.
 Thane he ansuerit thame againe bauldlie and stoutlie

Fol. 177 a.

¹ "Heir for." We now say "therefore."² "Trapinall," I. Crapinell, a knave. Jamieson, Dict., under "Crepinall." ³ I has "heuch heid." ⁴ "Wmest" = uppermost.

witht ane strang and mightie spreit, 'I marwell of zour
 ' wisdomes ze foollis and wode hiepoceitis that heipis
 ' fourtht ane condemnatioun wpoun zour awin heidis in
 ' melling this witht the servantis of god causles, and
 ' cruellie putting thame to the deid innocentlie but ether 5
 ' the law of god or man. As for me it makis not
 ' mekill for I ame fourescoir of zeiris by-gaine thairfor
 ' be nature I haue nocht lang to leif,¹ bot gif I be brunt
 ' at this tyme thair sall ane hunder ryse in the asse² of
 ' my bones better nor I and sall skatter the proude pak 10
 ' of zow hiepoceitis that perturbis the serwandis of god
 ' and quhilk of zow that thinkis zow hieest sall nocht be
 ' worthie ane deid as I sall die now; I trust to god to
 ' his plesour and that I salbe the hindmest that sall
 ' suffer for this cause.' Witht that he exortit the pepill 15
 to pray for him and he for thame, and so he recom-
 mendit his spreit in the handis of god and his sacrieifice
 ffor his saik; and syne [they] pullit the tow and lut him
 fall in the fyre and so he bruntt. This cruell act and
 persecutioun of the trew servand of god quhilk was done 20
 for the testamoney of the religieoun of Christ as I
 haue schawin to zow, in the zeir of god I^m v^c lviii
 zeiris. The xx day of Appryle ³[about this tyme thair
 was ane scoittisman callit Paull Mephin quha was borne
 I, fol. 121 a. in the towne of falkland in fyiff quha passit to Ingland 25
 to leirne letteris and to preach godis word bot he was
 banisit out of Ingland be quein marie vtherwayes callit
 Jesobell becaus scho distroyit the serwandis of god the
 ministeris that prechit the vord and also thame that war
 professouris of the religioun to the number of fyve or 30
 sex thowsand baith gentill and commonis leirned and
 onleirned and zoung als weill the woman as the man

¹ I here inserts the request to give to his wife "and hir babeis sum of zour superflwetic seine ze tak me away frome thame wrangouslie and gif ze do it nocht I have na doubt but god sall punische zow according to zour demerittis."

² Ashes.

³ The passage in brackets is from I.

non eschaiped hir handis bot all war crwelie persecuted
and brunt to the death and that be counsall of hir
wickit bischopis quha war the paippis souldiouris. This
puire man paull mepheine seand this addressit him self
5 and come in Scotland in the zeir of god I^m v^o lvij zeiris
and] efter this Paul Meffen come in Scotland and
preichit in Dindie and in sindrie gentillmens places in
Angus and also in Fyfe, to witt, in Coupar, in Lundie
and at Fasyde¹ and in sindrie wther placeis, and minis-
10 trat the sacramentis in Lundie² imagis thair of to be
cassin doune and abolisched the popis religieoun sa far
as he passit or preichit for the tyme; for the quhilk
cause he and they that resait him and spetiall the men
of Dundie war sowmond befor the quene and secreit
15 consall at Edinburgh the xx day of Julii in the zeir for-
said to witt, I^m v^o Lvij zeiris bot he was so assistit witht
temporall men be solistatioun thair of was contienewit
quhill they saw forder in the matter.

This same³ procurit great weir on the bordar betuix Fol. 177 b.
20 Ingland and Scotland and was callit the quarter raidis
quhair thair was ane raid ridin in Ingland and mekill
slaughter maid in baitht the sydis⁴ quhair thair was
taine the Maister of Marchall, the lord Gray the Maister
of Ghrame witht wther sindrie gentill men and barrouns,
25 and money slaine of Scotland and far mo of Ingland.
[In the same zeir ane taxatioun was maid to the kirkmen
and barrouns of xxiiij m pundis, to wit xvj m pundis
to the kirkmen and viij m pundis to the barrouns.]⁵

¹ I adds, "in balward and remornie"—*i.e.*, Balvaird and Ramorny.

² I, "and in Cowpar and causit the."

³ "Zeir than occurit"—*i.e.*, This same year then occurred.

⁴ "Quilk was callit the thursdayis ches," I.

⁵ I omits passage in brackets, and after the reference to the Thursday's chase and the word "Ingland," begins a new chapter.

THE XXV CHAPTER.

How the bischoppis convenit in edinburgh and how they causit
 quein moder to summond paul Mezhine and all thame yat
 resisted him and consentit to his preaching. How paul
 Mephin was put to the horne for [non]compeinnace. Schir
 Thomas Jamesoun summond. How the quein of ingland depairted
 How Lord James be advyce of the congregatioun brocht Johne
 Knockis out of genarve and Johne Willockis out of ingland
 Ane battell betwix the laird of grange and the lord everis
 Ane conventioun of the bischoppis.

- l. fol. 191 b.* [In the aucht of nowember the haill bischoppis and
 kirkmen causit quein moder than beand regent for the
 tyme to summond paul Mephin befor hir grace at
 Edinburgh. Bot paul Mephin compeired nocht at that
 tyme becaus he knew thair wicked myndis aganes him 5
 and his favouraris and swa causit him to be put to the
 horne and siclyke thame that resett him bot zit god of
l. fol. 192 a. his gret guidnes steired vp the hairtis of the haill towne
 of Dundie with the maist pairt of the gentilmen of the
 meirnis and fyffe kyll and cunninghame that favourit 10
 goddis word and passit to the quenis grace and desyred
 him to be relaxit fra the horne bot onnawayes the
 bischoppis wald tholl nor permit hir grace bot gave to
 hir grace ane gret sowme to hald him still at the horne.
 The gentilmen with the burgesis persawand thair gret 15
 malice passit to evirie schyre within this realme quhair
 goddis word was preachit and requestit thame that wald
 defend goddis word and Paull Mephin and put thair
 handwreittis to ane wreitting and callit than the congre-
 gatioun this was the first begining of the congregatioun 20
 in this realme. In the samyn zeir ane man callit Schir
 thomas Jamesoun of cowper in fyffe was summond for
 preaching aganes the mes in sanctandros bot the maister
 of lyndsay the laird of craighall the laird of lundy and

Patrick Kynninmond of Calleinge¹ with vtheris sindrie gentlemen of fyffe that favourit goddis word raid with him and brocht him perforce fra Sanctandros [who] thair eftir was maid minister of largow. In this same zeir
 5 vpon the xvij day of nowember the wicked quein Marie departed of this lyff to the gret comfort of the protestans of ingland and scotland and Elizabeth was maid quein in hir steid. At this tyme lord James with adwyce of the congregatioun brocht Johne Knox out of genavoe² and
 10 Johne Willox out of Ingland quha war bayth scoittismen borne and cuning men in the scripture of god and trew preachouris of Chrystis evangell quha war banisit out of scotland befor for the samyn and judgment led on thame be dauid beattoun cardinall for the tyme quho causit to
 15 condamp thame for arracie and burne thair picturis. Nochtwithstanding thay war preseruit be goddis graice and the said cardinall gat his reward for the said banishment and that be the hand of god for punisching of his trew serwandis as ze haue hard befor I neid nocht to
 20 reheirs.]³ And this zeir I^m v^c lviiij zeiris the viij⁴ day of 1558. November queine Marie of Ingland deit wtherways callit Iesobell, quho pat doune the servantis of god, departit out of this present lyfe and Elieizabetht secund douchter to the king of Ingland was proclaimitt queine.
 25 In the same zeir⁵ Lorde Ewerse brother desyrit to fight witht Williame Kirkcaldie laird of Grange in singular battell on horsebak witht tuo scherp speiris. The said Williame was werie weill content thairof and to meit him at ony place he pleissit, the quhilk day and place was
 30 sett and appoyntit quhair they sould meit, to wit, at⁶
 , quhair they mett weill accompanit on baitht the sydis, to witt, the lord Ewerse brother accompanitt witht the generall⁷ for the tyme witht all the

¹ Callainge.² Geneva.³ The passage from I ends here.⁴ "xvii," I.⁵ "The aucht day of November," I.⁶ I has also a blank.⁷ "Of berwick with vther gentlemen of Ingland," I.

souddartis and gariesone thairof witht wther gentillmen of Ingland; on the wther syde Williame Kirkcaldie accompanitt witht Monsr Doswell the king of Frances lutennent, witht all the souldouris and gariesone of Haymoutht witht wther gentillmen of Scotland. Quhene 5 the tuo airmeis war convenitt and consulltit and determenat wnder the paine of treasson that na mane sould come neir thir campieouns be the space of ane flight schot, bot everie ane of thame to haue ane man to beir his speir, and thair sould be tuo trumpattouris and tua 10 lordis be the Inglischemen to sie the matter finischit. And quhene all thing was put to order and thir captans horssit on horsebak and thair speiris in thair handis, then thair trumpatis soundit and the heraldis¹ cryit and the Inglische 'Lutt thame go, god schaw the right,' and so 15 they rane togither werie cruellie and furieouslie on baitht the sydis, bot the laird of Grange ran his marrow the Inglischman out throw the schoulder blaid and of his horse and so he was wondit deidlie and in perall of his lyfe. Quither he dieit or leiffit I can nocht tell bot 20 Grange wan the wictorie that day.

Fol. 178 a.

In this zeir begane the wproir of reliegieoun² ffor all gentillmen and commons war haill inclynnitt to heir the preicharis of godis word trewlie, and to interpret the wangell of Christ to thair ediefecatioun. At this the 25 bischopis was werie affrayit and so was all the haill clargie of Scotland. Thairfor they convenit ane provincial [council] at Edinburgh the xxviiij day of December to be haldin in the blak freiris and thair to gar sowmond all bischopis, abbottis, pryouris, persouns wicaris and all 30 maner of men of thair reliegieoun that had knowledge or lettres to heir and sie and consallit quhat was best to be done aganis the wprore of the protestantis and thair new

¹ I has "and the judges," omitting "and the English." "Judges" seems a mistake, but probably "cryit" should come after "Inglische."

² This is what Pitscottie refers to in the Preface.

reliegieoun and to sie quhat way thay might sett done
 the samin maist easalie ffor thair particular and commone
 weill of the popis kirk. To that effect they maid money
 actis and constitutionis, to witt, the first [no man] sould
 5 haif ane benefice bot ane preist; secundlie, that na bene-
 feit¹ sould haue huris nor wse harlotrie nor adullterie ffor
 the first fault gif he did, he sould pay great sowmes of
 money, the secund fault he sould lose his benefice. To
 this contrair appeillit the bischope of Murray quhilk ever
 10 was ane hure maister all his dayis and committit hure-
 dome and adullterie baitht witht meadins and mens
 wyffis, saying he wald nocht put away his hure noe mor
 nor the bischope of Sanctandrois wald put his away ffor it
 was as lesum to him to haue ane hure as hie; and farder
 15 he wald preif it lesum to him, to call the popis bowis² that Fol. 178 b.
 is writtin in the degreis, that he might haue ane hure in
 absence of his wyffe. Ffarder they maid ane act that
 Schir Dawid Lyndsayis buike sould be condemnid and
 bruntt and so they performitt the same and bruntt it as
 20 ze sall heir efterwart. Bot in this meane tyme thair
 come ane ambassadour fre the kirk of god that is to say
 frome the protestanttis nameit Iohnne Erskin of Dun
 quho desyrit hwmanitie at thair handis.

³[In this same zeir the bischopis with the haille schavel- I, fol. 122 a.
 25 ling sort had ane counsall in the blak freiris in Edinburghe
 and thair thai set furth certane artickillis condampning I, fol. 122 b.
 the preaching of paull mephin as heresie and set furth
 in prent that god was flesche bluid and bones in the
 consecratioun of the bred in the mes and affirmed pur-
 30 gatorie and the invocatioun of sanctis and that nane

¹ "Benefeit" (?) *i.e.*, person holding a benefice.

² "Bowis," (?) bulls. This passage is difficult, and has been omitted in the printed editions. Perhaps it means to cite the Pope's "Bulls written in the Decrees"—*i.e.*, the Canon Law book so called. See Notes.

³ The passage in brackets is from I, and in the first part gives a varied but distinct account of the Council at the Black Friars, so it was thought well to print the whole in the text.

within this realme sould deny the foirsaid artickillis vnder
 the panes of deid and to be reput as arratykes and
 aganes the statute of the romane kirk and the dewill
 thair fader the paip. And also Johnne hammiltoun
 bishop of sanctandros and lord James commenditour 5
 of the pryorie with Maister Johnne Winrome suppryour
 of Sanctandros with vtheris channonis in cumpanie
 passit throch fyff to the kirkis thairof and prechit the
 word of god. Quhan the sermon was done Johnne
 Hammiltowne bishop of Sanctandros start vp and maid 10
 ane exhortatioun to the peopill deir¹ of the heiring
 That is to say commanded the peopill vnder the pane
 of cursing to gif ony credence or ear or attendance to
 the new preaching and doctrin of souteris tailzeouris
 skynneris baksteris or ony vther quhatsumevir that had 15
 nocht his licence and admissioun thairto or thane my
 lord James.

THE XXVI CHAPTER.

Captouris maid be the bishopis and send to ewirie parroche kirk
 Ane ambassadour fra the protestanis send to the bishoppis.
 Ane sumondis on the ministeris of goddis word Pace con-
 cludet betwix france scotland and ingland.

Wpon the sext day of februarj the bishopis and kirk-
 men causit certane captouris² to be maid to that intent
 that quhatsumevir thay war that eat flesche in letrone 20
 or maid nocht thair confessioun to the preistis sould be
 reput airt and pairt and as partakeris with the congrega-
 tioun and thir captouris passit in evirie parroch be the
 bishoppis myanis.]³ At this tyme the kirk of god that
 is to say the trew protestanis and congregatioun thairof 25
 send ane ambassadour to the bishoppis desyrand thame

¹ *I.e.*, "hard of the hearing," or "which was disagreeable hearing" (?). See Glossary. ² "Captouris" = chapters (?). See Notes.

³ The passage from I ends here.

- humanlie that they wald for the lufe they aught to god
leif of thair pryd and presumptousnes and great furie
and regor and malice that they beir towart the relie-
gieoun and poore kirk of god and the professouris
5 thair of and be content that they might serue god
according to his commandement and conforme to thair
conscience and that they wald be content that they may
haue the common prayeris in everie parochie kirk in Ing-
lische for ane quhill quhill thai saw farder about thame.
10 To this the bischopis wald in novayis consent bot
grew werie proud and high myndit, thinkand that they
had the quene and king of France on thair partie in
Scotland, they cairit not christ thair maister nor the
evangell bot presumptouslie caist thame to thair awin
15 libertie and the popis conditionis.¹ Bot² it become
of thame as it become of Luciefer³ quhene he rang
hiest in the hewin in this impyre and did offend aganis
the maiestie of god he was most sudenlie deiecit and
cassin done to the hell and that be the devyne maiestie
20 and powar of god, and so become of the proud and
presumptuous bischopis and hiepocreittis and finzeit relie-
geous men. Quhene they stude in thair hiest degre
and wald nocht grant no libertie to the servandis of
god to serue thair maister christ as thai desyrit tham,
25 became suddenlie thair deprevatioun and fall ffor thair
was withtin schort tyme thair durst nocht ane mese be
said in Scotland in publict placeis, nor ane kirkman

¹ I reads, "paipes traditionis and to that effect gart prent thir actis and constitutionis and set thame in the kirk doris and sealed thame throche the cuntrie for twa pennyes quhilk eftirward was callit the twa penny fayth."

² I reads, "Bot all thair pryd and arrogance and all thair power turned haistlie to rwyne as ze will heir heireftir for it," &c.

³ I reads, "quhilk was in the heavin the fairrest angell and rang moist trywmphandlie vnder the diwinitie and maiestie of god for his arrogancie and pryd aganes the dewyne power of god was haistlie deiecit and cassin out of the heavin vnto the lawest hell and sae become," &c.

nor ane bischope weir ane nwikit bonnett nor ane freir,
 monk or channon weir ane cull,¹ nor durst nocht presum
 to gang to ane pulpit withtout he recantit the popis
 reliegieoun and become ane trew protestant. Bot we
 will leif this and returne to our historie.

5

Fol. 179 a.

The quene sieand this wprore and heiring the evangell
 of christ preichit abrode, and the commwnioun callit the
 lordis supper was ministrat according to christis institu-
 tioun. This the bishopsis and scho laid thair heidis
 together and consultit to sowmond Paull Meffen Iohnne 10
 Willox Williame Harlaw Iohnne Douglas againe the
 tent day of Maij witht wtheris of the serwandis of god
 to compeir at Edinburgh the said day abone writtin
 befor the secreit consall bot be means of the laird of
 Dun and wther gentillmen, the day of compeirance was 15
 deferit. At this tyme I^m v^c [lvij]² zeiris peace being
 concludit betuix Ingland and France quhairin Scotland
 was comprehendit and it was aggreit and promist that
 Haymoutht sould be cassin down. Bot we will returne
 to our purpose. The quene and the clargie war movit 20
 so at the protestantis that they brak thair promissis to
 thame and keipit never ane worde thair of bot patt the
 preicharis of godis worde regurously to the horne and
 chargit sindrie barrouns and gentillmen to waird. Bot
 they dissobeyit and tuik it plainlie wpoun thame, con- 25
 venitt in Sanct Iohnnstoun money of the gentillmen
 and commons of Fyfe and sum of Stretherne and sum
 of Angus, to witt, in Fyfe the Maister of Lyndsay
 the laird of Lundie zounger and elder, the laird of
 Cragie hall, the laird of Abeschaw,³ the lard of Newhall 30
 witht money wtheris diuerse gentillmen and commons
 quho passit haistalie and desperatlie to S. Iohnnstoun
 rether to ieopard thair lyffis witht thair body in defence
 of the evangell of christ nor to sie thair broder put to
 pains and the evangell abolischt.

¹ Cowl.² I.³ "Abbotshall."

THE XXVII CHAPTER.

Ane conventioun of the congregatioun in sanct Johnstoune. The
 doune castin of the idollis. The preaching of goddis word
 opinlie. The resaving of Johnne Knox. The Counsall of Johnne
 Knox to the congregatioun upon the brig of Sanctiohnstoune.
 The doun castin of the charterhous.

Thair¹ to they convennitt at Sanct Iohnnstoun in the
 zeir of god I^m v^c lx zeiris in the moneth of appryle.
 This conventioun come to Sanct Iohnnstoun and thair
 preichit the evangell of christ oppinlie be Iohnne Knox,
 5 and syne quhene they had dynnitt efter none zeid to
 the kirk againe to the sermon, and efter the sermon was
 done gaif command to cast doune the idollis of the
 kirk that is to say the allteris and the imagies and all
 wther waine idollis quhilk was done hastalie. And
 10 thairefter that same night past to the brege of Sanct
 Iohnnstoun and thair held ane consall and callit on the
 serwant of god Iohnne Knox and caussit him to make
 his prayeris and suplicatiounis to allmightie god that
 he might gif thame ane trew and godlie consall con-
 forme to the glorie of god and his will to sett out and
 15 defend his trew kirk and the glorie heirof; and syne it
 was consultit amangis thame selffis immediatlie that they
 sould pase to the chairtourhouse. Bot the pryour thairof
 knew the same that they war purpossit to the same had
 20 brocht certane of his hielandmen out of his landis of
 Atholl to defend his place gif it war persewit. Bot thir
 men seing great appeirance thairof and that they war abill

Fol. 179 b.

¹ I has here, "In the zeir of god I^m fywe hundreith fyfthie nyne
 zeiris the xiiijth day of apryll mony of the gentilmen of fyiff angus
 Stratherne and the meiris heiring of the quenis rigorousnes passit
 to Sanct Johnnestoun all and convenit thair and tuik the matter
 vpone thame and resaut Iohnne Knox and causit him to preache
 the evangell of chryst publictly and opinlie in the parroche of
 Sanct Johnstoune and syne thay passit to thair denner" ["and syne
 quhen," &c., as in text].

to be put to ane strait in defence of the place, come to
 the pryour and desyrit of him thair wyffis and thair
 eldest souns to be putt in thair takis during thair lyfe
 tymes and he wald do that thai wald fend the place
 and die in defence of it and fight thair foir, bot the 5
 pryour gaif thame nothing bot ane repulssit ansuer.
 Than they desyrit the pryour to fill the wyne and gif
 thame thair fillis of the best drink quhilk wald incurage
 thame bot he wald grant nothing to thame bot saltt
 sallmond and thin drink quhilk gart thame tyne curage 10
 quhene they had maist ado. Then the congregatioun
 send ane ambassadour to the pryour desyrand him to
 become the serwant of god and to leif idollatrie and to
 serue god according to his will and commandement and
 gif he wald do so they wald use him gentlie conforme 15
 to conscience and marcie. This ambassadour that past
 to him was the laird of Moncreif quho was werie neir of
 kin to him quho beleiffit that he sould drese him in all
 thingis according to godis will and thairis bot never the les
 this man gat nothing bot ane ewill ansuer baitht proud and 20
 wngodlie saying that he wald navayis apply to thair will
 and plesour till he saw farder about him. This gentill-
 man the laird of Moncreif getting sic ane repulsit ansuer
 was nowayis content witht him and passit to the con-
 gregatioun and prayit to do witht him as they thocht 25
 cause ffor he could gett no order of him that was good.
 This they concludit incontenent and past in all haist to
 the chaiterhouse and thair tuike the pryour and spullzeit
 the place and gaif the spullze to the toun and thairefter
 on the morne caist doune ewerie stone and stik and 30
 maid it equall witht the ground; and thair efter passit
 to the grayfreiris and blakfreiris and to the freiris of
 Tillielum and caist thame all done except the freiris of
 Tillielum¹ quhilk the lord Ruthven saiffit be his moyane
 bot abolischit the freiris thairof. 35

Fol. 180 a.

¹ "Tillolum," I. The printed editions omit this exception.

THE XXVIII CHAPTER.

The reformeing of cowpar kirk the incuming of certane frenchmen
 Hou the quein send about my lord duik. Hou the quein and
 my lord duik met at Stiruilling and hou thay come with thair
 haill force to haue fochin with the protestanis at sanctjohn-
 stoune Hou the Erle of glencairne come with ane gret armie
 to the support of the protestanis Hou they war appointed.

This¹ being done the quene hapnit to be in Stirling
 ffor the tyme and heiring of this was wondrous wraith,
 angrie and wowit to god scho sould haue mens and
 punische that deid cruellie and to that effect send to
 5 the Duike and desyrit him to speik with hir and haue
 his consall thairin to, quho came hastalie to hir witht
 all his forcess to sie quhat war hir will. Thair scho
 begane in this maner saying to him, 'my lord I marwell
 'of zow, ze being secund persone of Scotland and nane
 10 'betuix zow and the autorietie bot my douchter quho
 'hes no successioun as zeit, and I bot ane woman that
 'knewis nocht the natur nor falssietie² of men and
 'berneage³ of Scotland and I beleif they stand no aw
 'of me because I ame bot ane woman and thairfor I
 15 'marwell of zow that ze will nocht help to correct the
 'men that so abuse the common weill and pollacie
 'of the cuntrie in casting done of abbayis and re-
 'liegieous placeis, and destroying the libertie of hallie
 'kirk. I think it sould be zour dewtie and zour
 20 'brotheris to defend this realme sa far as it lyis in

¹ I here adds, "In this same zeir vpone Witsonday the kirk of
 Coupar was reformed and thair cassin downe for the quhilk caus
 the curet thair of callit Schir Allane Haccarstoune brak his neck in
 his awin bed for hairt sair. About this tyme the king of france
 send support of frenchman to the nommer of twa thowsand men of
 weir to assist the quein and the bischoppis and to subwert the
 religioun and congregatioun and wovit * suirleie scho sould haue ane
 sickar mendis of thame and to that effect," &c.

² "Qualities," I.

³ Baronage.

* "Wovit" = vowed.

'zour powar, thocht I had nothing ado witht it con-
 'sidering that ze ar, as I haue schawin to zow, secund
 'persone of the realme.' Be hir fair wayis and subtile
 wordis scho brocht the Duik to hir purpos that he
 witht all his forces kin and freindis that he might, come 5
 fordwart witht hir to Sanct Iohnnstoun. Bot the first
 night that they came no neirar nor Auchterardour¹ witht
 the rest and thair remanitt quhill the artaillze come
 fourtht of Edinburgh and Stirling quhillk was the space
 of sex or sewin² dayis or it could be gottin in redienes. 10
 In this meane tyme worde come to the congregatioun
 that the quene was command fordwart to Sanct Iohnn-
 stoun to distroy the toun and the inhabetantis thairof
 quhillk was werie displessant to thame and incontenent
 raissit all that they might be in Fyfe, Angus Stretherne 15
 and the Merse and sum of Lowthieane and send ane
 post incontenent to thair brother and freind the Earle
 of Glencairne desyrand him to come in all haist to
 defend thame and godis cause, declairing to him quhat
 cace they stude intill. And he, lyk ane trew christiane, 20
 inflaimitt with luffe and cheratie to his bretherin raissit
 hallalie all that he might be in the wast land baitht
 of gentillmen and commons and come fordwart baitht
 on futt and horse to the number of xvij^c men, and
 spairit no trawell nether day nor night quhill he was 25
 withtin tuo myle to Sanct Iohnnstoun. The quens
 companie and frenchemen being in thin order ffor the
 time and takand wpe thair airmie and command ford-
 wart to the toune, at this meane tyme word come
 to tham that the earle of Glencairne was come to 30
 Sanct Iohnnstoun witht ane great host of men baitht
 on horse and futte to the number of ij^m men, ane
 thowsand horsemen and ane thowsand futtemen and

Fol. 180 b.

¹ A has "Auchinorder"; B has "Arthenarder"; I, "Auchterardour," which is right.

² "Sevin or aucht," I.

that to tak pairt witht the congregatioun. The quene
 and the governour heirand thir wordis was nocht con-
 tentit thairwith and was greatlie effeirit heirof knawand
 weil the earle of Glenearne was come to defend godis
 5 quarrell and the rather that the Duik and his was in
 his contrair. Bot in this meane tyme thair come worde
 to the quens grace out of Sanct Iohnnstoun that they
 war iij^m goode lyke men redy arrayit in tuo battellis
 wpoun the Inche of Sanct Iohnnstoun witht xx schot
 10 of goode artaillze in contrair thame and that they war
 command fordwart to meit hir, and was determinat
 never ane to flie frome ane wther bot rather to die
 in godis cause nor to flie to be punischt be frinchemen
 as strangeris to thame. And in signe and taikin thair of
 15 the maist part of thame patt sex quarteris of cordis
 about his hallis¹ that gif he fled he sould be hangit
 and gif they owercome thair enemeis the frenchemen
 sould be hangit thairwith; and ffarder they left the
 earle of Glenearne witht ij^m men to keip the toun of
 20 Sanct Iohnnstoun to be ane releif to thame gif neid
 war. Quhene the quene governour and frinchemen
 hard thir nowellis they war nocht contentit, knawand
 they could gett nothing thairat and had nocht men
 anew to gif thame battell; thairfor thai consultit
 25 amangis tham selffis and send tuo souldouris to the
 toun to the congregatioun, to witt, the earle Bothuell
 and lord Iames the quens brother quho desyrit to tak
 wpe the matter to freindis. The quene cheissit the
 earle of Argyle and lord Iames for hir and the congre-
 30 gatioun was content heirof; they cheissit for thair part
 the earle of Glenearne and the laird of Dun to convene
 for thame, so thir foure tuike wpe the matter and con-
 tractit in the samin maner as efter followis:—It was
 contractit and finallie aggreit that the congregatioun
 35 sould leif the toun of Sanct Iohnnstoun woyde and

Fol. 181 a.

¹ Neck.

fre, redy to resae the quene thairin so money Scottis-
men witht hir as scho pleissit, provyding allwayis that
no frincheman sould come withtin the toun nor neir-
hand the samin be thrie myle and that the quene sould
not call thame nor molest nor trubill ony induallar 5
no inhabetar withtin the toun but repois hir tua or
three dayis and to leif the toun frie as scho fand it,
and to that effect the congregatioun everie man sould
pase hame to his awin duelling.

THE XXIX CHAPTER.

Hou the congregatioun scailled. Hou the quein came to sanct-
johnstoun. Hou the quein brak hir promise to the congrega-
tioun. Hou the toun of sanctjohnstoun was opprest be
frenchmen. Hou the lord James and the Erle of Argyle
left the quein and come to the congregatioun. Hou the
quein come out of sanctjohnstoun to falkland with all hir
men of weir. Hou the quein was purposit to cum to coupar
and sanctandros to haue distroyit thame with thair frenchmen.
Hou the erle of Argyle and lord James with all the congrega-
tioun gadderit to have met hir and givin her battell and hou
thay come to couper muire and the queins armie to taruat
mylne and how thay appoincted and aggreit.

This being done the congregatioun left the toun 10
and past hame to thair awin duelling, and the quene
come to it and was thankfullie ressawit thairin and
weill intertenitt be the heidis men of the toun and so
was my lorde Duik witht all honest and goode Scotis-
men. Bot fre tyme the quene had remanit thrie or 15
foure dayis scho brak hir promise to the congregatioun,
ffor scho caussit the frinchemen to come in to the
toun quho perturbit and spoillzeit the same. And syne
scho callit the heidis men of the toun to wnderlay the
law ffor sic thingis as scho had to lay to thair charge, 20
and dischargit the lord Ruthven of his provistschipe
and maid the laird of Kinphans prowest and captane

of the toun, and deliuerit to him certane bandis of
 men of weir to keep the same to hir plesour and
 banische thame that war of the congregatioun and
 spetiall Patrick Murray witht his brether and baillzeis
 5 of the toune. Than heirefter scho banischt the honest
 men and syne past to Stirling witht hir men of weir
 and artaillze and swne efter turnitt to Falkland and
 thocht to haue committ to Couper of Fyfe and Sanct-
 androis to haue distroyt thame. Bot in this meane
 10 tyme the earle of Argyle [and] lord Iames seand that
 scho had keipit nothing of hir promise that was maid
 to the congregatioun and thair efter gart mak proclema-
 tioun ffor the quhilk caussis baitht the saidis lordis Fol. 181 b.
 come hastalie to Sanctandrois and ioynett thame selffis
 15 to the congregatioun and thairefter gart mak procle-
 matioun throw all Fyfe, Angus, Stretherne Merse and
 Lowthieane and all that wald come to thair support
 that war faithtfull bretherin, schawand to thame that
 the quene was purpossit and in redienes to come out
 20 of Falkland to Couper and Sanctandrois and to distroy
 the same and the protestantis thairin. Be this way
 the congregatioun gadderit and come fordwart, first
 to Carraill and caist down the imagis and allter thairof,
 and brunt the rude quhilk was ane great idoll¹ and
 25 abussit all men and wemen baitht witht pillgramage.
 This they did the xvj day of Junij and on the morne
 heirefter come to Sanctandrois and reformitt the kirkis
 thairof and caist done the allteris and imageis and all
 wther idollatrie. The bischope being in the toune in
 30 his castell, they caussit Iohnne Knox to preiche oppinlie;
 the bischop sieand this stall² fourtht of the toun and
 eskaipit narullie of his lyfe, and passit to Falkland to
 the quene, and schew hir the maner how the earle of
 Argyle and lord Iames rewlitt all the congregatioun
 35 and how they had distroyt the kirk of Sanctandrois

¹ Rude of Craill. See Notes.² Stole.

and Carraill. The quene heirand this was wondrous
 commovitt and schew me lord Duik the maner how it
 stud and so they concludit to send procliamatioun throw
 the contrie to cause all maner of man to be redy to
 follow the quene to Couper and Sanctandrois and com- 5
 mandit all the men of weir to be redy that night againe
 the morne to pase fordwart witht hir grace. Bot the
 congregatioun heirand of this purpose prevenit the
 tyme and marchit out of Sanctandrois to Couper to
 the number of iij^m men and so the men of Dundie 10
 Angus and Merse mett thame at Couper to the number
 of ane thowsand men and remanitt that night in Couper
 quhill on the morne be day blew the trumpat and past
 fordwart out of the toun to the mure thair to meit the
 quene beleiffand that scho sould haue comed that gaitt. 15
 Bot the quene remanit still in Falkland and send my
 lord Duik and Monsr Dosuell witht hir airmie to the
 number of iij^m men, viz., that is to say ij^m frinche-
 men leid be Monsr Dosuell ane thowsand Scotismen
 leid be my lord Duik; and also thair was fyue or sex 20
 schott of great artaillze witht the frinchemen quho come
 pairtlie fordwart to Tarbat¹ mylne quhair they stude
 and howert and tuik consall quhat was best to be done.
 In this meane tyme the prowest of Falkland to witt,
 Patrick Leirmonth laird of Dairsie come witht the 25
 toune of Sanctandrois ane werie goodlyke companie of
 men to the number of v^e men or thair about weill
 arrayit in iake and speir quhois comming gaif the con-
 gregatioun ane great confort that they marchit fordwart
 and pat thair men in order and arrayit battell and stude 30
 still witht thair artaillze fforment thair enemeis. The
 frinchemen was nawayis content of thair number sieand
 thame arrayit in fyue great battellis tuo on horse and
 iij on futte; quhair of the frinchemen was nawayis
 contentit bot send the post hastalie to Falkland to 35

Fol. 182 a.

¹ "Tarvat" I. Now Tarvit, close to Cupar.

the quene to sie hir mynd quhat scho wald command to do, schawand to hir that the congregatioun was so great ane number that they beleiffit that thai might skantlie deill witht thame. The quene heirand this scho send
 5 away the Earle Marcheall incontient witht my lord Lyndsay and the laird of Waughtoun, thir forsaidis persouns to treit goode wayis, bot the Earle Marchall, or he come midegait,¹ tyrit and grew seik that he might do no thing nor no goode at that tyme; quhither he was fleit² or
 10 seik I cane nocht tell for he come no forther nor the brige of Scheillis³ and past hame againe. Bot the lord Lyndsay and the laird of Waughtoun come allis fast fordwart to the congregatioun as thair horse might beir thame, quho then was standand on the heid of Couper mure, besyde the
 15 gallous, in goode order and had chossin out v^c of thair best men of weir and horsemen to prick and hald in the frinchemen fre comming ower the watter of Edin and to stope the furdis thair of. Bot my lord Lyndsay and the laird of Waughtoun fell in ressoning and commoning
 20 witht thame and requyrit off thame gentillie quhat was thair myndis or quhat they thocht to do; wald they wair⁴ tham selfis quho was gentillmen vpoun the men of weir and souldouris of France, they being gentillmen, and sowme of thame of the blud royall of Scott-
 25 land, meaning of my lord Argyle and my lord Iames and the maister of Lyndsay and sic as thai. Be this the lordis of the congregatioun desyrit and said quhat sall we do sen they will nocht lat ws allane bot wraikand our bretherin and distroyand the touns and all tham that
 30 professis the reliegieoun; thair of we ar determinat we will ether fight or ellis lett them depart the gaitt thai cam and mak ws no more perturbitioun. Witht this answuer passit the lord Lyndsay and the laird of Waugh-

Fol. 182 b.

¹ "Midegait"—*i.e.*, half-way.² "Fleit"—*i.e.*, frightened. See Glossary.³ On the Eden, about a mile east of Lathrisk House.⁴ "Wair"—*expend*. I has "waird."

toun to the wther syde of the water quhair the quens
 airmie was in arrayit battell redy to come fordwart as
 they war chargit. Bot the lord Lyndsay past inmedeat-
 lie to the lord Duike quhair he stude witht his airmie
 and said to him thir wordis as efter followis :—‘ I marwell 5
 ‘ of my lord that is so furieous and wnressonabill and
 ‘ ewill consallit that ze ar bound to distroy zour self and
 ‘ all zour kin and freindis this day and that for plesour of
 ‘ zour enemeis. Consider ze nocht that ze ar zoung
 ‘ lord of Scotland, and zonder is zour eime¹ and freindis 10
 ‘ and zour awin blode quho sall defend zow in the tyme
 ‘ of zour neid quhene sic thingis occuris to zour honour
 ‘ and helpe; quho salbe rediear to defend zow nor zour
 ‘ awin sister sone the earle of Argyle quhene ony chance
 ‘ or extremitie comes wpoun zow. And now I se ze ar 15
 ‘ bound to bring ane companie of strangeris ffor to de-
 ‘ stroy zour awin, the quhilk or it be done ze sall be in
 ‘ great danger for that thai ar determenat quho ever
 ‘ eskaip ze sall not eskaipe; ffor thai haue chossin ane
 ‘ great number of chossin men to waitt wpoun zow and 20
 ‘ to cutt zow of. Ffor they haue greater invy at zow nor
 ‘ att all thair enemeis the frinchemen, because ze ar so
 ‘ faccell to come for the intysement of ane woman and
 ‘ the flattering of the bischopis aganis zour bretherin of
 ‘ reliegieoun and servantis of christ in this cause de- 25
 ‘ fending the evangell thairof to the wttermost of thair
 ‘ powar and ze againe in ane furieous rage witht ane
 ‘ certane² of strangeris to distroy zour awin natioun and
 ‘ natiue freindis, ffor quhene it is done the frinchemen
 ‘ will cout zour thrott amangis the rest. Thairfor sence 30
 ‘ the matter standis so hard to zow I gif zow consall
 ‘ rather to obey god nor man and fawour zour awin
 ‘ because they ar the proffessouris of godis word and

¹ “Kin,” I, used here for kinsmen. Argyle was maternal nephew of the Duke. As to “eime” see Glossary.

² A common idiom for “a certain number.”

'zour awin band, and lat no bloode be sched this day
 'so far as ze may.' The governour heirand thir wordis
 of my lord Lyndsay was wondrous weill contentit to
 use his consall in quhat sum ewer thingis he wald lay
 5 to his charge. Of this my lord Lyndsay was weill Fol. 183 a.
 plessit that he had gottin the Duike at this pase and
 requistit him to remaine still in that place and nawayis
 come forder fordwart quhill he sould come to him
 againe or adwertise him. Syne heirefter me lord
 10 Lyndsay passit inmedeatlie to Monsr Dossie¹ the
 frinche ambassadour and lufetenent and begane to
 ressonne him in this maner, that is to say,—The quene
 had send him and the gentillman that was witht him,
 the laird of Waughtoun² to treit goode wayis betuix
 15 the tuo airmeis, that is to say the congregatioun and
 thair airmie, and thair foir he marwellit of him that
 was so hastalie to marche fordwart in battell quhill he
 had gottin the quens ansuer; thairfor chargit him in
 the quens name to marche no forder till he had done
 20 his commissioun betuix the tuo airmies and had laborit
 as the quen had gevin him charge. Of this was Monsieur
 Dossie³ weill contentit and caussit his men to stand and
 move no forder quhill he and my lord Lyndsay had spokin
 together and resonat at length. Than me lord Lyndsay
 25 callit togither the frinche captans, that is to say, Monsieur
 Dossie, Delachapell and Monsr Chairllis⁴ and fell to
 thame in this maner following,—'I marwell of zow
 'Monsieur Doswell and zour captans that ar comed heir
 'at the king of France command to defend the realme of
 30 'Scotland fre enemeis of Ingland and to gif the quens
 'grace our regent goode consall in all hir effairis how scho
 'sall governe the samin first to the plesour of god and

¹ "D'Oysill," I.² Patrick Hepburn. See Notes.³ "D'Oysill," I.⁴ "D'Oysill, Delachapell, Chairlibus," I. D'Oysell, De La Chapelle, and Sarlabous, afterwards Captain of Dunbar; Knox calls him Serra la Bursê. See Notes.

' secundlie for the weill of the realme and commune
 ' weill and profite of the king of France and his sone
 ' and douchter our quene, and now comes this¹ in arrayit
 ' battell contrair pairt of the nobilietie of Scotland and
 ' hes steirit wpe the ane half aganis the wther as appeiris 5
 ' to ws to gar the ane half devoir the wther and syne
 ' that thai and the realme may be ane faccell pray to
 ' zow or to ony wther realme that will assaillze thame.
 ' I beleif that this be not the king of France command
 ' nor his will that ze wair his men and money to the 10
 ' effect to distroy the nobilietie of Scotland and sched
 ' thair bloode quho is contrair zow this day, to witt, the
 ' earle of Argyle ane of the peirs and princes of Scotland
 ' and lord Iames the quens brother witht money wther
 ' nobillmen that is this day wpoun zone ground quho ar 15
 ' abill to serue the king of France and do him plesour
 ' quhene he hes ado witht thame, so that they be nocht
 ' constranit nor correctit be him in his name bot serue
 ' god and to liue at libertie of conscience. Thairfor it
 ' is my consall gif ze will resaue it in the name of god 20
 ' that ze pase no farder fordwart witht zour airmie this
 ' day to persew zone² men nor inuaid tham ffor they ar
 ' all determinat to die in the defence of thair brethern
 ' and natiue contrie, or zour airmie gett entres in zone
 ' puire toune or willage to distroy it witht zour men of 25
 ' weir, considdering the quene is nocht heir in proper
 ' persone; and gif scho war heir as scho is not, they
 ' wald nocht thoill hir to enter in zone tone without hir
 ' men of weir war separat fre hir and that scho come
 ' witht hir awin tryne and court as scho was wont to do. 30
 ' In that cace I traist scho wald be resawit honourabillie
 ' and obeyit quhair now scho is refussit because of hir
 ' airmie: Thairfor I consall zow because I lufe zow
 ' weill³ no farder that ze haif nocht ado witht zone men

Fol. 183 b.

¹ Thus.² "Zone," *i.e.*, yon = those men.³ "Meddill no forder with thir men," &c., I.

' that ze sie affoir zow ffor plesour of ony man nor tyne
 ' not the heartis of Scotland because ze ar bot ane
 ' stranger, and mak nocht the nobilietie of Scotland
 ' to be the king of France enemeis quhair now we ar
 5 ' his freindis; and gif ze do this withtout farder com-
 ' mand I trast ze sall haue no thank of him nor his
 ' consall. And gif ze wilbe so willfull as ze wald pase
 ' fordwart haueand the wangaird fre tyme, ze meit or
 ' zoke witht the congregatioun quho ar affoir zow quho
 10 ' ar spetiall freindis to my lord Duik quho is behind
 ' zow, he will nocht mise bot he will zoke allis sune
 ' witht zow at zour bakis as the wther partie will befoir,
 ' for it is ane auld saying in Scotland, "I may weill sie
 ' my freind neid bot I will not sie him bleid;" thairfor
 15 ' trow ze that me lord Duike will sie his sister sone the
 ' Earle of Argyle slaine or murest witht zow that ar
 ' strangeris befoir his ene, and on the wther pairt the
 ' congregatioun ar ablar to defait zow nor ze ar thame
 ' for they ar euer fyue for ane and knawis the contrie
 20 ' and strengthis thair of better nor ze that ar strangeris.
 ' Thairfor gif ze be lost in that maner the king of
 ' France will nocht be contentit and as to zour awin
 ' pairt I assure zow sa far as I haue spokin witht thame
 ' and knawis thair myndis gif and thai mell together and
 25 ' they may gett the wpper hand of zow as thai ar abill
 ' to do ze will not eskaip quha ewer eskaip because they
 ' gif zow the haill¹ quhyt and consall that they ar per-
 ' sewit be the quene and that for plesour of the bischopis:
 ' Thairfor I pray zow be advyssit and tyne nocht the
 30 ' hartis of Scotland at this tyme more nor ze haue done
 ' in tymes bygane nor tyne not zour goode name nor
 ' bruite, and think not it wilbe ane trype² of men of
 ' weir of France that will or may conqueis this realme
 ' of Scotland by thair appetyte, thairfor I think it best

Fol. 184. a.

¹ Apparently, but badly written, "haill quhyt"—i.e., "wyt"
 = the whole blame.

² "This troupe," I.

' that ze wse consall at this tyme and leif of zour awin
' will.'

Monsieur Dosuell heirand the lord Lyndsay in this
maner was sum thing astonist and as it appeirit in his
mynd and consait thairof it was of werie truth that he 5
did speik zeit nochtwithtstanding he mowit wpe to the
hill heid of Tarbitt witht certane of his captans to awew¹
and luik the congregatioun to sie gif they war that
number me lord Lyndsay said thair was; and quhene
he had luikit round about him he persaiffit and fand it 10
trew that me lord Lyndsay had spokin to his appeirance,
ffor quhy, the congregatioun had wssit and orderit tham
selffis in sic maner that thai semmitt mo nor thai war,
and appeirit werie awfull in thair enemeis sight. Then
Monsieur Dosuell luikit about him and luikit to my lord 15
governouris host quho war in his syde and had settillit
a lytill abak, and part of thame drawand ower the watter
to the congregatioun. Then he persaiffit and tuik
suspetioun of the wordis that me lord Lyndsay had
schawin him, consederit the same to be of truth that 20
Scottismen might nocht sie thair freindis defeat be
strangeris, bot thai wald rather tak thair part; thairfor
Monsr Doswell callit on me lord Lyndsay and refferit
the matter wnto him and me lord Duik, quhat ewer they
tuo wald command him to do he wald stand content 25
thairwith. And for the mair securietie me lord Lyndsay
gat his hand writt and me lord Duikis baitht and syne
passit ower the watter to the congregatioun to me lord
Argyle and me lord James quho gaif thair mynd in writt
to my lord Duik and the heidis and poyntis of ane 30
contract for to be subscriwit be me lord Duik and
Monsieur Doswell the tennour and presentis heiroy as
followis,² that is to say:—'The frinchemen witht thair

¹ "Awew"—*i.e.*, to view.

² Its date was 13th June 1559. Knox gives the original
(History, vol. i. p. 353).

- ' artaillze sould reteir bakwart to Falkland quhair they
 ' come fre and remaine all night, and on the morne,
 ' allis swne and they might sie day, they sall reteir thame Fol. 184 b.
 ' selffis to the ferrie and pase out of Fyfe into Lowthieane
 5 ' and sall come no more withtin the boundis of Fyfe to
 ' invaid thame nor nane that pertenis thame; and that
 ' the quens grace sould gif tham frie libertie of con-
 ' science to serue thair god as they pleis, and scho to
 ' ryde wpe and done Fyfe witht hir tryne as scho thocht
 10 ' goode so that thair war no freinchemen of weir in hir
 ' companie and then they wald serue hir as thair quene
 ' and maistris conforme to thair dewtie; this being done,
 ' withtin xxiiij houris heirefter they sould skail thair
 ' airmie at the quens plesour.' This contract and heidis
 15 thairof desyrit be the congregatioun was had to me lord
 Duik and Monsieur Doswell quho was werie weill con-
 tentit heirof and subscriyvit the same willinglie witht thair
 awin handis and aggreit wpoun all matteris as the will of
 god was, by the expectatioun of men, ffor all the contrie
 20 beleiffit nothing bot battell. Bot godis marcie was more
 wnto his kirk at that tyme and maid goode instrumentis to
 pase betuyne to stope slaughter and to obtaine concord.
 This¹ the quens airmie reteirit bak that night to Falkland
 and on the morne to the ferrie and ower the watter as
 25 they had promissit, and the congregatioun passit that
 night to Cowper and ludgit thair; quhill on the morne
 the word come to thame that thair bretherin war heavelie
 oppressit in Sant Iohnnstoun and that be the laird of
 Killphans,² captane thairof maid be the quene, and his
 30 bandis of men of weir that war witht him quho opprest
 the toune and spollzeit the same at thair plesour and
 banist the honest men thairof out of thair awin houssis
 quhilk was peteous to sie.

¹ "This" = thus.

² Kinfauns, near Perth. The laird was John Charteris. See Notes.

THE XXX CHAPTER.

Ane consultatioun of the lordis of the congregatioun proclamatiounis maid. Hou thay passit to sanctjohnstoun and hou thay layd ane seage thairunto and wan the samyn. Hou thay passit to stiruiling and tuik the toune and reformed the kirkis thair of. And syne to linlythgow and to edinburg. Hou the quein fled to dumbar and the frenchmen with her. Hou scho come to leith and garnisit the samyn. Quein elizabeth reformed the kirkis of ingland.

1559.

In this meane tyme in the zeir of god I^m v^o lix¹ zeiris the xxiiij day of Junij quhilk was on midsimer day the hail number of the congregatioun past to Sant Johnnstoun to seig it and to put fourth the laird of Kinphans fourth of his prowestschipe; and lay about the toune 5 iiij dayis, and in the night the seige was laid to ewerie quarter and schot at the toun and slew money of thame that was thairin bot witht out thair was slaine bot ane man, and finallie they gaif ower the toune² and me lord of Ruthven chossin provest againe. And at this tyme 10 the earle of Huntlie and lord Erskin come frome the quene to the congregatioun to stay the seige bot they wald not bot wan the toune, as I haue schawin zow and thairefter past to Stirling and obtennit the toune thair of witht great ieopardie and syne caist done the freiris 15 baitht gray and blak and spullzeit thair places; and siclyk reformitt the paroche kirk thair of and syne tarrit ane day or tuo thair and restit thame and thairefter past to Lythgow and reformitt the paroche kirk thair of and in lyke maner past to Edinburgh. 20

Fol. 185 a.

The quens grace heiring of thair comming tuik ane feir and passit to the castell of Dumbar and hir frinchen witht hir and the congregatioun remanitt in Edinburgh ane lang quhill at thair plesour reforming the kirk

¹ I has "lix," which is right. A wrongly I^m v^o lx.

² "On Sunday, 26th June," Knox, History, i. p. 359.

and casting doune the idollis and breaking the allteris
 and caussit the word of god to be preichit and publischt
 be Iohnne Knox, Iohnne Willox and Williame Harlaw.
 And in this meane tyme thair come ane cuning man and
 5 fervent preichar of the word of god out of Ingland callit
 Christopher Goodeman quho had bene in Genewa, ane
 man of great leirning quho remanit ane lang tyme in
 Sanctandris¹ coledge. In this meane tyme in the
 moneth of Junij² the quen beand in Dunbar thair come
 10 to hir ane post schawand hir that the king of France was
 ewill hurt in the face witht the spaill of ane speir at the
 iusting of his treumphant bankkattis and was ether deid
 or wald not leif.³ At thir tydingis the quene was werie
 sorie and was effeirrit that the congregatioun sould haue
 15 douning hir out of Scotland thair for scho send spyis to
 sie quhat they war doand quho fand money of thame
 returning hame to thair awin houssis, and schew the
 quens grace that the congregatioun was skaillit. Than
 scho tuik porpose to come out of Dumbartoun to Edinburgh
 20 bot the congregatioun being wairnrit of hir, and the
 tounschip, held hir out of Edinburgh and thane scho
 passit to Leyth and hir men of weir and forceit and
 strenghtned the same witht men and wictuallis that the
 lyke of it was nocht in Scotland this money day, for
 25 scho had all the artaillze of Scotland into it bott⁴ the
 castell of Edinburgh.

Fol. 185 b.

At this tyme quene Elieizabeth of Ingland beand
 persuadit be godis word and preiching thair of gart
 reforme all the kirkis of Ingland that is to say to cast
 30 doune all the idollis and all maner of wther suppestitioun

¹ I has here, "and was minister thair of and provest of Santlennartis [colledge]"—*i.e.*, St. Leonards.

² "Julij," I.

³ Henry II. died 20th July 1559, from the splinter of a lance of Montgomery, a Scotch knight.

⁴ "By," I. "Bot" or "by" means, "except the artillery in the castle of Edinburgh."

that quene Marie had errectit in hir tyme fre the deid of king Edwart. In this meane tyme thair was heat skirmishing betuix the congregatioun of Edinburgh and the frenchemen of Leytht.

THE XXXI CHAPTER.

The cuming of the erle of arrane out of france. How he adioyned him selfe to the congregatioun and causit his father to do the same Gret concord maid be the erle of arrane betwix his father and the erle of glencairne and in lykmaner betwix reith and graunge. Proclamationis maid be the congregatioun Hou the congregatioun convenit at edinburgh and hou thay skarmished with leith And hou thay passit to crichtoun. And how thay carmished with the french men on ane hallow evin and left Edinburgh. Hou thay send for support of ingland. Hou the quein come to Edinburgh and causit to repair all thingis againe.

1559.

Upoun the xx day of august the zeir of god I^m v^c lix 5
zeiris my lord of Arrane the Duikis eldest sone heiring
tell of the congregatioun of Scotland lef this Duik-scheip
of Chatellaroy¹ in France and come be land throw Flan-
deris to Ingland nocht knawin be ony man quhill he
come to his awin contrie he beand fourtth of the same 10
the space of xiiij zeiris. Schortlie heirefter my lord
governour his father left the quene regent and adioynitt
him to the congregatioun be the requist of his sone ;
and heirefter my lord of Arrane maid great concord and
freindschip betuix his father and my lord of Glencairne 15
and allso betuix the laird of Raith and the laird of
Grange witth mony wther gentillmen that his father had
forfalttit during his governourschip of this realme. In
this meane tyme the congregatioun maid ane proclama-
tioun to all that wald adioyne thame selffis to thame or 20
wald tak thair part to compeir at Edinburgh at ane

¹ "Schitterlaroy," I—i.e., Chatelherault.

certane day, so my lord governour witht his sone the
 earle of Arrane, the earle of Glencairne, the lord Ruthven,
 the maister of Lyndsay and all the gentillmen and
 barrouns quho war adioynitt to the congregatioun com-
 5 peirit in Edinburgh the xv day of October and thocht
 to seige Leytht and remaine thair the space of ane
 moneth skirmisching the frinchemen bot thai could
 nocht win the toune of Leyth. They sieand that past to
 the castell of Creichtoun and seigit the same and wan it
 10 quhairin they gat great spoillze and brocht the same to
 the toune of Edinburgh, bot on nowayis thai could
 nocht¹ obtaine Leytht, the toune being so strengthie and
 they nocht haiffand goode men of weir to win the same
 and they wald not ieoparde them wpounne poore²
 15 soldeouris. And finallie they consallit and send to
 Ingland for suport and for the more securitie wrait thair
 awin hand writtis and everie earle and lord of the con-
 gregatioun; quhilk suport was grantit to thame at the
 day affixt that they sould come baitht be sie and land,
 20 and thairefter the congregatioun left the seige of Leytht
 and everie man returnitt his awin way.

Fol. 186 a.

Schortlie heirefter quene regent, my lord Bothuell my
 lord Creichtone³ and the frinchemen came out of Leytht
 againe and come to Edinburgh and caussit repair againe
 25 the allter and imagies and caussit say mese daylie in the
 kirk and caussit put away the ten commandementis and
 the lordis prayer quhilk was painttit on the wallis and
 caist dirtt wpoun thame and did great distructioun in
 the toun and thair about⁴ as ze sall heir.

¹ A good example of the double negative. See Introduction IV.,
 "The Language and Dialect of Pitscottie."

² I has "thair" for "poore."

³ I has "Settroun."

⁴ I adds, "ane lang tyme."

THE XXXII CHAPTER.

Hou the quein left leith and went throw many tounis and did gret herme thair. Hou the inglis schipps come in this firth. Quhou [the french men thought they were] the french schippes and war werey glaid. Quhou the scotismen cuttit the brig of tillibodie. Quhou the queinis broder come out of france and was driven agane be tempest of wether.

[*Note*.—There are no divisions into chapters after this in MS. I.]

1559-

In the monetht of September in the zeir forsaid the quene and the frinchemen passit fourtht of Edinburgh to Lythgow and to Stirling brige and come lange the cost wpoun futte and did great harme and distructioun, and remanitt in Bruntteilland and Kingorne, Dysart, 5 Wemes, and slew all the bestieall round about, and wnder mynit the toure of the laird of Grange and pat pulder in the wallis thairof and blew it all in the air. In the meane tyme efter the doune casting of the said castell ane frincheman callit La battie came fourtht¹ 10 witht souddartis to seik weweris and so come to the toune callit Dunkeir² and war spoillzeand the toune bot the maister of Lyndsay and the laird of Cragie-hall persaffand the frinchemen spoillzeand the toune callit thair servandis togither³ in respect of the frinchemen 15 zeit nochtwitstanding they had rather dieit nor se the realme spoillzeit so be strangeris and so they sett wpoun thame witht good curage quhilk frinch captane defendit himself manfullie he haueand bot ane halbert. Bot at the last the maister of Lyndsay come to him and mett 20 hand for hand and straik at the frinche captane and warrit him quhair thair he was slaine and money of his

¹ "And fyftie souldiouris with him to," I. "La battie"—*i.e.*, De La Bastie, son of the knight killed in reign of James V. See Notes.

² I has "Inchkieir" on margin, in place of "Dunickieir," struck out; but Dunnikeir, near Kirkcaldy, is probably right.

³ I inserts, "quha war bot ane few number."

souldeouris for quhom the quene maid greit mone, ffor
 this captane was ane werie scharpe man;¹ and thair was
 sum scotismen hurt that day bot nane slaine, as the
 plesour of god was. At this same tyme the congrega-
 5 tioun gadderit and mett together in Couper and remanit
 viij dayis;² at this tyme money of the gentillmen of
 Fyfe tuik thair³ pairt, Wemes,⁴ Balumbe,⁵ Ballwerie,⁶
 Bagoney,⁷ Durrie,⁸ Seifeild⁹ and the Abott of Dumferm-
 ling.¹⁰ Wpoun the xxiiij day of Januarii the zeir forsaid
 10 the Inglisch schipis come into the firth and the admerall
 of thame callit Mr Wintter, landit at Aberdour and
 remanit still in the firth quhill the land airmie come in.
 The frenchemen being at this tyme in the Wemes and
 Monsr Dosuell and Chairleis¹¹ thair captaneis word
 15 come to thame that they war frinche schipis and for ioy
 thair of they liftit thair campis and come to Camrone¹²
 and thair they tuik consultatioun quhither they sould
 pase to Couper wpoun the congregatioun or ellis gang
 langest¹³ the cost to Sanctandrois and syne to Couper,
 20 ffor at this tyme the snaw was great that they might
 nocht come the neirest way¹⁴ to Couper and so they
 passit ower the brige and zeid to Kincragie fornentis
 the schipis. And in the meane tyme the frinchemen
 witht thair assistaris war adwertist that they war
 25 Inglisch schipis and so for feir left thair rostis at the
 fyre and reteirit the same night withtout meit or drink

¹ "Schairp and manlie," I.

² I here adds, "bot the congregatioun wald nocht fecht with thame becaus the support was in raddynes and cummand fordwart."

³ "The quenis pairt," I.

⁴ Sir John Wemyss.

⁵ Henry Lovell of Ballumby. "Balmatow," I. Boswell of Balmuto.

⁶ Sir William Scot of Balwerie. ⁷ Andrew Lundie of Balgonie.

⁸ David Durie of Durie.

⁹ George Moutray of Seafeld.

¹⁰ George Durie, who was Abbot of Dunfermline, and also archdeacon of St. Andrews.

¹¹ "Chairlibus," I—Sarlabous. As to his life, see Notes.

¹² "Camroun brig," I.

¹³ "Langleanis," I—*i.e.*, along.

¹⁴ "With thair horsmen," I.

1560.

to Dumfermling; bot the laird of Grang with his
 horsemen slew money of thame be the way, and the
 schipis come wpe the watter to the Bruntelland and
 slew sindrie frinchemen and wan the castell thairof and
 pat fourtht the frinchemen and thair captans that was in 5
 the castell. Item, the xxvj day¹ and zeir forsaid the
 frinchemen beleifand to haue passit thair way the con-
 gregatioun come frome Stirling and cuttit the brig of
 Tilliebody that the frinchemen sould not pase ower to
 mak impediement to thame, and thairfor the frinchemen 10
 remanitt all that night in Fottrick² mure withtout meat
 or drink and money of thame was slaine or thai could
 gett the brige repairit.

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In this meane tyme the quens brother come out of
 France callit the Duik of Gwyse³ to the sie witht viij 15
 schipis to haue supportit the quene aganis the protestantis
 bot god send ane tempest and brak all the schipis bot
 thrie of thame quhairin the forsaid Duik was saif and
 drywin to France againe quhilk was done be the meir
 providence of god to saif his servantis. Wpoun the 20
 xxix day of Januarij the same zeir of god the quen regent
 beand in Leytht drectit Captane Cullane to the sie
 witht ane schipe and furnist him witht artaillze and men
 of weir to suport the frinchemen that war in this syde
 of the watter bot the said captane and his schipe was 25
 baitht taine be the Inglische schipis, quhairof the quene
 tuik great displesour and lay viij dayis or thairby.
 Nocht lang efter this the pryour of Sanctandris, the
 maister of Lyndsay, the laird of Grange past to the
 waste Wemes⁴ and tuik the laird thairof in thair will 30
 and siclyk the laird of Siefeld, Bamwto, Montquanie,
 Bagoney⁵ and had soume of thame⁶ to Sanctandris and

¹ I inserts, "of Januar."

² "Fothrik," I. ³ Buchanan says, "The Marquis d'Elbeuf."

⁴ West Wemyss. The laird was Sir John Wemyss.

⁵ Montray, Boswell, Sir Michael Balfour, and Lundy of Balgonie.

⁶ "In thair will," I.

keipit thame thair. The 4 of Februarij, the gentillmen and
 barrouns of Fyfe that tuik pairt witht the quene come to
 Sanctandrois and subscrywit witht the congregatioun and
 then wpoun the 7 day the pryour of Sanctandrois witht
 5 the rest of the lordis and barrouns of the congregatioun
 past to Glasgow to my lord Duik and his sone and thair
 tuik consulltatioun of thair passing to Edinburgh to meit
 the Inglisch airmie. Upoun the xij day of Februarij
 the Inglische schipis tuik tuo frinche schipis command
 10 to the support of the quene. At this tyme thair come
 xvij Inglisch schipis out of Bervick to thame that war
 heir befor and lay and keipit the Inchekeytht that nane
 sould fournische it. Nocht lang efter wpoun the xvij
 day of Februarij the Inglis shipis tuik ane schipe com-
 15 mand to the quene witht horse and money and had hir
 to Bervick. Schortlie heirefter wpoun the xxij day of this
 moneth the quen furnist ane great hoy witht men and
 wictuallis to pase to France witht writtingis bot the
 Inglischemen tuik hir be the way bot the men ran to
 20 dry land for saiftie. Wpoun the morne the pryour of
 Sanctandrois,¹ the lord Ruthven, the laird of Pittaro, the
 prowest of Sanctandrois witht fourtie² gentillmen of Fyfe
 schipit in at Pettinweme in ane Inglisch schipe callit the
 Hownd and saillit to Berwick and this was done to that
 25 effect to bring in the land airmie and to confirme the
 bandis maid betuix thame and the congregatioun of
 Scotland. Wpoun the first day of Marche the zeir
 forsaid the pryour off Sanctandrois witht the rest past
 to Berwick and come hame againe and landit at Pittin-
 30 weme and brocht witht thame wther ten schipis witht
 men and artaillze to the rest that war heir befor.
 Wpoun the fyft day of Marche the lord Hunttilie witht
 thir lordis and gentillmen of the north come to Sanct
 Iohnnstoun to meat witht me lord of Arrane, the pryour

Fol. 187 A.

¹ Lord James Stewart, afterward the Regent Murray.² "Vther," I.

156a.

of Sanctandrois, my lord Lyndsay witht the rest of the congregatioun being thair present, and talkit of certane bussienes concerning the congregatioun the space of thrie dayis and thair they refussit the quene and subscriyvit witht the lordis of the congregatioun and syne 5 departit hame. Wpoun the tent¹ day of Marche thair was ane conuentioun in Couper of Fyfe of all the lordis and gentillmen of Fyfe for my lord of Arrane and it was concludit they sould all pase to meit the Inglisch airmie at Hadingtoun witht the rest of the congregatioun to 10 seige the toune of Leytht the quene and hir assistaris beand in it; and sic lyke they caussit proclame lettres throw all the partis of this realme that all maner of man sould be thair the xx day of Marche witht xxx dayis wictuall wnder the [paines to be repute and halden]² 15 to be pairtakeris witht the frinchemen and enemeis to the congregatioun. Wpoun the xvij day of Marche heirefter the frinchemen past fourth³ to Glasgow and thair remanit thair iij dayis and did great dampnage and skaitht in the toune and thairabout. In this meane tyme 20 me lord Duik was seigand the castell of Simpill witht iij^m men and wan the same that day that the frinchemen come to Glasgow to haif maid support to the lord Simpill quhairfor the said frinchemen witht thair assistaris was dissapoyntit of thair porpose; but on nowayise the 25 protestantis wald fight witht thame because the Inglischmen was come in Scottis ground to thair support.⁴

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Wpoun the xxvj day of Marche the zeir of god I^m v^c lx zeiris, the haill lordis, barrouns and borrowis of the congregatioun that was in this syde of Fourtht passit to 30 Stirling and caist doune the abbay of Dumfermling in thair way; and quhene they had comed to Stirling to haif had entres, the frinchemen war in the toune and

¹ "ix," I.² I.³ I inserts, "of Leith."⁴ I adds, "to the gret comfort of thame that favourit goddis word and his congregatioun."

wald nocht suffer the congregatioun to enter thairin and
the lordis reteirit to Inchecome¹ and castell Campbell
quhill the Inglisch mens incomming. The frinchemen
seing thair absence departit fourtht of Stirling to Leytht
5 the xxviiij day of Marche and wpoun the morne the
lordis of the congregatioun past to Stirling and syne to
Lythtgow, and remanitt thair quhill the haill number
of the congregatioun mett and conwenitt together; bot
the frinchemen wane Leytht and come to the toune
10 thair of. Thair was slaine of thame iij^{xx} or thairabout.
Wpoun the first day of Appryle the haill lordis of the
congregatioun past and mett the Inglischemen at Hading-
toun and Aberlady quho war in number viij^m men, and
the same day quene regent passit to the castell of Edin-
15 burgh. Schortlie heirefter, wpoun the sex day of Apryle
the Inglischmen skarmischit witht the frinchemen at
Lastarige² and pat thame perforce in the toune of Leytht
and slew of thame ane hunder or thairby. At this tyme
thair come of Inglischmen at sindrie tymes witht my lord
20 Gray of Ingland and lord Tabart³ xij^m, by the schipis
quho war in number xxx saillis. Wpoun the tent day of
Appryle the toune of Leytht was inclossit in sic sort
that no man might pase nether in nor out and the seige
was laid to it in thrie sindrie pairtis witht xij cannons by⁴
25 tuentie schot of small peiceis. Wpoun the xv day of
Appryle the frinchemen wschit out of the toun of Leytht
to the trinchis quhair the Inglisch quhyt cottis lay and
slew ane hunder of thame or thairby.⁵ Schortlie heir-
efter wpoun the xvij day of Appryle the Inglisch schipis
30 come to the peir of Leytht in the night and caussit
the frinchemen beleif that thay wald land and the
schipis schot amangis tham and slew xl of thame.

¹ I has "Inchmahom," which is right.

² Restalrig.

³ "Tabot," I. Talbot is the English name.

⁴ "By" = besides.

⁵ I adds, "and the alarum rais that the inglis dimi-lanceis brak
vpone the frenchmen and put thame perforce in the toune of leith
and slew of [them] lx or thairby."

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Wpoun the xx day of Apryle the principall blokhous
 withtin the toune of Leytht callit Santtantons¹ kirk was
 dounng doune be schottis of cannons and sic lyk the
 paroche kirkis thair quhair thair weweris lay, and money
 houssis in the eist syde of the toun. Wpoun the 28 day 5
 of Apryle the Inglisch men gaif the toune² allarum and
 slew that night i^c men or thairby; and wpoun the xxx
 day of this moneth the Inglischmen bruntt the mylnes
 of Leytht³ withtin thair wallis and brocht wiht thame
 the haill goodis that was withtin thame. Wpoun the 10
 iij day of Maij the zeir forsaide the Inglischmen wiht the
 congregatioun past to the other syde of the watter of
 Leytht besyde Bonitoun and trinchit thair and condem-
 nitt the blokhous besyde the mylne of Leytht and
 siclyk the brige. Wpoun the ix day of Maij the Inglisch- 15
 men wiht the Scotis men of weir gaif the toun ane
 assault in the night and lederit the wallis bot the ledaris
 war schort and so our men was dissapoyntit and money
 of thame slaine and sic lyke of the frinchemen be schot
 of cannon and wther peceis schottand at the wallis; 20
 and so the Inglischmen left the toune and send incon-
 tienent to Berwick about mo men and ledaris. So this
 message past to Ingland quhilk was granted, and wpoun
 the xv day of Maij the ladderis and men of weir came
 fourtht of Bervick to the campt to the number of v^c 25
 men or thairby. Wpoun the xx day of Maij thair was
 command throw the pace⁴ of France ten frinche schipis
 to supplie the toune of Leytht; the Inglisch schipis
 seand that went to thame and tuik foure of thame and
 dang all the rest againe, quhairby the frinchemen was 30
 put by thair purpose. Schortlie heirefter wpoun the xxv
 day or xxvj⁵ day of Maij the frinchemen wschit out of
 the toun bot the wther partie sieand thame come and

¹ "Sanctantanis," I. St. Anthony's Hospital. Knox, History,
 ii. p. 59 n.

² I "ane."

³ "Mylne, and the guidis in that," I.

⁴ "Face" = pass or straits.

⁵ I has "xxvj" only.

dang thame in againe and slew of thame againe to the number of xxiiij. Item wpoun the xxviiij day of Maij ane parlieament was proclamnitt to the tent day of Junij heirefter. In the moneth¹ of Juni in the zeir of god

5 I^m v^o lx zeiris to witt, the quene regent depairtit out of ^{1560.} this present lyfe in the castell of Edinburgh and as it was iudigit, for werie displeasur because hir lordis raise aganis hir. Wpoun the xiiij day of Iunii thair came tuo ambassadouris² out of France to the congregatioun and

10 to the Inglischmen ffor to talk of concord and in this meane tyme thair was trewis taine for foure dayis betuix the frinchemen and the congregatioun, bot the frinchemen wald not gif ower the-toune withtout bage and bagage fre, and the congregatioun wald not consent

15 thairto. Schortlie heirefter wpoun the xxij day of Junij trewis war taine wpe againe and the same tyme thair come in iij^e Inglischmen to the campt to thame that war befoir. Nocht lang efter this wpoun the 27 day of this moneth of Iunii, the frinchemen wschit out of the toun

20 and thair crowner³ was slaine, witht wtheris diuerse and so war put in againe; and to be revengit heirof they wschit out againe wpoun the fyft day of Julij wpoun the Inglischmen quho war in the tranches. The Scotischmen and the Inglischmen persaiffand the samin, gatte

25 betuix thame and the toune and slew of thame mo than ij^e and the toune eskaipit narullie wntane. Nocht lang efter this, wpoun the tent day of Julij thair was peace proclammit betuix the frinchemen, Scotismen and Inglischmen. Wpoun the xiiij day of Iulij the frinchemen

30 schipit and so depairtit to France and left the toune woyde. Nocht lang efter this wpoun the xx day of Julij⁴

Fol. 189 u.

¹ "In the nixt moneth heirefter vpone the aucht day thairof, to wit of Junij" [the queen, &c.], I. The true date was 10th June (Knox, History, ii. p. 71).

² Charles de la Rochefoucault, Seigneur de Randan, and John de Monluc, Bishop of Valence (Knox, History, ii. p. 72). See Notes.

³ Colonel.

⁴ The Parliament met on 1st August (*Act. Parl.* ii. p. 325).

ane parlieament was haldin at Edinburgh quhilk indurit
xx dayis or thairby. Thair was xxvj¹ lordis of artickillis
and ² setting fordwart of the reliegieoun. during the rest of
this zeir was in goode quyitnes and goode iustice keipit.

In the zeir of god I^m v^c lxi³ zeiris the nyntene day of 5
August our princes the quens grace callit Marrie beand
xviij zeiris in France and marieit,—the king thair of de-
partit out of this present lyfe the 5 day of December in
the zeir of god I^m v^c and lx zeiris withtout successioun,
—hir grace come in Scotland and arrayvit at Leytht 10
witht tuo gallayis and foure schipis and was honourabillie
ressawit be hir faithfull subiectis, lordis barrouns and
burgessis.⁴ [Item vpone the xxvj day of this same
moneth the quen is grace with Monseur Domell Monseur 15
Martis and the grand pryour⁵ hir moder broder of france
with the admirallis sone⁶ of france hard ane mes said in
thair presens in the abbay of halyrudous and thaireftir
the lordis of the congregatioun causit to mak opin pro-
clematioun in Edinburgh that nane vnder the paine of
deid sould say mes nor caus mes to be said in this 20
realme.]⁷ In this meane tyme the quens grace maid
hir entrese at Edinburgh and the lyk was not sene
befoir, quhilk was wpoun the secund day of September;
and wpoun the sewint⁸ day scho depairtit to Lythgow
and to Stirling and syne to Sanct Iohnnstoun and maid 25
hir entreis thair, and wpoun the xx⁹ day scho maid hir
entreis into Dundie and Couper and syne went to Falk-
land and thairefter scho past to Edinburgh and maid

¹ "Chaisin xxxvj," I.

² "That for," I.

³ I has "lxj," which is the proper date; A, "I^m v^c lx," which is wrong.

⁴ Mary landed at Leith, 19th August 1561, having been only thirteen years in France, from 13th August 1548 to 14th August 1561. A and I both omit the words after "beand," "*of age and at zeiris*" in France, which are in Freebairn's edition. See Notes.

⁵ Claude de Lorraine, Duc d'Aumale, Rene de Lorraine, Marquis d'Elbeuf, and Francis de Lorraine, the Grand Prior. "Martis" is probably "Marquis."

⁶ Seigneur de Damville, son of the Constable of France.

⁷ The passage in brackets is from I. ⁸ I has "xvij." ⁹ I "xix."

ane procliamatioun that all bischopis and prelattis sould
 be in Edinburgh the tent day of December. And so
 the haille estaitis of Scotland war conuenitt in Edinburgh
 and talkit wpoun matteris of reliegieoun, and finallie it
 5 was concludit be the haille consall that all bischopis,
 abbottis and denis sould haue bot ane small part of
 thair lewing and the rest salbe gewin to the ministaris
 and the poore. At this tyme the haille kirk¹ conuenit
 them selfis witht thair assistance and my lord Bothwell
 10 thair captane and they thocht to haue² had thair mese
 wpe againe, bot god caussit thame to be put frome thair
 waine purpose and³ consall of the toune of Edinburgh⁴
 and the congregatioun, thankis be to god, prevaillit.
 Wpoun the first day of Januarij the quens grace past to^{156a.}
 15 Seytoun and remanitt foure dayis and Lord Iohnne
 Abbot of Coldinghame was marieit wpoun the earle
 Bothwellis sister.⁵ Wpoun the tent day of Februarij the
 pryour of Sanctandris quho was our quens brother and
 callit Iames was marieit wpoun the earle of Marchallis
 20 douchter in the Abbay of Hallierudhouse and thair war
 maid nyne⁶ knyghtis of the gentillmen of Fyfe.⁷ Wpoun
 the 15 day of Februarij thair come ane ambassadour out
 of Swadin to our quens grace and desyrit liecence to the

¹ I "kirkmen."

² I "perswadit the quein to proclame the mes," &c.

³ I "and faine to skaill aff the tound of Edinburgh," and so also Dalzell.

⁴ I "with thair captane and thair assistance."

⁵ The Abbot was a natural son of James V. I inserts here, "In this same moneth thair was directed pursifantis throch all this realme to the kirkmen to produce thair infestmentis befor hir grace counsall or ellis to tyne thair benefeis. Nochtwithstanding heireftir," &c.

⁶ I has "many" for "nyne."

⁷ I adds, "And this same day Monseur Martis* quhilke was the quenis grace moder broder confessit that he saw nevir sic ane brydill in france nocht the kingis awin brydill for thair was of wyld dae and rae xvij hundreith and as for cuningis peirtrickis pleffaris mure foullis wyld gus wyld duik and draik and all vthir kynd of dilicat wyld beistis thay could nocht be tauld and he† was maid at this tyme lord of Mar."

* Probably a mistake for "Marquis"—i.e., the Marquis d'Elbeuf.

† Lord James Stewart.

king of Swadin and to come to this realme¹ and it was spokin to haue our quene in marieage; and wpoun the xxvij day of the moneth of Februarii the ambassadour departit and gat his ansuer againe to the king of Swadin. Wpoun² the 3 day of Marche the quene went fourtht 5 of Edinburgh to Dumfermling and syne to Dysart and Durie and the vj day of the said moneth come to Sanct-androis and remanitt thair fourtie dayis, and wpoun the xxj day of Marche scho come to Couper of Fyfe and to Falkland and syne returnit againe to Sanctandrois. 10 [In this same moneth thair was ane proclematioun maid throch all this realme That nane of the bishoppis abboittis freiris munkis deanis personis and viccaris and the rest of that schaveling sort sould be answerit of thair rentis bot all sould be brocht to the quenis grace comp- 15 troller and compt maid thairof in the chakerhous. In this mean tyme the quein of ingland [sent] with the erle of warwick ten thowsand men of weir to the new hevin in france to help the protestans and the prince of Condie aganes the king and duik of guise.]³ In the zeir of 20 god I^m v^c lxij zeiris the xxij day of Marche⁴ the earle of Bothwell witht wther gentillmen come to Falkland to the quens palice and thocht to haue powsonitt the quene as it was all aggreit,⁵ and was put in presone in the castell of Edinburgh witht Mr Gawin Hammilltoun; and 25 me lord off Arrane was put in waird siclyk and it was alledgit that my lord of Arrane in his mirienes⁶ sould oppin this consperacie quhilk was nocht of weratie. Wpoun the first day of Apryle the quene come to Couper⁷ and syne past to Sanctandrois. 30

1562.

Fol. 190 a.

¹ I "to pas his tyme thairin and to visie the realme," &c.² I inserts, "In this mein tyme vpone the xxix day of februar the laird of pittarow * in the meirnes was maid comptroller to the quenis grace."³ The passage in brackets is from I.⁴ Pitscottie here uses the New Style.⁵ I "alledgit," which is a better reading.⁶ I "mowis."⁷ I "and dyned with my lord rothus."

* Sir John Wishart of Pittarow.

Nocht lang efter this wpoun the xij day of Apryle,
 my lord Duik, wtherwayis callit my lord Hamilltoun,
 send ane wrytting to the quen desyrand that hir grace
 wald lat fourtht his sone the earle of Arrane, and
 5 allis me¹ lord Bothwell and Mr Gawin Hammilltoun
 fourtht of presone wpoun caution, quhilk desyre was
 refussit. He seand that come himself to Sanctandrois
 witht² lordis and horse bot his trawell was in waine
 and depairtit againe to Hammilltoun. Wpoun the 22
 10 day of Apryle, my lord Duik forsaid was chargit be
 ane herald of armes to deliuer the castell of Dunbar-
 tone quhilk charge was obeyit and Captane Anstruther
 resawit the castell in the quens name. At this tyme
 the congregatioun³ of France raise and distroyit the hailt
 15 imagis and allteris of Rowan and money wther touns
 and thair captane was the prince of Cunde and war
 passand to Parise to do the lyke and the papistis raise
 against thame witht thair captane Monsr de Gwise our
 quens mother brother and the wictorie fell to the con-
 20 gregatioun, praissit be god. In the same zeir the 25
 day of Apryle thair come to Sanctandrois, the kingis
 brother of Swadin to our quene desyrand marieage of
 hir to his brother,⁴ bot the ansuer thairof was defferit.
 Wpoun the fourt day of May the quene depairtit out
 25 of Sanctandrois to Falkland and to Lochlevin and syne
 to Edinburgh and thair remanit. Nocht lang heiretter,
 my lorde Arrane and me lord Bothwell war convoyit
 to the castell be captane Steill⁵ at the command of
 the quens grace. The 5 day of May in the same zeir
 30 the toune of Rowane was beseigit be the king of France
 and the papistis, the king of Nawarre⁶ and Monsieur
 Mongomrie being generall withtin the said toune, and

¹ "Me" = my.² I "with fyftie hors."³ Congregation of France. See Notes.⁴ I "the king of Swadden." See Notes.⁵ I has "Stewart."⁶ I "Neverone, luftennand."

Fol. 190 b.

so the toune was wone and money slaine to the great
 discomfort of the protestantis. Wpoun the 14 day of
 May the quene come to Edinburgh and great treumph
 was maid be resson of the ambassadour of Suadin.
 Wpoun the xx day of Maij the ambassadour of Swadin 5
 gaif presentis to the quens grace weill accompanit witht
 the burgessis of Edinburgh and was honourabille ressawit
 in the abbay of Hallierudhouse and the same day me
 lord Fleming was marieit witht¹ great treumph maid,
 to wit, thair was maid wpoun the locht of Airthour 10
 saitt² gaillayis and ane castell maid alsua thair of tymmer
 and greit artaillze schot in everie syde, the quens grace
 and the nobilietie present, quhilk was done befor the
 ambassadour of Swadin conforme³ to the fegour of the
 seige of Leytht. In the same zeir thair was ane feild 15
 at Drowes⁴ in Normandie betuix the papistis and the
 protestantis and great slaughter on baitht the sydis and
 the prince of Counde was taine presoner. Wpoun the
 xx day of Maij the laird of Lethingtoun the quens
 secretar past to Ingland for certane effeiris pertening 20
 to the passage of the quens grace to Ingland.⁵ Wpoun
 the last day of Maij the ambassadour of Swadin de-
 partit witht foure schipis witht him and the quene
 gaif him ane cheinze to the wallour of ane thowsand
 crounis. The tent day of Julij the congregatioun and 25
 the papistis of France mett together at the toune of
 Orlieance and thair was great slaughter maid wpoun
 the schaweling sortt be the prince of Counde and the
 haill monkis and freiris and thair kirkis war all distroyit.
 At this tyme the Duike of Gwyse was slaine witht his 30

¹ I "maryed and gret."² Probably Duddingston Loch.³ "And was the verrie figure," I.⁴ "Drewis," I = Dreux. Dalzell omits.⁵ "At this tyme the king of France seaggit newhewin * and wan
 the samyn bag and baggage and thair lywes war saiff," I.

* Havre de Grace.

awin servant be the schot of ane dage tressonablie, bot he was taine schortlie heirefter and quarterit and drawin for the same. At this tyme the quene of Scotland and the quene of Ingland¹ sould haue mett together at
 5 Zork in Ingland, and the nobilitie wairnitt thair of and to haif departit the 24 day of Julij in the same zeir. 1562.
 Bot efter this they war stayit againe be ressonne of ane great cummer that was in France ffor the quene of Ingland had send x^m men to the New beawin in France
 10 to support the congregatioun of France and the earle of Warwick luftennent to thame. Efter this our quens grace tuik hir weage to the norland the 14 day of August and come to Aberdene and syne to Innernes and hangit the captane thair of because he wald not
 15 rander the same to hir grace.² In this moneth the earle Bothwell brak his waird and come out at ane wondow³ be ane tow and depairtit out of the castell of Edinburgh.⁴ Wpoun the 20⁵ day of September the quens grace maid ane procleratioun in the north
 20 land that all maner of man sould be at hir in feir of weir in the tounne of Aberdene and this was done because the laird of Finlatour and the earle of Huntlieis sone callit Iohnne Gordoun brak the waird of Aberdene and held all the castellis that pertinit to
 25 him and his father and wald not obey the quene nor rander thame; and also thair was procleratiouns in all Fyfe that all frehalderis sould be into Aberdene in feir of weir the first day of October. About this tyme the earle of Huntlie raissit ane great airmie of his freindis to

Fol. 191 a.

¹ I inserts, "callit Elizabeth."

² "At this tyme thair was gret derth in this cuntrie to wit the boll of meill and beir gave in the north cuntrie four poundis the best chaip," I. "Best chaip"=lowest price. See Glossary.

³ I "windok." Bothwell escaped 1st August 1562. See Notes.

⁴ I has "In this moneth the towne of cowper of fyffe obtained thair teindis at my lord of marris handis quhillk war furth of thair handis be the space of fourtie zeiris." A local note of Pitscottie.

⁵ I has "tent."

the number of ane thowsand men and thair conwenit in Strabogie. At this tyme my lord of Hallierudhouse callit lord Robert, the quens brother was send to Edinburgh¹ then to Aberdene. Nocht lang efter this thair departit v^e lyght horsemen to France to the support of the congregatioun, the quene nocht knawand thair of. The 20 day of September the castell of Innernes was wone and the captane thair of hangit callit Gordin. At this tyme Iohnne Gordin laird of Finlatour tuik certane of the quens men of weir in the toune of Bamf and tuik thair wapouns² frome thame. In the moneth of October the zeir forsaid the quens grace send ane herald to the earle of Huntlie and chargit him to compeir befor hir grace at Aberdene bot he wald in nowayis obey, quhairfor he was put to the horne. The earle off Huntlie sieand that came fordwart witht his assistance the 20 day of October to Bamf and thocht to haue comed to Aberdene to haue taine the quens grace. Me lord Murray and me lord Lyndsay being in the toune at this same tyme, wpoun the 28 day of this moneth passit to the feildis and left the quene into the toune of Aberdene and at ane place callit Bank-a-fair, wtherwayis callit Coruchie³ and mett the earle of Huntlie and his companie and gaif tham the charge off battell quhair thair was great slaughter and the earle of Huntlie was slaine, and his sone⁴ taine witht money of his kinsmen and war brocht to Aberdene; and thair was of his men slaine ij^e and that same night thai come all to Aberden witht great blythnes and the brother⁵ of the earle was brocht witht thame and laid in the tolbutht that all men might se him thair lyand. And wpoun the 30 day of October thair was fyue gentellmen of the Gordins hangit and the 2 day of December the

156a.

Fol. 191 b.

¹ I here inserts, "the xvij of September to bring with him aucht peice of gret artilzerie and schippit thame at leith and brocht thame."

² I "and culweringis."

³ I "Cowrichie"—i.e., Corrichie. See Notes.

⁴ "Sonis," I.

⁵ "Dead bodie," B and I; which seems right.

laird of Finlatour was heidit. This beand done, the lord Duik that was callit lord Hammilltoun was chargit to keip me lord Gordin his good sone in suire keiping and thairefter the lord Duik raid to Sant Iohnnstoun
 5 and spak for him and gat no ansuer that pleissit him. Wpoun the 4 day of November the quens grace come fourtht of Aberdene and come to Denottar and come to Bonitoun and Arbrocht and to Dindie¹ and Sanct Johnstoun and to Stirling, last to Edinburgh and thair
 10 remanit. Wpoun the 24 day of November the lord Bothewell was chargit to enter in waird againe wnder the paine of treassone, zeit nochtwithtstanding he dissobeyit and wpoun the 5 day of December he was passand be sie to Flanderis and was taine in the Hallie eilland² and
 15 had to Loundoun. At this meane tyme wpoun the 10³ day of December thair was great slaughter at the New heawin in France betuix the Inglichmen and the Duik of Gwise, and the Inglichmen slew of thame iij^m men and wpoun the 20 day of this moneth the prince of Condie
 20 past to Parise witht xx^m men of weir, he beand princi pall to the congregatioun and slew of the papistis x^m men zeit he could nocht win the toune. At this tyme thair was ane proclematioun maid at Edinburgh that nane sould bring hame wynes fourtht of Bourdeous bot
 25 for xx li. the tonne.⁴ In the moneth of Januarij the 1563.
 28 day thairof me lord Gordin thollit the law and was condampnit and his landis forfaltit and his armes taine fourtht and brokin and rewin out of the buike of armes as his father the earle of Huntlie was done; and his
 30 lyfe he patt in the quens will and thairefter hir grace caussit him to be wairdit in the castell of Dumbar in-

¹ Dalzell differs after this, and is so defective that the whole passage from p. 179, l. 9, to p. 182, l. 17, is omitted. The rest to the end of this narrative is much curtailed both in Freebairn and Dalzell. See Notes.

² Lindisfarne. This was early in June 1563. See "Calendar of State Papers, Scotland," i. 187. ³ "ix," I. ⁴ I "tune."

1563.

during hir will. At this tyme the 24 day of Februarij
 thair was ane frincheman¹ heidit in Sanctandros because
 he was found behinde the quens grace bede in hir
 challmer and it was iudgeit² all the letrone. Not lang
 efter this thair was ane procliamatioun of ane parlea- 5
 ment to be haldin at Edinburgh the 10 day of Maij in
 the zeir of god I^m v^c lxij zeiris.³ The bischope of
 Sanctandros was chargit to wnderlay the law to the 11
 day of Maij witht certane wther kirkmen ffor saying mese,
 so the bischope of Sanctandros callit Mr. Iohnne Ham- 10
 milltoun the Duikis brother compeirit in Edinburgh the
 day forsaide and thollit law for saying of mese and so the
 said bischope was put in the castell of Edinburgh.⁴
 Wpoun the 26 day of Maij the quene past to the
 tolbutht of Edinburgh to the parlieament witht the hail 15
 lordis and barrouns of Scotland and burgessis and the
 croune of France wpoun hir hienes heid, and quhen
 hir grace come done to the abbay of Hallierudhouse
 scho had wpoun hir heid the croune of France and
 Scotland; and thair was great trewmphis maid that the 20
 lyk was nocht befoir. Me lord Duik buire the croune,
 me lord of Murray the suord and me lord of Mortone
 the septer, and thair was nothing done at this parliea-
 ment bot to the advancement of the congregatioun and
 anent fallis cunzieis. In this zeir⁵ thair was nothing 25
 done bot all was in quyitnes and me lorde of Murray
 the quens brother was hir consallour and nothing done

¹ Chastelard. See Notes.

² I to the warst. "At this tyme the quein remanit in Sancttandros [all letrone]," I. The omission of this in A makes nonsense.

³ "Siclyk in this moneth of februarj thair was ane proclema-
 tioun maid that nane sould eit flesche in letrone vnder the pane of
 x poundis and the nixt fault xl lib. In this moneth the inglis
 ambassadouris depairtit furth of Sancttandros to Ingland, and alse
 vpone ass vodinsday in the zeir of god I^m v^c lxij zeiris the
 bischope," &c., I.

⁴ "At this tyme gret taiknis was seine in the firmament of
 flames of fyre," I.

⁵ "Quhilk was in the zeir of god I^m v^c lxij zeiris," &c., I.

- bot be his adwyse. In this zeir Ferdinando the Improur deit.¹ In the zeir of god I^m v^o Lxiiij zeiris the 2 day of August the quens grace past to Atholl witht money of the nobilitie, and remanit thair xiiij dayis at the hunting.² All this zeir thair was ane great slaughter betuix the Glengregouris and the laird of Glenorquhart callit Campbell. In the same zeir thair come ane Italieane in Scotland callit Senzour Dawid³ quho was ane wyse man and weill besene and was ane goode musecenar.⁴ So this man come to the quene quhair scho was for the tyme quho was weill intertenit and so weill treitit be hir that nothing was done to hir.⁵ So the wyse lordis consall that war in the court of befor was lichtlieit for his cause and came nocht in the court.⁶
- 15 Quhair of the lordis war verrie commoweit and discontentit at the samyn, bot we will speik no moir of him now quhill eftirward and than we sall declair the sowme and haill prograce of his lyff and quhat end he maid and quhat cummar his slauchtir maid in the realme of Scotland. Vpone the viij day of October the erle of lennox came furth of England to Scotland he beand banisit and foirfaltit the space of xxij zeiris. At this tyme thair was ane proclamatioun of ane parliament

1564.

I, fol. 132 b.

¹ "In this zeir thair was ane gret controwersie about the schereffschip of fyffe betuix my lord lyndesay and my lord of rothus for sumtyme the quenys grace with hir counsall favourit my lord lyndesay and maid him ane promeis thair of and thaireftir be counsall gave it to the erle of rothus and this raisit gret seditioun in all fyff," I.

² I adds, "and slew the hart and hynd dae and rae to the number of fyve hundreith and als wa the erle of Atholl maid the quenys grace gret interteinment in bancatting of all kynd of delicattis that culd be gottin." See Notes as to the Atholl Hunt.

³ Rizzio. Both the printed editions omit reference to Rizzio. See Notes.

⁴ Musician.

⁵ "To hir" seems a mistake for "without him."

⁶ MS. A stops abruptly here, two or three lines from the foot of the page (fol. 192 a). Immediately below the last line are the words "Liber Ioannis Gordon de Buthlay Advocati 16^o die May 1761. Edinburgi." The text after this point is taken from I, compared with Freebairn and Dalzell's editions to p. 187, l. 4, where both these editions end, and after that from MS. I alone.

to be hauldin at Edinburgh for the restoiring of foir-
faltour the viij day of Januar thair eftir in the zeir of
god I^m v^e lx¹ zeiris the xiiij day of februarj my lord
Darlie the erle of lennox sone come furth of Ingland
to Scotland beand borne in Ingland and gave his 5
presens to the quein at the place of the West Wemys
for his moder was the Erle of Angus dochter gottin
vpone the king of Inglandis sister callit Margret ted-
daris² eftir the deid of King James the fird of Scotland
quha was hir first husband. In the moneth of Marche 10
the erle bothwell came furth of france to Scotland bot
he remanit nocht for feir of my lord Murray the quenis
broder for the erle of Murray was ane protestane and
the erle bothwell ane papist. In the zeir of god
I^m v^e lxx zeris in the moneth of Apryle thair was ane 15
gret bruit that the quein sould marie the lord Darlie
and was at that tyme in Stirviling at the huntting. In
this moneth of Apryle my lord Murray come fra the
quein to Sanctandros becaus thai wald nocht consent
that scho sould marie the lord Darlie. At this tyme 20
than thair was ane conventioun of the lordis in Stirviling
about the mariaige of the quein and my lord Darlie
and the maist pairt of the lordis grantit to the samyn.
In the moneth of Junij the quenis grace send about
my lord Murray bot he was adwerteisit that gif he had 25
cum he had beine put in ward. In this moneth of
Junij the Erle of rothus witht sindrie vtheris gentilmen
come to parrat wall³ besyd dowhill and thocht to haue
tane my lord Darlie fra the quein hir grace cummand
furth of Sanct Johnstoun to the quenis ferrie bot scho 30
was aduerteisit of the samyn and postit to the ferrie

1565.

¹ Darnley came to Scotland in February 1565, and was at Wemyss on 17th February. See Notes. The MS. has 1560 by mistake.

² *I.e.*, Tudor.

³ "Parnwell" is the local name. Burns Begg, "History of Lochleven Castle," p. 42, and Ordnance Survey. The true date was Sunday, 1st July. See Notes.

or thai convenit togidder quhair foir thay war disapoint-
 tit quhilk was to their gret displessour as ze sall heir
 heireftir. In the moneth of Julij the zeir forsaid thair Fol. 133 a.
 was letteris directit to thir lordis and gentilmen to 1565.
 5 vnderly the law and that samyn tyme thair come ane
 ambassadour¹ furth of ingland to the quein, and in the
 same moneth thair come ane vther ambassadour furth
 of Ingland fra Elizabeth to our quein callit Maria and
 desyred that my lord of lennox and his sone the lord
 10 Darlie sould cum agane to ingland or ellis sould tyne
 thair landis that thay had in Ingland quhilk desyre the
 erle and his sone refused and the ambassadour depairtit.
 In the same moneth of Julij the lord Darlie was maid
 erle of ros and Duik of Rothsay. At this tyme thair
 15 was ane parliament proclemit to the secund day of
 September nixtocum. Vpone the xxviiij day of Julij²
 the quenis grace was maryed one the Duik of Roissay
 vthirwayis callit the lord Darlie in the abbay of Haly-
 rudous, Edinburgh, and thair was all the nobilitie ex-
 20 cept the lord Duik quhilk was governour to our quenis
 grace in hir minoritie the erle of argyle the erle of
 Rothus the erle of Murray. At this tyme thair was
 ane herauld of airmes [sent] to thir foirsaid lordis to
 charg thame to cum to the quenis grace to Edinburgh
 25 and thaireftir vpon the vj day of August they war put
 to the horne and passit to Argyle and thair remanit ane
 quhyle. At this tyme thair was ane proclamatioun maid
 in Cowper that all maner of man sould meit the quein
 at falkland the xiiij day of August. Nocht lang eftir
 30 this in the moneth of august³ my lord gordoun was
 restoirit agane to his honouris and landis and his airmes

¹ John Tamworth, "For. Cal. Elizabeth," vii. 416; "Scottish Cal.," Letter of 30th July 1570. See Notes.

² The marriage was on the 29th, but the Diurnal of Occurrents has also the 28th (p. 80). Freebairn and Dalzell have the 8th by mistake. See Notes. The Diurnal is hereafter cited by the letter D.

³ "25th August," D, p. 81.

put in agane in the buik of airmes and my lord
 Sutherland was send to Flanderis at this tyme. And
 my lord bothwell was restoirit in lyk maner. Item in
 August 1565. this moneth my lord lyndesay tuik possessioun of the
 Schereffschip of fyffe and was maid schereff thairof at 5
 the marcat cros of Cowper to him and his airis. About
 this tyme the xxij day of august thair was ane procla-
 matioun maid in Cowper of fyffe¹ at the marcat cros
 thairof and summond all the gentilmen of fyff that
 was at the parrat wall to pas to Dumbartane in waird. 10
 And siclyk pat the erle of rothus to the horne. At
 this tyme thair was ane vther procleratioun in Couper
 the xxiiij day of August that all maner of man sould
 be in Glascow in feir of weir to resist thir foirsaid
 lordis that war at the horne. Schortlie heireftir vpon 15
 the xxviiij day of august the quein send furth of
 Glascow ane herauld of airmes to hammiltoun to
 charge my lord duik to delyuer the samyn vnder the
 paine of tresoun bot it was nocht delyuerit at that
 tyme. The xxix day of August the lordis that war at 20
 the horne come to Edinburgh witht thair assistance and
 the castell schot at thame and thaireftir thai passit furth
 of Edinburgh to Drumfreis thay beand aduerteisit of the
 king and quenis cuming to haue tane thame in Edin-
 burgh the first of September and syne come to Glascow 25
 agane and thair remanit. Vpon the xij day of septem-
 ber the king and the quein maid the erle of lennox
 luvetennand of the vest pairtis and thaireftir thay come
 to stiruiling and syne to fyiff and dundie and tuik sindrie
 gentilmen of fyff and pat thame in ward and siclyk in 30
 angus for airt and pairt of thir foirsaid lordis that war
 at the horne. Item all this cummar rais about the
 quenis mariaige quhilk continwit to the slaughtir of
 Seinzeour David as ze sall heir heireftir. Vpon the xx

¹ The dates of these proclamations are given because Pitscottie lived close to Cupar.

day of september the king and the quein passit to Sanct
 Johnstoune and maid guid ordouris thair in all strath-
 erne schyre. And vpone the xxv xxvj xxvij dayes the
 kingis grace and the quenis grace remanit in Edinburgh
 5 at ane counsall. At this same tyme the erle bothwell
 come furth of flanderis in ane pinag¹ and landit at
 Codinghame² and thaireftir come to the king and the
 quein and gave his presens³ witht his kinisfolk and was
 resaut in thair favouris and was maid generall lustennand
 10 vpone the bordouris. Vpone the viij day of October Fol. 133 b.
 the quenis grace resaut gret sowmes off money fra all
 the burrowis [and]⁴ the toune of Edinburgh and payit
 alevin thowsand markis⁵ and gat the superioritie of the
 towne of leith at that tyme. Nocht lang heireftir vpone
 15 the x day⁶ of this moneth of october the erle of huntlie
 was proclomit erle agane and restoirit to all his honouris.
 That same day the king and the quein witht the hail
 body of this realme passit furth of Edinburgh to Drum-
 freis witht sindrie cartit peices of artelzerie quhair my
 20 lord hammiltoun my lord of Murray the erle of Rothus
 the Erle argyle war bot thay heirand tell of the king and
 quenis power fled all to ingland and at Drumfreis my
 lord Maxwell come in the quenis will and randerit twa
 of the principall castellis to the quenis grace that was
 25 in thaies pairtis and syne reteired agane to Edinburgh.
 Nocht lang eftir this thair come ane Inglis schip into
 our firth⁷ quhilk schip was verrie gret and had xx gret
 brassin schottis in hir and sum said that it was to resawe
 the lordis that war at the horne and vthir sum said that
 30 scho come to hauld wat⁸ vpone my lord bothwell and to
 haue tane him vpone the sie and the king send the

¹ Pinnace. Dalzell has "punt." See Glossary.

² Coldingham shore.

³ "20th Sept.," D, p. 83.

⁴ I has "of."

⁵ D, p. 84. See Notes.

⁶ "8th day of October," D, p. 84.

⁷ Firth of Forth.

⁸ I also has "wat." Perhaps "watch" or "wit"—i.e., know-
 ledge of.

captane thairof ane gret cheinzie worth fyve hundreith
 markis and ane siluer tass and thaireftir he depairtit to
 ingland. Item all this tyme the king and the quein
 witht thair power war in Drumfreis and in sindrie placeis
 of the bordouris quhill the xxiiij day of this moneth and 5
 syne come agane to Edinburgh and directit and send ane
 ambassadour to france. In this moneth of october the
 laird of tillibardin was proclomit comptrollar to the king
 and the quenis grace and the laird of pittarrow dis-
 chairgit. Schortlie heireftir in the same zeir the viij day 10
 of november thair was proclomatiounis maid of ane
 Justice air throche all the schyres of scotland and that
 was for the puneischment of thame that raid nocht witht
 the king and the quein and tuik pairt witht the lordis
 that war rebellis. Item duiring all this moneth the 15
 realme was in guid rest. In the moneth of December
 thair was ane proclomatioun maid to the xij day of
 marche and that was done to foirfalt the lordis that war
 in Ingland. In the moneth of Januarj¹ the same zeir 20
 thair come ane ambassadour fra the king of france witht
 ane commissioun to mak our king knicht of the cockill
 and in the same moneth the king was maid knicht of
 the cockill in the abbay of halyrudous at ane mes quhair
 foir he was grettumlie murmured and sclanderit. Item
 in februar² the ambassadour depairtit to france agane. 25
 Vpone the xxij day of februarj my lord bothwell maryed
 the erle of Huntlies sistir and the king and the quein
 maid the bancat the first day quhilk continewit fyve
 dayis witht justing and turnamentis and thair was maid
 sex knychtis of fyff at that mariaige. Schortlie heireftir 30
 the viij day of marche in the zeir of god I^m v^o lxx³ zeiris
 the quenis grace passit to the tollbuithe of Edinburgh

1566.

¹ D says Monday, 4th February, and gives the name of the ambassador, "Rambillat"—*i.e.*, Rambouillet, who came to confer the Order of St. Michael on Darnley. See Notes.

² "14th February 1566," D, p. 87.

³ This according to the New Style was 1566.

with crowne cepture and sword borne be the erle of
 huntlie the erle of athole and the erle of Crawford bot
 the king raid nocht that day¹ and the erle of huntlie was
 restoirit in parliament that samesellff day, and the rest
 5 of all matteris continewit quhill the xij day thairestir.²
 Now we will returne to Seizeour Daid quhome we
 spak of befor. Vpone the ix day of marche at aucht
 houris at evin the quenis grace beand in hir chalmer
 and Seizeour Daid the Italian secriter witht the quein
 10 and the rest of hir lordis at thair supper in the Abbay
 The king my lord lyndesay my lord mortoun my lord
 Ruthvane come to the Abbay and enterit in the quenis
 chalmer and tuik the said seizeour Daid and thocht
 to haue put him in presoun³ bot in the mentyme he
 15 maid sic impediment that he cuild nocht weill be taine
 bot was slaine be certane of thir lordis seruandis quhillk
 gave him certane straikis witht quhingeris in the bodie
 and left him not quhill he was deid and the rest of the
 lordis that war in the abbay fled away for feir sic as the
 20 erle of huntlie the erle bothwell with thair assistance
 that war in the abbay.⁴ The xj day of this moneth the
 lordis that war in ingland and at the quenis horne come
 to Edinburcht and passit to the quenis grace and sat
 doune vpon thair kneis and askit pardone and hir
 25 grace gave thame fair wordis for causis⁵ and grantit
 thame thair requeistis. Wpon the xij day of marche
 thaireftir⁶ the king and the quein passit one the

I, fol. 134 a.

Seizeour
dauidis
slaughter on
the ix of
Marche
1566.⁷¹ D, p. 89.² Here all the MSS. of Pitscottie stop except I, and the remainder of the text of the Chronicles is from MS. I alone. Most of the other MSS. have "The Addition," which is not by him. See Introduction and Notes. Dalzell ends with the words, "Referring the rest to the next occasion of all matters."³ This is in Pitscottie MS. I, and no other of the narrators. See Notes.⁴ The Diurnal agrees with this, but is much fuller. See Notes.⁵ "For causis"—i.e., for reasons of her own.⁶ D, p. 92.⁷ The writer of the marginal note uses the New Style.

nicht to Dumbar and the parliament ceassit and
 sindrie of the lordis war begylit. Schortlie heireftir
 vpone the xij and xiiij day of marche the lords
 seand that the king and the quein had passit away to
 Dumbar thay passit to the tolbuith and tuik instrumentis 5
 that thay obeyit and compeired conforme to the procle-
 matioun of the parliament. Vpone the xv day of Marche
 thair was proclermatiounis maid that all maner of man
 sould be at the quein at Dumbar¹ in feir of weir the xix
 day of Marche thaireftir. Nocht lang heireftir vpone the 10
 xx day of Marche my lord of Mortoune my lord lyndesay
 my lord ruthven witht thair assistance passit furtht of
 Edinburgh becaus thay war no pairtie to the quein and
 sum of thame passit to argyle and sum to ingland and
 thay war put to the horne and thair escheittis taine vp. 15
 In the zeir of god Im v° lxvj zeiris the xxij day of Marche
 the erle of huntlie was maid Chancelar in steid of the
 erle of Mortoun. At this tyme Schir James balfour was
 maid clerk of register and secreter to the quenis grace.
 Vpone the xxv day of Marche the zeir foirsaid the king 20
 and the quein passit to the castell and thair remanit
 becaus of the gret seditioun amangis the lordis and
 vpone the xxvj day the burgesis of Dundie war summond
 to vndirly the law. At this tyme thair was ane proclema-
 tioun maid that nane vnder the paine of deid sould 25
 speik nor say that the king war airt nor pairt of Seinzeour
 Daidis slauchtir. Duiring this moneth of Marche thair
 was nathing done bot gret cummar on all thame that
 war airt and pairt of the slauchtir of seinzeour Daid.
 Nocht lang heireftir vpone the second day of Apryle 30
 Thomas Scot² schereff deput of Sanct Johnstoune was
 hangit heiddit and quarterit becaus he was my lord
 ruthvenis man quha slew seinzeour Daid and chancit
 to be thair at that tyme at the slauchter. And vpone the

1566.

Vpone the
 2 day of
 Apryle
 thomas
 Scott
 schereff
 deput of
 perth iusti-
 fied 1566.

¹ D, p. 93, says "Musselburgh." See Notes.

² D, p. 98. Lord Ruthven was Sheriff Principal. See Notes.

same day thair was thrie burgesis of Edinburgh condampnit for the samyn cryme and vpone the scaffauld to thoill¹ and my lord bothwell gat pardone for thame all thrie and thay thankit god and the quenis grace for the
 5 samyn. At this same tyme thair was sindrie gentilmen of fyff² chairgit in waird becaus thay war in cumpanie of my lord lyndesay and keipit watch that nicht that seinzeour Daid was slaine. Vpone the xij day of Apryle my lord of rothus came to Cowpar and was maid
 10 schereff agane and siclyk deposit the provest and baillzeis that war at that tyme in the towne of Cowper but lang or pace Monunday³ thay war depriwit agane and the first choissin put in thair plaice. Schort quhyle heireftir vpone the xvij day of apryle my lord of argyle and my
 15 lord of Murray war resaut agane in the quenis favouris. Schortlie afor this vpone the xiiij day of apryle the erle of huntlie was taine vp out of his grave in the blak freiris of Edinburgh twa zeiris eftir that he was slaine at bank-a-fair⁴ and foirfaulted and caryed throche the
 20 towne witht the nobilitie to the peir of leith and thair botted in⁵ and had to the sie to strabogie and buried and thaireftir his honouris and airmes was newlie proclemit at Edinburgh. And dureing this moneth of apryle the king and the quein war in the castell of
 25 Edinburgh⁶ at ane counsall about ane french ambassadour bot of his cuming nane cuild tell at that presentt. At this tyme my lord ruthven depairtit of this presentt lyff the xiiij day of this moneth of maij he beand in Ingland and at the horne for the slauchter of seinzeour Daid.⁷

Fol. 134 b.

¹ "Thoill"—*i.e.*, suffer.

² One of them was David Lindesay of Pyetstoun, the elder brother of Pitscottie (D, p. 97). See Notes.

³ Easter Monday.

⁴ Another name for Corriche.

⁵ "Botted in"—*i.e.*, "put into a boat." See Glossary.

⁶ D, p. 99.

⁷ Lord Ruthven's account of Rizzio's murder is dated Berwick, 28th March 1566. See Notes.

James the
Sext borne
vpone the
xix day of
Junii 1566.

Vpone the xvij day of Maij the lordis passit to the
castell of Edinburgh and held ane counsall quihidder the
quen is grace sould ly witht chylde bed in the castell of
Edinburgh or in the castell of Stirviling bot it was con-
cludit that scho sould ly in the castell of Edinburgh. 5
Item the rest of this moneth all was in quyetnes and
guid ordour. Vpone the xix day of Junij the zeir of god
I^m v^c lxxj zeiris¹ our prince King James the Sext was
borne in the castell of Edinburgh quhairfoir gret trewmphe
was maid and fyres set furth in all Scotland quihilk was 10
gret ioy to all Scottismen. Duiring all this moneth of
Junij and Julij the quen is grace remainit in the castell
quhill October. In this moneth thair was ane proclama-
tioun maid that all maner of man sould be in Jedbroche
in feir of weir for haulding of ane iustice air. In this 15
moneth the quein raid in proper persone to Jedbroche
and remanit thair quhill mertymes and the puir men war
hangit and the richmen war hangit be the purs² and the
quen is grace tuik ane gret fewir that nane beleiwit hir
lyf;³ in november thaireftir Monsieur Dubriam⁴ come 20
furth of france to Scotland and was resaut honourabil-
lie becaus he representit the king of france persone in
baptising of our prince. Vpone the xvij day of Decem-
ber⁵ this same zeir James Charllis be the grace of god
prince of Scotland was baptisit in Stirviling be the am- 25
bassadours of france, ingland, Sauoy, Monsieur lebriam⁶
for france, the erle of bedfurd for ingland, Monsieur la
corik⁷ gret tryvmphe was maid throch all Scotland and
the inglis ambassadour gave ane funt⁸ wayand thrie

¹ D, p. 100.

² It is not clear what this means; perhaps "hangit be the purs"
=being fined.

³ *I.e.*, that she would live.

⁴ Le Comte de Brienne.

⁵ D, p. 103, gives a much fuller account of the christening.

⁶ Le Comte de Brienne.

⁷ "Monsieur la Croc." His proper French name was "Du
Croc." See Notes.

⁸ Font—*i.e.*, baptismal laver.

hundreith xxxiiij vnces. And thir ambassadouris maid
 gret request to the quenis grace for the lordis that war
 at the horne in ingland quhilk requeist was grantit and
 syne the ambassadouris passit hame. Vpone the xiiij
 5 of this moneth of December the erle of mortoun my lord
 lyndesay [and] my lord ruthven thair pace was proclemit in
 Edinburgh and war in the quenis graces favour. In the
 moneth of Januarj the kingis grace passit to glasgow and ^{1567.}
 his fader the erle of lennox and was struckkin witht ane
 10 gret fever of the pockis¹ bot it was judgeit that he sould
 haue beine poysonit bot god knawis the verritie thair of.
 Schortlie thaireftir vpone the xxj day of Januarj the
 quenis grace raid to glasgow to visie the king and re-
 manit thair quhill he was sum thing conwellessit. Nocht
 15 lang heireftir vpone the xxix day of Januarj the king and
 the quein come furth of glasgow to Stiruiling to lin-
 lythtgow and syne to Edinburghe and was ludgeit in the
 kirk of feild for quhat intent god knawis. And vpone
 the king and the quenis grace beand at thair pastyme in
 20 the kirk of feild in his ludging quhill alevin houris at
 nicht the quein passit to hir bed to the abbay and the
 king to his bed in the kirk of feild and at the hour of
 twa eftir midnycht certane conspiratouris or traittouris
 come into his chalmer he beand in his bed and tuik him
 25 furth and maist traittoruslie and cruellie thair thay wirrit
 him to the deid witht his awin paige witht him. For thair
 was nevir such ane crwell thing done for thay murdreist
 him witht his awin bend² and thaireftir thir tratouris had
 put certane barrellis of poulder vnder the wallis of his
 30 ludging and blew it all in the air that ane stane was
 nocht left vpone ane vther.³ And this was done in the
 zeir of god I^m v^o lxxj zeiris.⁴

¹ D, p. 105.² *I.e.*, "strangled him with his own belt."³ D, p. 106, uses the same expression.⁴ 1567, New Style.

HEIR ENDIS KING HARIE STEWART:
KING OF SCOTLAND: FOR THE
TYME AND THE FIRST OF
THAT NAME¹ AND HEIR
BEGINNIS THE RIGNE
OF JAMES THE
VJ HIS
SONE.

1, fol. 135 a. King Harie crwellie murdrest in this maner as I haue
schawin zow and the bruit rais heireftir that it was the
erle bothwell that did conspyre his death witht his assist-
ance and verrie trew it was as eftir it salbe declairit bot
1567. vpone the alevint day of februarj the quenis grace raid 5
to Seattoun with hir counsall and remanit thair ane
quhyle and hir grace causit to mak ane proclermatioun
in Edinburgh that gif ony persone wald cum to hir
grace and reveill the said slauchter thay sould haue twa
thowsand pound witht ane barronie of land bot god 10
reweilled it to hir gret schame and dishonour as eftir salbe
declaired. And vpone the xx day of februarj thair was
ane wreitting set vpone the kirk dore that my lord both-
well witht his houshald sould murdres the kingis grace
quhilk is nocht fals. At this tyme vpone the xxij day of 15
this monethe the countas of lennowis callit Margret the
kingis mother was lattin furth of the towne² of Londoun.

¹ A curious assumption, in form at least, that Darnley was king
and that James VI. succeeded his father. It was not till 24th July
1567 that Mary made her Lochleven abdication.

² This should be "tower."

bot we will returne to our purpois. Nocht lang heireftir
 vpone the vij day of Marche thair was put vpone the
 kirk dore of Edinburgh ane paintted wreitting witht ane
 marmaiden and ane crowne on hir heid witht 1 letter
 5 callit this¹ R. and ane M. one the on syd and on the vthir
 syd ane letter callit this¹ J. and ane H. quhilk signefied
 that the quenis grace and the erle bothwell sould be the
 causeris of the kingis deid. The quenis grace herand
 tell of this was vondrous wraith and summond sindrie
 10 gentilmen of fyff and Stratherne to vnderly the law for
 the same wreiting and wer all cleingit except ane callit
 James Murray broder to the laird of tillibardin quha
 tuik the cryme on him and passit his way. Schortlie
 heireftir vpone the xvij day of Marche the prince was
 15 delyuerit to my lord Askyne² in keiping and had to
 Stiruiling for it was suspectit that he sould beine mur-
 dredst as his father was bot god wald nocht suffer it.
 Vpone the xx day of Marche³ the castell of Edinburgh
 was tane fra my lord askyne and givin to my lord
 20 bothwell and his doaris and all the arteilzerrie schot bot
 schone heireftir that same nicht thair rais ane gret
 tempest of wind that it blew downe the taill of the
 weddercock⁴ of Sanct geillis kirk of Edinburgh quhilk
 was ane gret mervell and taikin of his distruction to
 25 cum as came schortlie thaireftir. In the zeir of god
 I^m v^e lxvij zeiris vpone the xxvj day of Marche my lord^{1567.}
 bothwell tholit law for slauchter of the kingis grace
 quhilk was continewit to the x day of apryle and vpone
 the fyft⁵ day of apryle my lord Murray gat licence to
 30 pas to france and so he tuik his weyage throch ingland
 and this was for feir of my lord Bothwell quha did con-
 spyre his deid and war nocht he passit furtht of Scotland
 he had beine mordreist zit he was adwerteisit and so

¹ "This" = thus.² Erskine.³ Diurnal says "21st March," p. 107.⁴ See Notes.⁵ D, "7th April," p. 107.

depairtit. Vpone the xij day of apryle the lord bothwell
thollit law for the kingis slauchter¹ be fyfteine erles
and lordis and was cleingit bot god forgive thame
that cleingit him. So he being cleingit he pairtit
witht his wyff for quhat caus ze may judge heireftir. 5
And duiring this moneth the castell of Edinburgh
was delyuerit to Schir James balfour laird of Pittin-
dricht. The lordis heiring at this tyme that the erle
bothwell was cleingit thay held ane counsall in Stirviling
and war nocht contentit of the samyn. Vpone the xij 10
day of Maij ane parliament was haldin and the erle of
huntlie was restoirit agane and also that the quein sould
have libertie to marie. Nocht lang heireftir vpone the
xxj day of Maij the erle bothwell vas maid Duik of
Orknay for quhat caus ze may judge quhilk ratified all 15
the murthur that was done befor and now oppinlie de-
clairit. Schortlie heireftir vpone the xxiiij² day of Maij
the erle bothwell and Duik of Orknay was maryed vpone
our quenis grace in the abbay of Halyrudous be the
bischope of Orknay and thaireftir certane lordis maid 20
ane conventioun at Stiruiling about the same marriage
and war nocht contentit. In this moneth of Maij thair
was ane proclermatioun maid that all maner of man sould
be in mewrus³ in feir of weir to puneis certane rebellis
of liddisdaill. Schortlie heireftir vpone the xj day of 25
Junij certane lordis witht thair assistance as my lord mor-
toun my lord lindesay the lord askyne the lord ruthven
the erle of athole the lord home come in the nicht to
the place of borthick to haue tane the erle bothwell
bot the quein was aduerteisit and come that nicht to 30
Dunbar.⁴ Vpone the xj day of Junij in the zeir of god
I^m v^c lxxvij zeiris thir lordis seand thame sellffis dis-
sapointit of thair enterpryse in borthick come that same
nycht to Edinburgh to the nommer of four thowsand

Fol. 135 b.

1567.

¹ D, p. 108.² D, "15th May," p. 111.³ *L.c.*, Melrose (D, p. 112).⁴ D, p. 113.

men and causit procleratiounis to be maid at the
 mercat cros that thair cuming was to persew thame
 that slew the king and for na vthir causis and so the
 castell and the toune ovirsaw thame. The quein and
 5 our lordis of secreit counsall seand this send ane herauld
 that same nycht to the cros to mak ane procleratioun
 in hir lordis contrair¹ bot or the herauld of airmes red
 the half of his letter he was stopit and taine downe of
 the cros be the lordis. Than the lordis of the quenis
 10 secreit counsall sic as my lord huntlie the bischop of
 Sanctandros the bischop of ros witht thair cumpaneis
 passit to the castell that same nicht and thair remanit
 aucht dayis and that nycht the towne of Edinburgh
 keipit ane stark watch in the towne the laird of Craig-
 15 myllar beand provest thair of. Vpone the xij day of this
 moneth the quein and the erle bothwell causit letters to
 be proclamit in fyff angus and vthir pairtis quhair thay
 nicht pas to be at thame at Dunbar witht all possibill
 diligence vnder the panis of lyff landis and guidis. That
 20 same day the lordis that war in Edinburgh causit pro-
 cleme ane letter that the lordis of sessioun sould sit and
 do justice and that thair cuming was nocht to stop thair
 sessioun bot for to puneisch all thame that wer airt and
 pairt of the kingis slauchter.² And thaireftir thay maid
 25 ane assignay³ and pat vpone it ane pictour of ane deid
 bodie quhilk representit the kingis bodie and thair was
 writtin abone his heid. 'Judge and reveng my caus o
 'lord.' And vpone this same moneth thir lordis tuik vp
 fyve hundreith men of weir of culwering men and vther.
 30 Schortlie heireftir vpone the xv day of Junij the zeir
 foirsaid the quein and the erle bothwell come furth
 of Dumbar⁴ witht thair haill power to haue cum to the

¹ *I.e.*, contrary to the Lords.

² The usual rule was that when Parliament sat the Court of Session did not. See Notes.

³ "Assignay"—*i.e.*, "flag" or "ensign."

⁴ D. p. 114.

toune of Edinburgh and biddin vpone the rest of hir
 airmie and var in nommer four thowsand men and
 come foirdwart to Mussellburgh. Bot the lordis that
 war in Edinburgh come furth of the toune witht
 thair assistance vpone fute to haue met the quein at 5
 Carberrie. Bot the quein and the erle bothwell seand
 the lordis so starklie gadderit aganes thame send ane
 herauld and the french ambassadour callit monsieur
 la croik¹ quha laubourit betuix thame earnestlie to
 sie quhat the lordis desyred or quhat was thair caus to 10
 cum so starklie in weirfair aganes hir. Thay ansuerit
 and said thaz come nocht to invaid hir grace bot thay
 come to seik that traitour that murdrest hir husband
 to wit the erle bothwell and to puneis him according to
 his demerittis. The erle bothwell heiring this denyed 15
 the cryme and said he wald fecht witht ony of thame in
 the contrair and that he was clein of that fact. Than
 the laird of graunge offerrit to fecht with him in the same
 quarrell bot he refusit him sayand that the laird of
 graunge nicht nocht be fallow nor peir to him seand he 20
 was bot ane small barroun and he ane erle thairfoir he
 wald not degraid the honour of his hous to fecht witht
 sic ane base man of degrie. Bot wald ony lord of ane
 antient hous fecht he wald fecht witht him in that
 quarrell that he was clein and frie of the kingis slauchter. 25
 This ansuer cuming agane to the lordis quha hard and
 considerit the samyn bot thair messinger the laird of
 graunge and monsieur la crok quha did at that tyme
 all thingis worthie to thair honour and the common
 weill of the cuntrie. Be this the lord lyndesay ansuerit 30
 and said, 'I will fecht witht him quhat way he pleisis
 ' on hors or on fute or doubilled² alaine or in airmur or
 ' man for man or sax for sax or xij for xij as he thinkis
 ' guide in that quarrell and caus that he murdrest the

¹ La Croc or Du Croc.

² "With doublet only, or in armour."

' king [with] his awin proppir handis and his complices
 ' cruellie vnder silence of nicht quhilk gif it be nocht
 ' reweingit witht man god will reveng it.' So the
 messenger depairtit and schew the same to the quein
 5 and the erle bothwell. The quein heiring this same
 offer of my lord lyndesay knawand him to be ane stout
 man of his handis and strang of bodie and weill willing
 to reweng the kingis murthur becaus he lowit him and
 was his freind and tender of bluid vnto him the
 10 quein thairfoir wald nocht lat the erle bothwell cum
 fordward to fecht bot gave him hir purs¹ and baid him
 depairt quhill he saw forder and so the quein pat of
 the tyme quhill the Erle bothwell was convoyit agane to
 Dumbar. Than the quein hir sellff come fordward to the
 15 lordis and was taine and come in will to the laird
 of graunge and was had to Edinburgh so this matter
 come to this pas without slauchter. And schortlie
 heireftir vpone the xvij day of this moneth the quein
 was had to Lochlevin² in suire keiping be the lord
 20 lyndesay and the lord ruthven and the laird of loch-
 levin. Duireing this tyme the lordis that war in the
 castell war convoyit away secreit. In the same
 moneth the lordis that tuik the quein causit ane pro-
 clematioun to be maid to summond the erle both-
 25 well and all his cumpanie to vndirly the law for the
 slauchter of the king agane the xxv day of august nixto-
 cum. The same moneth of Junij the lordis causit
 captane Clairk to pas to the sie witht certane schippis
 of Kirkcaldie weill manit witht men to tak ane schip of
 30 the erle bothwellis passand to Dumbar.³ The captane
 of hir was ane callit blakitur quha was taine and the
 schip and guiddis brocht to Leith and the captane
 hangit quarterit and drawin witht ane vthir callit James

¹ This is not stated in other narratives of Bothwell's flight from Carberry. See Notes.

² D, p. 115.

³ D, p. 115.

Admistoun¹ and Johne Blakiture witht sindrie vtheris.
 Item vpone the thrid day of Julij the lordis foirsaid
 passit to the abbay and tuik all the quenis siluir wescheill
 and struik siluir quhilk straik was the xxx schiling peice.
 Duiring this moneth of Julij the erle bothwell depairtit 5
 furth of Dumbar to Spynie in the northland and tuik
 certane schipis of dyueris natiounis and passit to the
 sea and sindrie merchandis war spuileit be the said
 erle and his companie. Nocht lang eftir this vpone the
 xxiiij day of this moneth of Julij the lordis held ane 10
 counsall at Edinburgh about the coronatioun of our
 prince and send my lord lyndesay to lochlevin to the
 quein to sie gif scho wald consent or nocht to the samyn
 bot the quein consentit thairto and resignit all richt that
 scho had to the crowne in favouris of hir sone the prince² 15
 and my lord lyndesay brocht hir ansuer and resignatioun
 agane to the lordis. So the lordis heiring this maid ane
 procleratioun the xxvij of Julij that all maner of
 estaittis sould be in stirviling at the coronatioun of our
 prince. The xxix day thaireftir of this same moneth the 20
 day beand cum JAMES BE THE GRACE OF GOD KING
 OF SCOITIS callit James the Sext was crownit in stirvi-
 ling being ane zeir auld and ane moneth or thairby witht
 gret solempnitie and tryvmphis and gret fyres set out in
 all borrowis and the castell of Edinburgh schot all thair 25
 cannonis and siclyk the schippes of Dundie and leith
 witht sindrie vther portis of this realme. So the king
 being crownit in this maner as I haue schawin to zow
 the lordis maid procleratiounis the vj day of august
 throche all Scotland that all letters in tymes cuming 30
 sould be proclerit in the kingis name and nocht in na
 vtheris. Schortlie heireftir vpone the xij day of august
 my lord of Murray come out of france to Scotland and

The kingis
 grace
 crownit in
 Stirwiling,
 29 July 1567.

Fol. 136 b.

¹ Ormiston and Blackadder, who were executed 24th June.

² "29th July," D, p. 118; but the deeds of abdication are dated 24th July. See Notes.

thaireftir was choisin regent to the kingis grace and it
 was commandit that all seillis sould be maid in the
 kingis name and in nane vtheris vnder the paine of
 deid. In this moneth of august¹ the regent and his
 5 counsall ordanit that thair sould pas aucht schippis
 furth of Leith and Dundie weill manit witth men and
 arteilzerie to the number of fyve hundreith men to pas
 to Orkney and Cathnes to tak my lord bothwell and his
 schippes And in the meintyme quhan thir schippis of
 10 the lordis come to Scheitland my lord bothwell was
 aduerteisit and passit to the sie and had [it] nocht beine
 that ane gret tempest of wind rais thay had all taine my
 lord bothwell and his cumpanie and as it was thay tuik
 twa² of his schippis and himsellff eschaiped narrowlie be
 15 sie and thaireftir the schippis come hame agane. The
 lordis seand that the lord bothwell was nocht taine thay
 incontinent in the same moneth pat him to the horne
 and his companie. Vpone the vij day of September
 Schir James Balfour of Pittindricht randerit³ the castell of
 20 Edinburgh to my lord regent quhilk he had in keiping.
 Vpone the ix day of this moneth of September thair
 was procleratiounis maid in the kingis name and the
 regentis that all maner of man sould be in reddyne
 within thrie dayes varneing to pas quhair the lord regent
 25 pleisit bot it was judgit that it sould be to tak the
 castell of Dumbar. Nocht lang heireftir vpon the
 xij day of this moneth the laird of wauchtoun callit
 hepburne⁴ witth sindrie vther of his kinisfolk manit
 the castell of Dumbar witth viweris for half ane
 30 zeir or thairby. At this tyme thair was ane conven-

Erie of
 Murray
 choisin
 regent.

¹ Grange and Tullibardine sailed in pursuit of Bothwell on 19th August.

² Perhaps one only. See Notes.

³ According to D, p. 120, Balfour gave up the castle to the Regent on the 1st, for certain pecuniary and other considerations, but the keys were not given over till the 24th (D, p. 124). See Notes.

⁴ "Patrick Hepburn of Waughton," D, p. 122.

tioun of the hammiltownis and vther lordis of the
 westland in glasgow aganes the regent. Vpone the
 xv day of september the erle of argyle come fra
 the lordis in glasgow to my lord regent in Edin-
 burgh witht certane artickillis in wreitt and nothing 5
 done thairin at that tyme bot drift of tyme. Heireftir
 thair come word be sie to my lord regent that my lord
 bothwell was drivin be wind to the toune of birran¹ in
 Noroway and his cumpanie and thair thay war taine and
 had to presone quhilk word was trew and gret rejoysing to 10
 the regent and the lordis that tuik pairt witht him. Schort-
 lie heireftir vpon the xx day of september my lord regent
 witht the maist pairt of the southland passit witht cairtit
 peicis and cannonis to seige Dumbar and lay at it aucht
 dayes skarmisching the on aganes the vthir and syne be 15
 dres of the lord lyndesay quha was laubourand betwene
 the laird of Wauchtoun quha gave it ovir² bag and baggage
 frie for sex dayes and thair was na slauchter bot twa per-
 sonis quha war without. Duiring this moneth thay
 brocht all the cannonis and arteilzerrie and poulder 20
 furth of Dumbar to Edinburgh and thaireftir my lord
 regent held ane counsall at Edinburgh anent the pun-
 isching of certane rebellis and theivis of liddisdaill and
 to the same intent the regent gart mak ane proclama-
 tioun the xx day of October that all maner of man sould 25
 be at the regent to pas to liddisdaill. So the xxviiij day
 of the same moneth my lord regent witht certane of his
 guide counsall and vther gentilmen to the nommer of
 fyve hundreith or thairby passit quyetlie in the nycht to
 the fair of haik³ in liddisdaill the thives beand thair 30
 makand thair mercatt and nocht knawin of the regentis
 cuming and at xij houris of the day the regent inveronit
 the toune round about and tuik of the principall thives
 fourtie persons and hangit xix of thame and the rest

¹ Bergen, where Bothwell arrived, 2nd September 1567.

² On 1st October. See Notes.

³ Hawick.

brocht to Edinburgh and that was the grettest ruffell
 that evir the thives of liddisdail sufferit. In this moneth
 thair was ane gentilwoman of the vastland callit Wedder-
 speill brunt in Edinburgh becaus scho lay witht tua
 5 brether and causit the one put downe the vther and he
 was put downe in lyk maner callit hammiltoun. Item
 in this moneth Inchkeith was delyuerit and the arteil-
 zerrie brocht to Edinburgh. Vpone the xiiij-xv dayes
 of november my lord Mortoun was maid Chancellor and
 10 my lord huntlie depyvit. Item at this tyme the con-
 gregatioun of france rais and seigit parreis and gret
 cummeris and slauchter was at that tyme in france.
 Schortlie heireftir vpon the xxiiij day of november thair
 was ane gret combat in Edinburgh betuix the Wemysis
 15 and the bruceis¹ and sindrie hurt on baith the syddes bot
 nevir ane slaine bot ane man one the Wemyss syd.
 Vpone the xv day of December ane parliament was
 haldin in Edinburgh and vpon the xvj day thay raid to
 tolbuith.² The erle of angus being xij zeiris of aige
 20 buire the crowne the erle of huntlie the cepture and the
 erle of argyle the sword, this was done thrys. This par-
 liament continewit xv dayes and the erle bothwell was
 foirfaltit for the kingis slauchter the coronatioun of
 James the sext was ratefeit and the approbatioun of the
 25 regent witht sindrie actis of the religioun. In this
 monethe the castell of Dumbartane was chairgit to be
 delyuerit bot my lord flemyng being captane thairof
 wald nocht obey. [Inchkeith lattin downe]³ In the
 moneth of Januar the laird of Nevroune callit Hepburne⁴
 30 that fyrir the traine of poulder quhen the king was

Fol. 137 a.

Vpone the
 xxiiij day of
 november
 1567. ane
 combat
 betuix the
 Wemysis
 and bruiss
 on the
 calsay of
 Edinburgh.

1568.

¹ The Bruces of Airth (Birrel's Diary). See Notes.

² D, p. 126.

³ The MS. so inserts in the text what appears to be a note, and not a clear one, but it probably means that the Fort of Inchkeith, from which the French garrison had withdrawn, was pulled down. See Notes.

⁴ John Hepburn, sometimes called "of Bolton." See Notes.

slaine and the zounge laird of tallow¹ war hangit and
 quarterit beand at the kingis slauchter and thair bodyes
 war brunt in poulder in lyk maner. This beand done
 nocht lang heireftir in the same moneth the lord Mortoun
 was proclomit admirall of Scotland. At this tyme my 5
 lord regent sat daylie amangis the lordis of Sessioun and
 causit gret iustice to be done in the sessioun daylie to
 the puire. In the moneth of febrooarj the same zeir
 to wit I^m v^o lxxvij zeiris the regent and his counsall raid
 to glascow and held ane iustice air² and did puneis 10
 sindrie faultouris of the westland and remanit in glascow
 quhill mid Junij or thairby. In the moneth of marche
 this same zeir thair was gret persecutioun in flanderis
 siclyk in france about the religioun that the Scoittis
 factouris in the campheir in Flanderis durst nocht re- 15
 maine bot come in Scotland. The Duches of parma
 and the spanzarttis did put all thame to deid that pro-
 fessit godis word and tuik downe the wallis of handwarp³
 and did big ane gret castell to keip the towne fra the
 protestanis. In the zeir of god I^m v^o lxxvij zeiris in 20
 apryle thair come ane ambassadour⁴ fra france to my
 lord regent in glascow and the bruit was to desyre the
 regent and the counsall to releive the quein furth of
 lochlevin and to be at libertie. Vpone the second of
 Maij⁵ the quein gat furth of lochlevin be ane secreit 25
 convoy and had waittand on hir at the loch quhair scho
 landit ane hundreith horse or thairby and had hir that
 same nicht to hammiltoun and mony of the lordis and
 gentilmen come to hir to hammiltoun. Item at that
 tyme my lord Crawford brak the ward of Edinburgh. 30

The quein
 come furth
 of lochlevin
 vpon the
 2 day of
 Maij, 1568.

¹ Hopburn of Talla, an accomplice of Bothwell.

² D, p. 128, puts this Justice Air on 11th March. ³ Antwerp.

⁴ "28th April," D, p. 128. The name of the ambassador was "Villiers, Sieur de Beaumont" (Teulet, *Papiers d'Etat*, ii. pp. 346 *et seq.*). See Notes.

⁵ "Which was Sunday—betwixt six and seven in the evening," D, p. 129.

Vpone the fyft day of Maij the lord regent causit to mak
ane proclematioun throch all Scotland that all maner of
man sould be at him in glasgow in all haist vnder the
panis of deid and foirfaling and vpone the sevint day
5 the quein causit proclame the contrair to be at hir.
Vpone the viij ix and x day of Maij thair raid to the
quein to hammiltoun that favourit hir fyve thowsand
men or thairby. Vpone the x day the regent send
letteris to be at him in Glasgow within xxiiij houris
10 within all hiest panis. At this tyme my lord home witht
thrie hundreith men passit to glasgow witht arteilzerie
furth of Edinburgh to the regent and alswa Edinburgh
Dundie leith witht sindrie vther burghes send men of
weir and mony to the regent in glasgow. Vpone the
15 xiiij day of Maij¹ this same zeir the quein witht the hail 1568.
hammiltownis the erle of argyle the lord herreis the lord
seattoune the lord flemyng with sindrie vtheris lordis Fol. 137 b.
and barronis as the erle of rothus the laird of lochinvar,²
Johnestoun,³ Skirling⁴ the lord boyd witht the hepburnes
20 and the Makgumreis⁵ and the maist pairt of the west-
land lordis and lairdis come furth of hammiltowne to
have cum vpone the regent in glasgow bot the regent
and his companie as my lord lyndesay my lord mort-
toun the erle of glencairne the lord home the lord
25 askyne witht four hundreith men of weir and sindrie
barronis and gentilmen being adwertesit of thair cuming
come furtht of glasgow to meit the quein and hir com-
panie and gat betuix hammiltoun and glasgow at ane
plaice callit langsyd and the laird of graung was prin-
30 cipall captane with the regent. So thai joyned togidder
and the maist pairt of the quenis cumpanie fled and
mony of thame beand on fute war slaine and dyueris
lordis and lairdis taine and the victorie fell to the regent

¹ D₁ p. 130.² Sir John Gordon.³ John Johnstone of that Ilk.⁴ Sir James Cockburn of Scraling.⁵ Montgomeries.

Battell of
langsyd
struckkin
the xiiij day
of Maij
1568.

at that tyme he beand bot thrie thowsand and the quein
fyve thowsand and the quein chaipped narowlie hir sellff.
This battell of langsyd was struckkin in the zeir of god
I^m vc lxxvij zeiris and the xiiij day of Maij. Schortlie
eftir this battell the quein passit to galloway to Dryn- 5
donan¹ and thair scho witht certane gentilmen imbarcat
and sailled and landit in varklingtowne² in ingland and
syne passit to Carneill.³ Thaireftir my lord regent
passit to Drumfreis Irwing⁴ and Air and causit thame
all to obey and cuist downe sindrie placeis as lochinvar 10
skirling⁵ and Johnestowne and in the end of Junij the
regent returned to Edinburgh. In this zeir and in the
end of the same moneth of Junij the regent causit
sindrie placeis of the west land to be manit and keipit
as Draphane hammiltoun and the castell of glasgow 15
witht sindrie vthiris. Nocht lang eftir this all thame
that war witht the quein aganes the regent war summond
to vndirly the law and mony of thair escheittis war givin
and the lord settoun was put in the castell of Edinburgh
in vard. The laird of balwirrie⁶ was put in the fals 20
castell⁷ in presoun witht sindrie hammiltounis that war
taine and put in the castell of Edinburgh. In the
moneth of Junij the quein witht the lord herreis war
takin in the towne of carneill.⁸ In the moneth of Junij
and Julij thair come ane ambassadour fra the king of 25
Denmark to Scotland and desyred men of weir vpone
the king of Denmarkis expensis and thair was grantit to
thame thrie thowsand and evirie man sax pound in the
moneth. This weir was aganes the king of Swadden⁹
quhilk continewit fyve zeiris. Schortlie heireftir in the 30
same moneth of Julij thair convenit in glasgow and
vther placeis of the wastland and the north land dyuerss

¹ Dundrennan.

² Workington, in Cumberland.

³ Carlisle.

⁴ Irvine.

⁵ D, p. 133, has "Scraling." See Notes as to these places.

⁶ Sir William Scot.

⁷ Fast Castle, near Coldingham.

⁸ Carlisle.

⁹ See Notes.

lordis and barronis and held thair counsallis in ryce¹
 togidder aganes the regent and to stop ane parliament
 quhilk was to be haldin the xv day of august thaireftir
 in Edinburgh. In this moneth of Julij certane conspira-
 5 touris thocht to have slaine the regent at Stirviling bot
 as god wald he was adwertesit and eschaiped and
 sindrie of thame was taine and justified. Nocht lang
 heireftir vpone the first aucht dayes of august hammil-
 towne was vone agane be the hammiltounis and
 10 Draphane eschaiped narrowlie. In this moneth of
 august the erle of huntlie proclamit himsellff generall
 luvtennand of the north be the quenis power and thair-
 eftir gadderit to the number of vj thowsand men or
 thairby and thair purpois was to haue cum to Dundie
 15 and to have distroyit the towne thair of bot Dundie
 beand adwertesit of thair cuming warnit all the coistis
 syddis and Sanctandros and Couper of fyffe to tak thair
 pairtis and the haill towne was trinschit and arteilzerrie
 set one the calsayes and one the stipill. So thir haill Fol. 138 a.
 20 townis convenit vpone the first lady day of this zeir to
 the number of fyve thowsand men zit nochtwithstand-
 ing the erle of huntlie come fordward to kellie myre² and
 glames and lay thair aucht dayes quha heirand tell that
 Dundie was so weill prepaired aganes him durst nocht
 25 cum fordward. At last he returned hame agane to
 Aberdein. Thaireftir vpone the xv day of August³ the
 parliament was haldin at Edinburgh and thair was the
 bischop of Sanctandros forfaltit with the bischop of
 ross and sindrie gentilmen of the hammiltounis and
 30 hepburnis to the nommber of xxx personis war all
 foirfaltit being aganes the regent at the feild of glas-
 cow.⁴ Vpone the xix day of apryle the erle of
 argyle come witht thrie thowsand men to glasgow and

¹ "Ryce," possibly "ruise,"—*i.e.*, bragging, a "rising." See Glossary.

² Kelly Muir, in Angus.

³ D, p. 135.

⁴ *I.e.*, Langsyde.

remanit thair viij dayes and cuild nocht get the castell
 and syne he reteired agane to argyle witht his companie.
 At this tyme the lyoun herauld callit william Stewart
 being brocht vp witht the regent and maid [by] him
 lyone herauld was ane of thame that conspyred his deid 5
 and fled away to the castell of Dumbartane and thair-
 eftir he was depyveit and David Lyndesay¹ was electit
 Rothsay herauld in his place. Item all this zeir fra pace
 Monunday² to lammas thair was ane gret drouthe that
 the rain ranit nocht quhilk maid gret derth of cornis and 10
 fodder quhilk was nocht the lyk in na manis dayes and
 all the rest of this moneth thair was nothing done bot
 for the prepairing for the regent and the lordis for to
 pas to Ingland to meit the ambassadouris of france and
 Spainzie and Ingland in the towne of York and thair for 15
 to trett vpone the slauchter of the kingis grace callit
 harie, the quein beand in Ingland at that tyme callit
 Maria quha was to be accusit of the kingis slauchter and
 deid as ze haue hard the proceedingis befor. Vpone
 the first aucht dayes of September the same zeir the 20
 pest³ come in be sie to Edinburgh. Vpone the xvj day
 of September the regent witht fyve hundreth hors passit
 quyettlie to the fair of Jedbrough and invironit the toune
 and tuik certane thives thair of liddisdaill and hangit
 thame and eftir returned to Edinburgh. Vpone the xxij 25
 day of september the zeir of god Im^v lxvij zeiris the
 regent witht the erle of morttoun the lord lyndesay the
 abbot of Dumfermling⁴ the laird of liddingtoun⁵ the
 bischope of Orkney the clairk of register⁶ witht vtheris
 dyuerss barronis and gentilmen tuik thair prograce out 30
 of Edinburgh to Ingland and thair thay met at Zork the
 counsall of Ingland for sic causis as thay had in hand
 at that tyme. On the vther syd thair convenit for the

The erle of
 murray
 being regent
 witht sindrie
 wthir lordis
 past to
 ingland,
 1568.

¹ Sir David Lyndsay of Rathillet.

² Easter Monday.

³ It was brought by James Dalgleish, a merchant (D, p. 138). See Notes.

⁴ Robert Pitcairn.

⁵ William Maitland.

⁶ Mr. James Macgill.

quenis pairt the lord herreis and Mr John Leslie witht
 the lord levingstoune and thair commonit and accusit
 the foirsaid lordis that war one the kingis pairt for put-
 ting hand in the quenis grace vnlesomelie at thair awin
 5 hand but ¹ athir law or ressoune and had banisit hir out
 of the cuntrie but ony caus making on hir pairt to thame
 or to ony vther be thair enarratioun and alledging. To
 this ansuerit the kingis lordis verrie schairplie and wyslie
 and cleingit thame sellffis and maid thair pairt guid in
 10 this maner as eftir followis that is to say, The erle of
 Murray quha was regent witht the rest of the lordis
 quhais adwyce was all in ane declaired to the counsall
 of Ingland plainlie that thair pairt was honest godlie and
 just in all thair proceidingis and speciallie toward the
 15 meddiling witht the quein the quhilk thai sould caus
 thame vnderstand be honest ressounis and forder that
 thay buire na mallice nor invy to the quenis persone nor
 pat hir nocht furth of Scotland gif scho had pleisit to
 carry thairin and vsit hir lyf and conversatioun to the
 20 glorie of god and to the common weill of hir awin realme
 bot fra tyme thai saw hir declyne thairfra and vse hir lyff
 schamefullie to hir awin dishonour and tinsall of the
 common weill thay war nocht contentit thair witht for
 quhen thay saw hir lichtlie hir husband and deiection
 25 of hir companie and grew familiar witht thame that con-
 spyred his death and muredrest him crwellie and schame-
 fullie vnder silence of nicht and nocht lang heireftir
 maryet the said murthurar of hir husband opinlie that
 all the warld mycht knaw that scho was giltye of the said
 30 murthur becaus scho maid it manifest in so doing thair-
 foir all the common peopill cryit to rewenge the kingis
 murthur quhilk causit ws lordis of the nobilitie to con-
 sider gif the traitour murthurar of the king quha maried
 the quein to wit the Erle bothwell quha haveand the
 35 strenthis of Scotland in his handis and the hail auctoritie

Fol. 138 b.

¹ "But" = without.

he wald quhan he saw tyme put hand in the zoung king¹
 and murthur him as he had done his fathir. Thairfoir
 takand respectt to the foirsaid murthur of the kingis
 grace and secoundlie of his sone to follow we concludit
 that we wald jeopard our sellffis to have the said crwell 5
 murthur puneisit and to sawe the inconvenient following
 to that effectt we convenit our sellffis togidder witht
 the nomber that we micht and come fordward to
 reveng and puneisch the kingis slauchter. The quein
 seand this to mak hir pairtie guide causit and con- 10
 venit all that wald do for hir witht the murthurar
 thairof to cum aganes ws to resist ws in that quarrell.
 Bot at last quhan scho saw hir not to be pairtie and
 forder hir conscience and the said murthuraris accusit
 thame so that thai durst nocht fecht nor gif battell in 15
 the said caus, bot the foirsaid murthurar cowardlie
 depairtit be the quenis convoy, as I haue schawin.
 Syne heireftir the quein hir sellff come to ws of hir awin
 frie will and granted that scho had failled and was
 contentit to suffer quhat puneisment thay pleisit and to 20
 enter in quhat ward thay thocht necessar, and to that
 effectt denudit hir sellff of hir auctoritie of all richt or
 tytill of richt that scho had or micht have to the crowne
 of scotland and was contentit heireftir hairtfullie that hir
 sone James the sext war crownit and king of Scotland 25
 and to that effectt thair sould be regenttis choissin to
 him be adwyce of the nobilitie to governe the realme in
 his menortie and so to remaine still in waird induring
 the counsallis will the quhilk waird and promeis scho
 brak within ane certane space and that be adwyce off 30
 intoxicat counsall quha causit hir to be the occatioun of
 gret bluid shedding and syne for feir thairof gart hir
 depairt furth of Scotland quhilk was aganes the wyse
 counsall of the nobilitie thairof. Thairfoir it may be
 knawin that we war not the occasioun of hir depairture 35

¹ The MS. has "quein" by mistake.

out of Scotland bot hir awin willfull misgovernance as
 we have schawin to zow be thir foirsaid ressounis. The
 counsall of Ingland heiring this enarratioun of the kingis
 lordis war contentit heirop and tuik lytill regaird of the
 5 vthir pairtie to wit the quenis lordis or quhat thay wald
 propone in the matter and thairfoir it was thocht best
 that the regent of scotland witht his lordis sould pas
 foirdward to Londoun befor the quenis grace of Ingland
 quhair the matter mycht be forder tryit to thair gret
 10 honour and to the turpitud and schame of the vthir
 pairtie, the quhilk was done heireftir schortlie for the
 said regent and his lordis passit to Londoun witht the
 vther lordis that war of the quenis pairtie quhair thair
 thai fand my lord duik of Scotland alias lord hammil-
 15 toun remainand in Londoun bydand to have had licence
 fra the quenis grace of Ingland to have spokin witht the
 quein of Scotland bot he cuild on na way obtene the
 samyn bot he obtenit licence to ane secreit freind of his Fol. 139 a.
 awin to speik witht the quein at bowtoun¹ quhair scho
 20 was for the tyme. At this meintyme the erle of Murray
 regent of Scotland witht his lordis that war witht him for
 the defence of the king and common weill of Scotland
 gat presence of the quein and counsall of Ingland and
 war weill interteined in all thair effaires and the quein
 25 of Ingland causit the haill counsall thairof to conveyne
 that the matter quhilk I have schawin nicht be forder
 tryed for the weill of baith the pairteis quha convenit
 befor the quein and counsall of ingland both the regent
 of Scotland witht the lordis that defendit the king and
 30 common weill of Scotland and on the vthir syd the
 quenis lordis quha had maid enarratioun oniustlie of
 the regent and his lordis tuiching the pairt and favour
 of the quein of Scotland. Bot one the vthir syd the
 regent of Scotland and his lordis justified thair caus so
 35 honestlie be iust ressonis and godlie proceidingis that

¹ Bolton.

thai maid thair pairt guide in all thair effaires witht sic
 enarratioun and just dealling as I have schawin to zow
 befoir. Quhairat the quein and counsall of Ingland war
 hairtfullie rejoysed and thocht na les nor all thair
 proceidingis vas just honest and godlie and that the 5
 vthir pairtie war nocht to be commendit of thair fals
 alledgeance [and] report quhilk was to thair awin
 schame and turpitude. This¹ the regent and the kingis
 lordis war weill esteimed and thair quarrell and actioun
 hauldin iust honest and godlie in the defence of thair 10
 king and common weill and that be the quein and
 counsall of Ingland and the ambassadour of france
 being thair for the tyme quha hard all the matter and
 the effectt thairof tryit as I haue schawin to zow and
 becaus he fand it all vthirwayes as was alledgit be the 15
 quein of Scotland and hir lordis thairfoir he was
 nocht contentted and wreit the trew enarratioun thairof
 to the counsall of france. At this mein tyme the
 regent of Scotland and his lordis war reddie to
 depairt out of Ingland and to cum in Scotland bot 20
 in the mein tyme the cuntas of lennox callit lady
 Margret heiring of the regentis depairting and his lordis
 desyred effectuouslie to speik witht him for sic causis
 as scho sould schaw him. At this meitting the regent
 knawand this guide ladyes mynd passit to hir incon- 25
 tinent and spak witht hir at lenth as eftir followis
 That is to say [this ladye said] ' my lord it is schawin
 ' to me be certane of the lordis of Scotland quha ar
 ' wyse trew and godlie men and speciallie sum of the
 ' lordis that ar heir presentt quha hes offerrit thame 30
 ' sellffis to preive that ze have heir in zour companie
 ' the principall murthuraris of the kingis grace of
 ' Scotland my sone the quenis husband and that ze
 ' knaw the samyn to be of verritie zour sellff quhairrof
 ' I desyre to haue remeid or ze pas ovtt of this cuntrie 35

¹ " This " = thus.

'and to mak zour pairt guide thairof or ellis mak the
 'speikaris thairof liaris.' To the quhilk ansuerit the
 regent and said 'Madame as god lives I am innocent
 'of that matter and knawis no man in my cumpanie
 5 'to be giltie thairof and for purgatioun of the same
 'I will vse my sellff as ze will dewyse.' This lady
 ansuerit and said 'my counsall and will is that ze
 'pas to the quenis grace and cause hir to convein
 'the counsall afor hir quhair the matter may be tryed
 10 'and ze may be purged thairof and than I will be
 'sattisfied and have at zow as ane trew and godlie
 'freind to me and to my husband and to the kingis
 'grace of Scotland.' To this ansuerit the regent and
 said 'I vill weill imploy my sellff and my haill com-
 15 'panie thairvnto' and immeidiatlie the said lord regent
 passit to the quenis grace of ingland and schew hir the
 matter at lenth quhow he was bruited behind his back
 sacklislie and quhow my lady lennox was informed of
 him and of the lordis that war in his cumpanie be fals
 20 report of thair nychtbouris the quenis lordis or sum of
 thair factioun quha favourit him not nor the kingis
 grace of scotland. Thairfoir beseikand hir grace of
 hir guidnes that scho wald conveine hir honourabill
 counsall and be presentt hir sellff to heir and sie gif
 25 ony man wald accuse him or his in that factioun or
 cryme the quhilk was committed crewellie and scham-
 fullie to the dishonour of the committaris thairof and
 that scho wald heir him purgit and cleingit of the said
 matter. To that effectt the quein incontinent gart
 30 conveine the haill counsall of ingland togidder witht
 the regent and the lordis of Scotland to have the matter
 tryit quhilk was heireftir as ze sall heir. First com-
 peired the regent of Scotland witht his lordis deგრatand¹
 the matter befor the quein and counsall of ingland

Fol. 139 b.

¹ "Debatand" or for "regratand" = complaining as to (?). See Glossary.

and schawand that he was bruited and sclanderit of
the kingis murthure of Scotland to be airt and pairt
of the samyn in sa far as it was alledgit that he had
of the principall murthuraris in his companie quha ar
airt and pairt devysaris and draveris of the samyn for 5
the quhilk the said regent maid his purgatioun opinlie
befoir the quein and counsall in this maner sayand 'I
'tak god to witnes that I am innocent of this cryme
'and all that ar witht me as I beleive and gif thair
'be ony of scotland heir of Ingland or of france that 10
'will say the contrair I will offer my bodie heir to
'fecht witht him in singular battell in that actioun
'and caus and forder heir I requyre zow my lord
'herreis my lord levingstoun and zow Mr Johne
'Leslie bischop of Ros gif ony of zow can say or dar 15
'say that I am giltie or ony of oþer of the kingis
'murthur speik it now in presens of this auditour.'
Thir scoittis lordis ansuerit agane that thai come nocht
thair to accuse na man at that tyme so all the rest of
the lordis in the regentis syde maid thair purgatioun 20
in the samyn maner quhairat my lady lennox was
hairtfullie rejoyssed and satisfied and so was the quein
and Counsall of Ingland and than the regent and his
lordis depairted out of Ingland and come in scotland
the second day of februarj. Ffor thir war the haill 25
proceidingis that was done in Ingland at londoun at
that tyme for at Zork was nothing concludit tuiching
thir matteris that I have foerspokin bot it was said be
the common voyce that the Duik of Norphok desyred
the quein of Scotland in mariaige quhairto the regent 30
and his counsall wald nocht consent without the adwyce
of the quein of Ingland and the counsall thair of quha
was nocht contented thairwith quhilk returned to the
Duikis gret dampnag as ze sall heir heireftir. So thir
war the haill proceidingis that the regent of Scotland 35
and his lordis vsit in ingland at that tyme. Nocht that

he was compelled or corrected¹ to cum to ingland to
 be judgeit or judge in ony matteris perteing to the
 realme of Scotland or to dirigat² ony honouris or
 privilege or friedomes perteing to the realme of
 5 Scotland nor to advance the realme of ingland witht
 the samyn nor that the said realme of ingland sould
 tak ony gloir thair of bot that the governour or regent
 of Scotland come of his awin frie promiseis³ will he and
 his lordis come manfullie and stoutlie and declaired
 10 thair awin pairtis as thay war innocent of the fairsaid
 sclander quhilk was layed vnto thame be the fals enar-
 ratioun of the quein of Scotland and hir factioun quha
 favourit nocht the king nor common weill thair of nor
 had nocht the trew feir of god in thair haitis quhilk
 15 causit thame to gang backward in all thair proceid-
 ingis and the samyn god defendit the vthir pairtie
 quha was innocent quha brocht thame in Scotland the
 second day of februarj fairsaid. In this mein tyme
 thair was gret insurrectioun in france betuix the con-
 20 gregatioun and the papists bot as god wald the con-
 gregatioun and the prince of Condie quha was principall
 vnto thame pat the king of france perforce in parreis
 and also the papistis quhair that thai remanit. At this
 tyme the fairis and mercattis war cryit downe becaus Fol. 140 a.
 25 of the contagious pest quhilk was so euill in Edin-
 burghe brunteiland Dysert Anstruther and langlines⁴ the
 coist. In the same zeir thair was ane combatt in the
 wastland betuix the hammiltounis and the lord Sempill
 at quhilk battell thair was mony slaine and hurt on
 30 baith the syddis. At this tyme thair was no cessioun⁵
 hauldin becaus of the pest and the erle of huntlie causit
 all the north to obey and the wastland was gydit be the

¹ Coacted (?).² Derogate.³ The text here appears corrupt. Perhaps "will" = while, or is a mistake for "and."⁴ Along.⁵ "Cessioun"—i.e., "session," or "sittings" of the Court. See Notes.

hammiltownis and did gret wrangis to thame that
 favourit or tuik pairt witht the regent. At this tyme the
 hammiltownis and the erle of argyle come to Dumbar-
 tane and furnisit the castell witht viweris and syne de-
 parted and als the erle of huntlie rais in the north and 5
 come to Aberdein and causit the cuntrie to obey him as
 gennerall luiftennand in thais pairtis and that thay sould
 be in raddynes within xxiiij houris varneing in feir of
 weir and als the said erle of huntlie gave respittis and
 escheittis of all thame in the north as he had beine king 10
 of the realmes and vsit gret crweltie to [thame] that
 favourit the king or the regent. In this meintyme the
 hammiltownis witht thair assistance and all that wald
 be of thair faction thocht to have cum to fyffe and taine
 vp the bischoppis teindis and thairfoir Lady regent¹ quha 15
 was at that tyme in the castell of Sanctandros causit ane
 conventioun to be maid of gentilmen that favourit the
 regent to conveine at Cowpar of fyff to find remeidie for
 to stop thame the quhilk was provydit that tyme. At
 this tyme the erle of huntlie tuik certane gentilmen of 20
 angus and causit wapenschawingis to be had in all the
 north. And siclyk the hammiltounis tuik sindrie gentil-
 men that favourit the regent as Draphane and sindrie
 vthiris in the southland. At this tyme thair was weiris
 proclemit betuix Ingland and flanderis and thair gret 25
 insurrectioun and als gret murthur was committed on
 baith the syddis the one aganes the vthir. At this tyme
 in the moneth of februarj the zeir fairsaid ane thow-
 sand v^c lxviiij zeiris the erle of murray quha was regent
 to the kingis grace tuik vp men and schortlie thaireftir 30
 the said regent passit to stirvilling quhair thair he re-
 manit all this moneth of februarj to the moneth of marche
 remanand witht the kingis grace in the castell. In this
 moneth the regent causit procleratiounis to be maid that
 all maner of man sould be at him in stirviling in feir of 35

1569, N.S.

¹ The Countess of Murray.

weir for to pas vpon the hamiltownis to glasgow quha
 war also vpon the feildis for my lord Duik and my lord
 heirreis war new cum furth of ingland quha war thair at the
 accusatioun of our quein and tuik pairt with hir and war
 5 all convenit in glascow. So at this tyme in the moneth
 of marche the first aucht dayes thair of the lord regent
 witht his assistance and siclyk the hammiltownis come
 to ane conventioun and did na thing bot dryve of tyme
 in the conventioun and spokin of ane appointment
 10 almost this moneth and na thing done for thair was
 nevir ane of thame that beleivit ane vthir and so the
 tyme beand appointtit betuix thame to meit togidder in
 the end of this moneth. So my lord duik and my lord
 herreis and thair assistance was dissapointed and vpon
 15 the first and second day of apryle in the zeir of god I^m 1569.
 v^c lxix zeiris my lord duik and my lord herreis war
 chairgit to waired in the castell of Edinburgh and obeyit.
 In this moneth of marche thair was ane gret combatt in
 france betuix the protestanis and the king of france and
 20 the papistis and mony slaine on baith the syddis and at
 the same combat was slaine the prince of condie quha
 was heid to the protestanis and the admirall¹ eschaipit Fol. 140 b.
 and had ane reskew schortlie of the almanis² and passit
 to the feildis and syne to the .³ In the begining
 25 of the moneth of apryll the duik of dwalbow⁴ regent
 of flanderis maid gret persecutioun in all flanderis as
 holand brabant ceiland and in the law cuntries vpon
 the protestanis witht fyre and sword and did big in
 handwarp⁵ ane gret fort that the lyk was nocht of it
 30 in all europe and did put in it spanzardis for to keip the
 samyn. And siclyk in all burrow townis of his domi-
 nioun he pat men of weir in thame. And siclyk he pat
 all office men in thame that was papistis that all thame
 that war protestanis sould nocht be namit bot all

¹ Coligny.² Germans.³ Some word omitted.⁴ Alva.⁵ Antwerp.

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distroyit witht fyre and baneisment. In this moneth of
 apryle thair was weir betuix the flemynis and the quein
 of Ingland for the inglismen had taine to the number of
 ane hundreith schippis perteing to the duik of Dualbow
 quha causit arreist all the inglis crearis¹ in handwarp and 5
 thair schippis quhilk was in flanderis the quhilk was gret
 distruction to the merchandis on baith the sydes and
 all this weir was becaus this fairsaid duik was ane papist
 and the quein of Ingland tuik pairt witht the protestanis
 and raisit² thame that war banisit. The rest of this 10
 moneth my lord regent came furth of Edinburgh to
 Sanctandros and remanit thair quhill mid maij or thairby
 for certaine appointmentis betuix him and the erle of
 huntlie and no thing done thairin at that present bot
 depairtit war³ nor thay met and thaireftir my lord regent 15
 passit to dundie for to pas vpone the erle of huntlie.
 Vpone the xxviij day of maij the regent causit proclama-
 tiounis to be maid betuix the watter of forth and the
 north yleis for to meit him at aberdeine and endernes⁴
 in feir of weir and that for to hauld justice aires and to 20
 puneis thame that raid and tuik pairt witht the erle of
 huntlie at that tyme quhan the regent was in Ing-
 land. At this tyme my lord regent causit all the north
 to obey and come to him and put thame in his vill and
 remanit in the north quhill august and obtenit ane gret 25
 sowme of money baith for⁵ the rich men and the puir
 men. At this tyme thair fell no raine vpone the earth
 fyve monethis that the cornis falit that zeir. Thairfoir
 all this tyme quhill august the boll of quhyt gave
 aucht markis the boill of meill fyve markis the boll 30
 of beir sex markis. Zit as god wald for the saiftie
 of the puire quhan the corne was all schorne the

¹ "Crearis," a kind of small boat. See Glossary.² "Raisit"=re-set. See Glossary.³ "War"—i.e., waur = worse than they met.⁴ Inverness.⁵ "Fra" is perhaps meant.

wictuallis come downe the one half. At this tyme
 the regent obtenit ane sowme of money that the lyk
 was nocht of befoir in na kingis dayes and payit his
 men of weir witht the samyn. In the moneth of Julij
 5 my lord boyd come furth of Ingland fra our quein witht
 ane commissioun to the regent in Endernes and the
 bruit was that it was to adwyse of the pairtising of the
 quein and my lord bothwell. And siclyk the bruit was
 hir grace sould have maryed the duik of Norphok in
 10 ingland and the ansuer was continewit quhill the
 regentis cuming to Sanct Johnstoun quha come in in
 august. In this moneth of august the nobilitie of
 Scotland convenit in Sanct-Johnstoun and thair held ane
 counsall tuiching the kingis¹ mariaige and hir pairtissing²
 15 and at this counsall the maist pairt of the lordis and
 the regent witht his assistance wald nocht grant and
 thairfoir it raisit gret seditioun amangis the lordis and
 my lord boyd resaut his ansuer and depairtit to the
 quein with ane refuse and the regent depairtit to
 20 Sanctandros and remanit thair all the rest of this
 monethe and was nocht contentit of this seditioun be-
 caus he persewit the maist pairt of the lordis aganes
 him and in the end of this moneth he raid to Stirviling.
 At this tyme ane callit William Stewart quha was lyone
 25 herauld was brunt in Sanctandros³ because he was ane
 of thame quha had conspyred the regentis slauchter
 and fled away with the cryme⁴ to the castell of Dum-
 bartane and schortlie thaireftir was taine in the toune
 of Dumbartane and had to the castell [of] Edinburgh.
 30 At that tyme quhen my lord regent was in the north
 land and at the regentis hamecuming to Sanctandros
 the said William Stewart was broucht furth of Edinburgh

Fol. 141 a.

Wm Stewart
 lyon haret
 brunt in
 Sant andros.

¹ Queen's (?). Probably the project of Mary's marriage to the Duke of Norfolk.

² The divorce of Mary from Bothwell.

³ D, p. 146.

⁴ It is not clear what this means; perhaps "with" = after.

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to Sanctandros and justified and siclyk that same zeir
 thair was twa witches brunt in Sanctandros and siclyk
 in Dundie¹ and vthiris plaices to the number of ten or
 thairby quha pronunsticat at thair deid that my lord
 regent sould be slaine be the schot of poulder and that 5
 becaus he pat downe the puire vitchis and saiffit gretter
 in his awin cumpanie daylie with him. Vpon the first
 day of September the same zeir thair was ane conven-
 tioun of certane lordis of the regentis counsall with
 him sellff in Stirviling and this counsall was to drave 10
 in sum of the principallis that war aganes the regent
 at the counsall of Sanct-Johnstoune as appeireth heir-
 eftir. Vpone the iij day of september the Secretar
 appirand air to the Laird of liddingtoune and lord of
 the secreit counsall ane verrj wyse man of vnderstand- 15
 ing was taine in Stiruiling at the counsall and chairgit
 to vaird within the castell thairof and that for the airt
 and pairt of the kingis slauchter as was alledgit and
 of veritie as eftir followis. And vpone the morrow
 heireftir my lord regent send in the nycht ane hun- 20
 dreithe horsmen to monymeill² in fyiff and thair thay
 tuik schir James Balfour and brocht him to Stirviling
 and this was done becaus he was art and pairt of the
 kingis slauchter and held with the quein. So thay passit
 to the counsall on the morrow in the castell of Stirviling 25
 and [this] was as it is alledgit for to gif the secretar³ and
 Schir James balfour ane assyse and for to put thame
 to deid and so it had beine war nocht the laird of
 graunge captane of the castell of Edinburgh wreit to
 the regent that he sould be his onfreind gif he pat 30
 hand on the foirsaid personis and so within four dayis
 Schir James balfour was lattin to libertie and at frie
 waird in the castell of Sanctandros vpone cawtioun and

¹ As to the burning of witches at St. Andrews and Dundee, see Notes.

² Monimail.

³ "Secretar." The MS. has "regent" by mistake.

the secretar was had to the castell of Edinburgh and
 so thir twa eschaiped narrowlie.¹ And schortlie heir-
 eftir my lord regent raid to the south cuntrie to liddis-
 daill and held justice courtis and did puneis the thives
 5 and did remaine thair quhill november and syne come
 to Edinburgh and thaireftir he passit to ane counsall.
 And at this tyme the secretar summond all thame that
 war the kingis freindis to be in Edinburgh agane the
 xxj day of november and to sie him cleingit of the
 10 alledgit kingis slauchter foirsaid. Vpone the xij day
 of this moneth my lord regent send to all pairtis
 within this realme that favourit him and his counsall
 privie wreittingis to be at him in Edinburgh agane the
 xxj day of november to the foirsaid day of law. At
 15 this tyme the secrettar send wreittingis to all the
 nobilitie that favourit him to be in Edinburgh in lyk
 maner. So quhan the xxj day come the maist pairt of
 the nobilitie with the borrowis come to Edinburgh in
 feir of weir and the day of law was continewit for feir
 20 of gret pairteis on baith the syddes. At this tyme the
 regent depairtit furth of Edinburgh and come to Sanct-
 andros the xxvj day of this moneth and remanit thair
 quhill the samyn moneth was done ane mariaige of his
 wyffis sisteris and my lord regent maid the bancat him-
 25 sellff at that tyme. And vpone the secund day of
 December thair was gret taikins seine in the firmament
 for at the verrie cheinge of this mone ze sould have
 sein als gret licht and als far of² quhilk was at xii
 houris in the nicht and ten and alevin as gif it had
 30 beine at non of the day with vthir terribill sichtis that
 the lyk was nocht sein of befoir in our dayes for I did
 sie it my sellff³ with mony moe. Vpone the fyft day
 of December my lord duikis broder quha was bischop

Fol. 141 b.

¹ D, p. 149.² "Of"—i.e., "off."³ An unique instance of Pitscottie mentioning a fact as observed by himself.

of Sanctandros¹ was depyvit of all his benifeiceis and rentis and proclermatiounis maid that nane sould answere him thairfor. At this tyme thair was gret insurrectionis in Ingland betuix the quein and the duik of Norphok with sindrie vther erleis and the quein had 5 chairgit the said duik to the towr. Schortlie heireftir the erles of Northumberland and Westmurland² rais with four thowsand men aganes the quein of Ingland and did mak proclermationis that all maner of man that favourit the auld religioun callit the mes that thay sould 10 be at thame in feir of veir at the new castell. At this tyme our quein of Scotland was presonar in ingland beand in the castell of tuitberrey³ and the bruit⁴ was that thir foirsaid erleis and lordis of ingland rais aganes the quein of ingland for our quenis cause. For the duik of 15 Norphok wald have maryet our quein quhilk had beine done war nocht gret tresone reveilled amangis thame sellfis and so the enterpryse was stayit and it was judgit and oppinlie schawin that my lord regent sould be the first that reveilled this enterpryse to the quein of Ingland 20 as appeiris heireftir bot we will returne to our purpos. Vpone the xvij day of this moneth the regent causit proclermatiounis to be maid that all maner of man fra forth south sould be at him in Jedbroch in feir of weir for to resist the erleis of Ingland and that thay sould nocht be 25 ressett vpone our borderis ten dayes long. And vpone the xx day of this moneth of december the zeir foirsaid the regent tuik his journey and raid furth of Edinburgh to this foirsaid reid⁵ with all his horsmen and fute of weir to the bordouris. And at this tyme the castell of Dum- 30 bartane was new victualed agane aganes the regent for the regent had men of weir lyand for to keip the said castell that it sould nocht be furnisit with wiveris for at

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¹ John Hamilton, some time Archbishop of St. Andrews.² Thomas Percy, Earl of Northumberland, and Charles Nevill, Earl of Westmoreland.³ Tutbury.⁴ "Bruit" = report.⁵ Raid.

that tyme the lord flemyng was captane of the said
 castell and keipit [it] in the quenis name and wald nocht
 rander it to the lord regent bot carmishit¹ his men of
 weir daylie and slew dyueris of thame. And vpone the
 5 xxiiij of december or thairby my lord regent with his
 horsmen and men of weir tuik perforce the erle of
 Northumberland vpone our bordouris be ane privie con-
 voy vnder tryst and at his taikin the regentis principall
 captane of horsmen callit captane borthick was slaine
 10 and thaireftir my lord regentt with the said erle come to
 Edinburgh and remanit thair thrie or four dayes. Vpone
 the first day of Januarj² the duik of Northumberland 1570.
 was had to Lochlevin in vaird. This same day the
 regent with his haill men of weir tuik thair journey to
 15 Dumbartane and the vord was that the said castell sould
 haue beine randerit to the regent be my lord flemyng
 bot all vas in vaine and so the regent was dissapointit
 and reteired agane to Stirviling. Vpone the first aucht
 dayes of this moneth of Januare the homes the Caris and
 20 the Scoittis confedderat thame sellffis togidder and raid
 and brunt his hous that betrayed the duik of Northum-
 berland and did ryd to Ingland and tuik away gret guidis
 by fyre and sword without impediment. Vpone the x
 day of this moneth thair come frome france twa schippis
 25 to Dumbartane castell and furneised it de noue³ with
 vynes and vtheris viweris to thair gret comfort. At this Fol. 142 a.
 tyme my lord regent with his assistance was not contentit
 of this new wictwalling of the castell of Dumbartane for
 he was than in the castell of Stirviling and beleivit na
 30 thing bot that the said castell of Dumbartane sould have
 beine randerit and so he was put by his purpois and
 vtterlie refusit. Nocht lang heireftir vpone the xiiij day
 of Januarj thair come an ambassadour⁴ furth of Ingland

¹ Skirmished. ² "1st January 1570," D, p. 165. ³ *De novo*.

⁴ This was Thomas Randolph, who was at Berwick on 7th and at Edinburgh on 22nd February 1570 (N.S.).

Ane monster
borne in
Arbroth.

The erle of
Murray
Regent
sleine the
xxiiij day of
Januarj
1569 [1570],
callit the
guid regent
for sa he
was indeid.

to the regent with xx horse of tryne and was honourabillie
resaut in Edinburgh and thairefter quhan he had remanit
thrie dayes in Edinburgh he passit to Stirviling to the re-
gent and the bruit was that his cuming [was] for to rander
the erle of Northumberland to the quein of Ingland bot 5
the ansuer of his cuming was continewit to the regentis
cuming to Edinburgh quhilk was agane the xxiiij of
Januarj. Vpone the xvj day of this moneth ane woman
buire ane munstrous beist lyk ane wolff or ane dog
quhilk woman was ane flescharis dochter of Arbrothik 10
bot we will returne to our purpois. Gif my lord regent
had cum at this tyme to Edinburgh thair sould have
beine maid proclematiounis that all maner of man sould
have beine in feir of weir vpon the bordouris aganes 15
the Scoittis and the Carris with thair assistance and
alswa this foirsaid reid sould have beine maid vpon
thame that tuik pairt with the erle of Northumberland
and Westmurland the quein of Inglandis enymeis for my
lord regent had givin ane chairg to the Scottis and the
Carris to delyuer the erle of Westmurland vnto his handis 20
bot thay refusit and gave ane short ansuer. Vpone the
xxiiij day of Januarj the zeir of god I^m v^o lxix zeiris my
lord regent beand in linlythgow cummand to Edinburgh
and vpon his horse rydand throche the toune with his
haill horsmen to the number of Twa hundreith gentilmen 25
at ten houris befor none it chancit on set purpois that ane
tresonable traitour callit hammiltowne of bothwell hauche
seducit be the bischope of Sanctandros and the abbot of
Arbrothick¹ come to linlythgow with the abbot of Arbro-
thickis horse and his culwering and ludgeit in the bischope 30
of Sanctandros ludgeing intill ane foir stair quhair he hid
himsellff and set out his gowne at ane holl of the stair² and
waitted quhan the regent lap on and come up the gait and

¹ John Hamilton, afterwards first Marquis of Hamilton.

² Calderwood says Hamilton fired through a trellised window
(History, ii. p. 511). See Notes.

quhen he was foirnent the stair he schot him throch the
 bodie¹ and syne ran to his horse quhilk was haddin at
 the back zett be his boy and lap on him and raid his
 way to hammiltowne and the regenttis men followit bot
 5 thai culd nocht ovirtak him for he had convoy of the
 leave² of the hammiltownis at sindrie pairtis of the geit
 for to reskew him. So the regentis men seand that thay
 cuild nocht be the better returned agane and come to
 Linlythgow. So the regent was had back agane to his
 10 ludging and depairtit of this lyff at alevin houris of the
 nycht. The quhilk deid of this prince was sair vnto
 the common weill of Scotland and vnto the puire and
 inspeciallie to the ministeris of goddis word for he was
 the mentiner and furth settar and defender of the puire
 15 serwandis of god sa far as lay in him and maintained the
 trew kirk and glorie of god in the realme of Scotland to
 the vttermost of his power and he lowit pace and justice
 werry weill and to that effectt come himsellff to the
 Sessioun daylie and sat thair vpon and saw that the
 20 puire had justice als weill as the rich. For it was
 spokin gif he had leivit he had causit justice to be so
 ministrat amang the puire and the common weill so to
 have floorischit quhairbe the men of law wald nocht have
 had so meikill ado as thay have now-a-dayes nor to have
 25 conquest so meikill rent as thay do. And forder this
 prince was verrie wyse and weill leirned bayth in the
 law of god and the ciuill ordour and had na feir of man
 in him bot the feir of god the quhilk causit him to be
 tane away so schone frome ws that war his subiecttis for
 30 the quhilk I haue no doubt bot we war nocht worthie
 to have sic ane to regne abone ws thairfoir the michtie
 god tuik him the schonnar frome ws to his joyes. We
 will lat him rest with him³ and returne to our purpois.
 So his bodie was caryed to Stirviling to the king.
 35 Schortlie heireftir vpon the xxvj day of this moneth the

Fol. 142 b.

¹ D, p. 156. ² *I.e.*, "lave" = rest. ³ "Him"—*i.e.*, God.

inglis ambassadour depairtit furth of Edinburgh to berwick¹ and resaut na ansuer becaus of the regentis deid. And vpon the xxvij day of Januar the lordis that tuik pairt with the regent send wreittingis to all the nobilitie and borrowis to be at thame in Edinburgh agane the 5 tent day of februarj to that effectt to consent quha sould be regent to the kingis grace. At this tyme the Carris Scoittis and the humis maid ane raid in Ingland be fyre and sword and brocht with [thame] ane gret pray of guidis. In the begining of februarj my lord mortoune the erle of 10 huntlies brothir and the rest that the foirsaid vmquhile regent had put in vaird in the castell of Sanctandros war delywerit to thair libertie the lordis of secreit counsall nocht knawing thair of. Nocht lang heireftir vpon the x day of februarj the erles lordis barronis 15 commissioneris of borrowis with the hail ministeris of Scotland convenit in Edinburgh and held ane counsall quha sould be regent to the king and how the hammiltownis sould be resisted with thair assistance beand than in glascow. At this tyme the queine of Ingland 20 send to Scotland to the counsall thair of maister randeill² for to assuire thame that favourit the king and to be revengit of the regentis³ slauchter hir haill support bayth of siluir and men. And vpon the alevint day of februarj the maist pairt of our bordouris with thame 25 that war baneisit furth of Ingland rais togidder to the nommer of four thowsand and did ryd als far in Ingland as the new castell and did gret honour⁴ thair about. Vpon the xij day of this moneth the hammiltownis with thair assistance send in Edinburgh to the kingis 30 lordis desyrand thame to put the quein of Scotland in hir awin place and auctoritie or ellis thay wald defend it with fyre and sword for the maist pairt of all the

¹ Randolph does not appear to have left Edinburgh at this time. See Notes.

² Randolph.

³ *I.e.*, the Regent Murray.

⁴ Achieved great honour.

- nobilitie tuik pairt with the quein and vpone this same day the lordis that war assembled in Edinburgh causit to mak procleratiounis that all maner of man that favourit the king and his counsall sould be in raddynes
- 5 in feir of weir to pas vpone the hammiltownis agane the xxij of februarj. Nocht lang eftir this the secretar callit the zoung laird of liddingtowne come furth of the castell and thollit ane assyse for the art and pairt of the kingis slauchter and was cleingit. And vpone
- 10 the xiiij of this moneth the haill lordis that tuik pairt with the quein send in ane wreitting to the lordis that thay sould attempt to do nathing by thair consent or ellis thay sould be enimyys to thame and so the raid was continewit to the fourt day of merche following.
- 15 Vpone the morne eftirhend quhilk was the xv day of februarj or thairby the regent quha was slaine in linlythgow was brocht furth of Stirviling to Edinburgh and was buried in the parroche kirk thair of.¹ Duiring the rest of this moneth thair was no thing bot all
- 20 this realme was devydit and raid all in jackis and speiris for the maist pairt of this realme tuik the quenys pairt and ane few nomber the kingis except the quein of Ingland for gif Ingland had nocht tane pairt with the kingis lordis thay had beine wraiked
- 25 as ze sall knaw heireftir. Vpoun the fourt day of marche thair was ane conventioun of all the lordis and barronis and commissioneris off burrowis and all thame that tuik pairt with the king and his foirsaid regent in Edinburgh all in feir of weir to pas
- 30 vpone the hammiltounis and thair assistance bot thay culd nocht all aggrie togidder and so thay left it war² nor thay fand it and did nothing bot send thair men of weir to linlythgow and brunt the house that hammiltoune of bothwell³ was in quhan he slew the
- 35 regent within the foirsaid hous. And that same day the

Erle of
Murray the
guid regent
buried,
Feb. 1570.

Fol. 143 a.

¹ "St. Giles," D, p. 158. ² "War"—i.e., worse. ³ Bothwellhaugh.

Erle of Argyle was cummand to Edinburgh to this conventioun and was within the towne of linlythgow and becaus of the burneing of the foirsaid hous he passit his way bak agane to hammiltowne and wald nocht cum to Edinburgh and so that raid and all vthir thingis continewit till the moneth of Maij. Heireftir vpone the viij of marche the homes and the Scoittis and the Carris with thair assistance of Westmurland and Northumberland and the bordouraris raid into Ingland and brunt and distroyit all that cuntrie neir to the newcastell and brocht with thame ane gret spuillzie of all thame that held aganes thir Inglis lordis. Nocht lang heireftir vpone the xv day of Marche or thairby thair come to Dumbartane ane galay with ane ambassadour¹ and brocht with him wreittingis to all thame that favourit the quein and with furnesing to the said castell and schortlie thaireftir depairtit to france. Thaireftir the haill lordis that favourit the quein convenit in Dunkell and held ane counsall anent the inbringing of strangeris becaus the Inglismen var in raddynes to cum in Scotland to the support of the kingis lordis. At this tyme thair was ane appointment maid betuix the king of france and the protestanis of france quhilk was to the confort of all france. Schortlie heireftir vpone the xxvj day of marche the clergie of Sanctandros set vp ane Idik² to cheis ane new pryour agane and that all maner of man havand entres to compeir vpone the seinzie³ day thaireftir to heir and sie ane pryour placit agane de nouo. At this tyme thair come in to our bordour sex thowsand inglismen to resist our bordouraris. Item at this tyme my lord heireis was lattin furth of the castell of Edinburgh. In the begining of the month of apryle I^m v^c lxx zeiris that is to say meill beir quhyt⁴ come downe to ten schilling the boll of meill and beir and quhyt xxiiij schilling quhilk

26 March
1570.

¹ Verac.

² Edict.

³ "Seinzie" = Synod.

⁴ "Quhyt"—i.e., wheat.

gave the zeir befor sex mark and aucht mark. The fyft
 day of apryle the haill clergie of Sanctandros with the
 haill ministeris convenit thame sellffis in Sanctandros
 with my lord lyndesay and the laird of lochlevin and
 5 thair thay chuised ane new pryour and callit him Iconi-
 min¹ bot the one half of the clergie war aganes the
 vther. And vpone the tent day of this moneth the haill
 lordis and barronis that held with the quein convenit in
 the towne of linlythgow and thair the french ambassadour²
 10 resaut his ansuer of the lordis and syne depairtit. At
 this tyme the small number of the lordis that favourit
 the king causit mak ane wretting and send the samyn to
 all the borrowis for to be subscryuit and siclyk to the
 lordis and barronis that wald subscryve the samyn and
 15 tak pairt with thame and thaireftir thay send the said
 wrettingis to the quein of Ingland for to haue support
 aganes the quenis lordis. Nocht lang heireftir thair was
 seine ane gret marwell for the mone³ beand bot thrie
 dayes auld was seine at ten houris of the day be mony
 20 peopill both in Edinburgh and vthir townis. Schortlie
 heireftir vpon the xiiij day of apryle the haill lordis that
 had assembled at linlythgow quha tuik pairt with the
 quein to the nommer of four thowsand or thairby come
 to Edinburgh and remanit thair aucht dayes and did no
 25 thing at that tyme becaus the inglisemen war cum to
 bervick quha war aganes the lordis. Vpon the xvij day
 of apryle the erle of Sussex⁴ captane and luvetennand
 to the quein of Ingland come in vpon our bordouris
 and brunt and distroyit and hereit all thame that assisted
 30 aganes the king and thame that assisted with the erle of
 Northumberland and Westmurland with the rest of thame
 that rebellit in Ingland and thay war in number fyve
 thowsand or thairby. Nocht lang heireftir in the same

¹ "Iconimin"—*i.e.*, "Economus" or steward. This shows the appointment was temporary.

² This was Verac (D, p. 168).

³ "Mone"—*i.e.*, moon.

⁴ D, p. 169 *et seq.*

Erle of Argyle was cummand to Edin. Pres cailit from
ventioun and was within the towne of ~~Edin~~ Johne Wood¹
becaus of the burneing of the foirsaid. ~~and~~ and ane of the
way bak agane to hammiltowne and ~~was~~ ~~the~~ ~~erle~~
Edinburgh and so that raid and all ~~the~~ ~~the~~ ~~the~~ ~~the~~
tinewit till the moneth of Maij. Hence ~~the~~ ~~the~~ ~~the~~
of marche the homes and the Scottis ~~and~~ ~~the~~ ~~the~~
with their assistance of Westmurlang ~~the~~ ~~the~~ ~~the~~
land and the bordouraris raid into ~~the~~ ~~the~~ ~~the~~
and distroyit all that cuntrie neir to ~~the~~ ~~the~~ ~~the~~
brocht with thame ane gret spuilage ~~the~~ ~~the~~ ~~the~~
held aganes thir Inglis lordis. ~~the~~ ~~the~~ ~~the~~
vpon the xv day of Marche or ~~the~~ ~~the~~ ~~the~~
Dumbartane ane galay with ane amb ~~the~~ ~~the~~ ~~the~~
with him wreittingis to all thame ~~the~~ ~~the~~ ~~the~~
and with furnesing to the said castel ~~the~~ ~~the~~ ~~the~~
eftir depairtit to france. Thaireftir ~~the~~ ~~the~~ ~~the~~
favourit the quein convenit in ~~the~~ ~~the~~ ~~the~~
counsall anent the inbringing of ~~the~~ ~~the~~ ~~the~~
Inglismen var in raddynes to cum ~~the~~ ~~the~~ ~~the~~
support of the kingis lordis. At ~~the~~ ~~the~~ ~~the~~
appointment maid betuix the ~~the~~ ~~the~~ ~~the~~
protestanis of france quhilk was ~~the~~ ~~the~~ ~~the~~
france. Schortlie heireftir vpon ~~the~~ ~~the~~ ~~the~~
the clergie of Sanctandros set vp ~~the~~ ~~the~~ ~~the~~
new pryour agane and that all ~~the~~ ~~the~~ ~~the~~
entres to compeir vpon the seinz ~~the~~ ~~the~~ ~~the~~
and sie ane pryour placit agane ~~the~~ ~~the~~ ~~the~~
thair come in to our bordour sex ~~the~~ ~~the~~ ~~the~~
resist our bordouraris. Item at th ~~the~~ ~~the~~ ~~the~~
was lattin furth of the castell ~~the~~ ~~the~~ ~~the~~
begining of the month of apryle ~~the~~ ~~the~~ ~~the~~
to say meill beir quhyt⁴ come down ~~the~~ ~~the~~ ~~the~~
boll of meill and beir and quhyt ~~the~~ ~~the~~ ~~the~~
the xix day of

26 March
1570.

¹ Verac.

² Edict.

⁴ "Quhyt"—i.e., wheat.

³ D. p. 172.

the support of Scoittis men and keipit it
 weillfair. At this tyme the lordis that tuik
 the quene war in linlythgow and the lordis that
 the king war in stirviling and thir foirsaid
 war in linlythgow did cheise my lord duik
 of Argyle and the erle of huntlie luvtennand to
 and did mak thair procleratiounis in hir name.
 The lordis quha war in stirviling heirand tell that
 the Inglismen war cummand to thair support to Edin-
 burgh that they come furth of stirviling to have cum to
 burgh bot the lordis that war in linlythgow came
 with and carmishit thame and causit thame to fle
 to tak the gait by Torfichin and at alevin houris at
 come to Edinburgh and thair remanit and had
 beine the grace of god thay wald have beine
 slakked and as god wald thair was na slauchter at that
 time, bot certane tane captive of the kingis lordis syd.
 Vpone the vj day of maij the lordis that war in Edin-
 burgh that tuik pairt with the king causit mak proclerati-
 tiounis in the kingis name that all maner of man sould
 be at thame in Edinburgh within sex dayes thairestir
 vnder the panes of lyff landis and guidis in feir of weir
 bot few keipit that day except thay that tuik pairt with
 thame. And richt so the lordis that war in linlythgow
 25 causit mak procleratiounis in the quenis name to be at
 thame and mony come to thame and passit furth of
 linlythgow to glasgow and seigit the castell thair of bot
 vane it nocht and mycht nocht tarrie thair for feir of Inglis-
 men and syne depairtit. Nocht lang heirestir vpone the
 30 xij day of Maij the erle of lennox the kingis guidschir
 [and] the Mr¹ of Sussex of ingland come to Edinburgh
 with xv hundreth men of weir and var honourabillie resauit
 thair be the kingis lordis and remanit thair four dayes
 or thairby. Vpone the xiiij day of Maij the lordis that
 35 war in Edinburgh with thir Inglismen quha war cum to

¹ Master or eldest son of the Earl of Sussex.

thair support causit mak procleratiounis that all maner
 of man sould be at thame in Stirviling the xv day of
 Maij bot few come to thame except thame sellffis and
 the inglismen of veir and the said lordis that tuik pairt
 with the king send thair pledgeis to bervick or the 5
 Fol. 144 a. inglismen wald pas with thame to the feildis and vpone
 the xvj day of maij the erle of lennox with the inglismen
 of weir and the kingis lordis passit furth of Edinburgh to
 stirviling and syne to glasgow and reskewit the castell
 bot or thay come the hammiltownis had slaine sindrie 10
 within the said castell for the laird of myntow¹ was ²
 captane thairof and provest of the towne and the ham-
 miltownis cuist downe the laird of myntovis place and
 syne depairtit for feir of the inglismen to thair awin
 placeis. At this tyme the inglismen with the kingis 15
 lordis cuist downe his hous that slew the regent and did
 gret distructioun to the hammiltownis. Nocht lang eftir
 this the haill lordis that favourit the quein passit to the
 northland to Dunkell and held thair counsall for thay
 wald nocht fecht with our Inglismen of weir bot tarried 20
 in lyk maner vpone the frenchmen to thair support
 May 1570. quhilk was grantit. Vpone the xx day of this moneth
 the Inglismen with the kingis lordis passit to the castell
 of hammiltowne and thame that war within the said
 castell defended it and slew mony inglismen or thay 25
 gave it. Nocht lang heireftir vpone the xxv day of
 maij the castell of hammiltowne was givin ovir and
 randerit ³ and syne was spuizeit and thaireftir quhan thay
 had spuizeit the said palace of hammiltowne thay cuist
 it downe quhilk was gret pitie and thay hereit mony 30
 gentilmen of hammiltownis vpone Clyd and cuist downe
 thair placeis and also thay hereit all thame that tuik

¹ John Stewart of Minto (D, p. 176).

² Was. MS. has "deas," apparently by mistake.

³ D, p. 177, where a list is given of the places cast down in Clydesdale.

pairt with the hammiltownis. And vpone the xxvj day
 of maij the inglismen with the kingis lordis retired all
 agane to Edinburgh with ane gret pray of guides and
 syne the Inglismen depairtit to bervick for thay war
 5 send about in all haist be the quein of ingland. And
 the kingis lordis with thair men of weir remanit in
 Edinburgh and thay seand the quenis lordis in the
 northland and syclykk the erle of argyle with my lord
 duik in argyle in the castell of Danou¹ passit furth of
 10 Edinburgh to Stirviling and maid thame to seage ane Seige of
downe in
menteith.
 place of my lord Sanctcolmsinche callit the castell of
 Downe. In the beginning of the moneth of Julij the
 hammiltownis tuik perforce the lord sempill beand
 thair gret enimye besyde glasgow and had him to Dum-
 15 bartane castell and pat him thair in waird. Vpone the
 second of junij the kingis lordis passit to the castell
 at evin² in menteith and lay at it four dayes bot thay
 come na speid and swa the lordis retired agane to
 Stirviling and syne to Edinburgh. Item at this tyme in
 20 Stirviling the erle of lennox vas choisin luvetennand to
 the kingis grace. Vpone the viij of junij in this same
 zeir the hammiltownis passit to Douglasdeill and herreit
 all thame that war partakeris with the erle of murray,
 and vpone the morrow heireftir the kingis luvetennand
 25 with his assistance causit mak ane procleratioun that
 the lordis of the sessioun sould cum to Edinburgh
 to the sessioun with certificatioun and thay come not
 vthiris sould be put in thair placeis the quhilk was
 done. At this tyme the quein send in Mr randell to
 30 the lordis quha desyred ane appointment to be had
 amangis the haille lordis of this realme that thai wald
 aggrie vpone the ratificatioun of the king and gif
 thay wald nocht the quein of England wald defend
 the kingis auctoritie be sword. Nocht lang heireftir

¹ Word blotted; perhaps "Danoun"—i.e., Dunoon (?).

² "Evin" in MS.; probably a mistake for "Doun."

vpone the xv day of this moneth of junij the luveten-
 nand the erle of lennox raid to glasgow to the lennox
 and did puneis all thame that assisted with the
 hammiltownis and siclykk the hammiltownis puneisit
 all thame that favourit and tuik pairt with the erle of 5
 lennox and his favouraris. Vpone the xx day or thair-
 by of Junij the luvetennand callit the erle of lennox
 send to all thame that favourit the king and his counsall
 for to be in Edinburgh agane the xij day of Julij thair-
 eftir and to that effectt for to cheis ane new regent and 10
 governour to the king. At the end of this moneth of
 junij the erle of huntlie with his assistance tuik vp cer-
 tane men of weir for to puneis all thame in the north
 that wald nocht tak his pairt as luvetennand to the
 quein. In the begining of the moneth of Julij thair 15
 fell ane gret divisoun amangis the lordis of ingland for
 sindrie of thame rais aganes the quein thair of for our
 quenis caus of Scotland and thairfoir the quein of ingland
 send about hir haill men of weir fra our bordouris and
 send ane gret sowme of money to the kingis lordis for to 20
 tak vp men of weir in thair absence. Vpone the secound
 day of this moneth my lord levingstoune come furth of
 Inghland to the luvetennand and the kingis lordis with
 ane commissioun as eftir followis. Vpone the vj day of
 this moneth the maist pairt of the vniuersitie of Sanct- 25
 andros convenit with the haill ministeris and superin-
 tendence in Edinburgh and thair fell amangis thame ane
 gret contentioun anent certane doctrinis prechit be ane
 callit hammiltoune¹ bot he was replogit be the rectour
 fra the ministeris and the clergie had almost past to the 30
 gait with it var nocht the better help² and so the haill
 matter was continewit to thair assemblie. Schortlie heir-

Fol. 144 b.

¹ Bannatyne's "Memorials," p. 255, as to the preaching of Mr. Robert Hamilton against Knox in 1571-2. See Notes.

² This curious phrase perhaps means "the ministers would almost have given the matter up if they had not got better help"; but see Notes.

eftir vpone the x day of Julij thair was ane combat in
 the westland betuix the men of weir of the castell of
 Dumbartane and the erle of lennox men of weir and
 sindrie war hurt on bayth the syddes. Item at this
 5 tyme thair was ane combat in france at the ratchell¹
 betuix the king and the protestanis. Nocht lang heireftir
 vpone the xiiij day of Julij the kingis lordis with the
 ministeris and commissioneris of borrowis convenit in
 the towne of Edinburgh about the chuising of the regent
 10 and thay causit the erle of lennox lord Darlie and guid-
 schir to the king callit Mathow Stewart renunce the mes
 and all his papistrie and thaireftir he was choisin gover-
 nour to the king and proclamatounis maid vpone the
 xvij day that he sould be obeyit as regent so he was
 15 maid regent in the zeir of god I^m v^c lxx zeiris and the
 xiiij day of Julij² foirsaid. Vpone the xv day of this
 moneth Captane Wemys come to the eist ferrie and
 passit ovir the watter to brouchtie and syne to brichin
 with sex scoir of men of weir to tak pairt with the erle
 20 of huntlie. My lord lyndesay my lord Ruthvein my
 lord Mephin heiring tell of this come privelie furth of
 Edinburgh to have tane the foirsaid Captane Wemys
 with his men bot or thay come the said captane and
 his men war ovir the wattir of tay and so thir lordis
 25 come to the place of Dairsay and thocht to have taine
 Schir James Balfour of Pittindricht bot he was aduer-
 teisit at that tyme and eschaiped narrowlie. At this
 tyme the glengregour of the hieland did gret skaith and
 harme to the laird of glenmorquhair³ quhair throche
 30 come gret slauchter on baith the sydes. Vpone the xxj
 day of Julij the erle of lennox of new approveit con-
 stitute and maid regent toutour and governour as foirsaid

13 July
1570.

How cap-
tane Wemys
come to
brichin with
vj scoir of
men of weir.

¹ La Rochelle.

² D, p. 180. The MS. has "Apryle" by mistake.

³ Glenorchy, who was at feud with the Clangregor. See Gregory,
"Western Highlands," p. 250.

causit mak procleratiounis fra the watter of tay south
 that all maner of man sould be at him in feir of weir in
 linlythgow the secund day of august thaireftir with xx
 dayes wictuallis vnder the paine of lyf landis and guides
 and ze sall vnderstand that this procleratioun was maid 5
 for to prevene the procleratiounis of the quenis lordis
 in linlythgow quhilk thay proclerit aganes the vj day of
 august nixt following for the haulding of ane parliament
 to thair vtilitie and the quenis. At this same tyme the
 regent causit proclerme ane vthir procleratioun that all 10
 maner of man sould be at him in linlythgow within
 xxiiij houris warneing vnder the pane of lyf landis and
 guidis and this procleratioun was maid for to pas to
 the northland as appeires heireftir quhilk come to pas
 schortlie. And vpone the xxij day of this moneth the 15
 erle of huntlie send twa hundreith men of weir to the
 towne of brichin in angus and thay manit the stipill and
 castell thairof and thair purpois was as it was judgeit for
 to cum to Arbrothick and syne to Dundie with vther
 townis thair adiacent. At this tyme the towne of 20
 Dundie send to the towne of Sanct Johnstoun my lord
 ruthven beand provest about support quhilk come to
 thame with diligence. Schortlie heirefter vpone the
 xxiiij of this moneth the erle huntlie causit ane procler-
 matioun throcht all the north in the quenis name that 25
 all maner of man sould be in reddyne within xxiiij
 houris varneing for to pas with him as luvetennand to
 the quein vnder the paine of lyff landis and guidis and
 it was judgeit that thai sould pas to linlythgow to prevein
 the quenis lordis bot the quenis lordis durst not cum for 30
 feir of the inglismen quha tuik thair contrapairt and
 thairefter the regent raid to stirviling for this raid was
 maid to sie quha obeyit or nocht becaus it was the
 regentis first procleratioun for the staying of this par-
 liament in linlithgow. Upone the first day of august 35
 the gentilmen that favourit the regent with his assistance

raid to linlythgow and syne to stirviling to the regent
 and all the commissioneris of borrowis payit taxationis
 to pay the regentis men of weir and so the parliament
 stayed. Vpone the vj day of this moneth of august the
 5 zeir foirsaid the erle of mortoune my lord ruthvein my ^{1570.}
 lord lyndsay my lord mephin with thair assistance raid
 privalie with all diligence in the nicht quhill thay come
 to the towne of brichin in angus and environit the towne
 and castell thair of quhilk vas keipit be twa hundreth
 10 men of veir of the erle of huntlies and with all possible
 diligence the regent come furth of stirviling with all
 thame that assistit him to the said towne of brichin
 and thair thay cuist thair trenches and schot at thame
 that war within the castell and stipill and siclyk thay
 15 at thame and sindrie was slaine and hurt on baith the
 syddes for the men of weir that war within the castell
 and stipill beleivit to have had support of the erle of
 huntlie within four dayes. Bot thai obtenit nane and
 keipit it quhill the xj day of august that same zeir and
 20 moneth and at last thay randerit be gret divisioun
 amangis thame sellffis quha var captanis thair of and so
 captaine cutis [and] captaine muire war hangit and xxx
 souldiouris with thame and captane Wemys eschaiped¹
 and his lyff savit and it was judgit that captane Wemys
 25 dissawit all the rest at the requeist of my lord lyndsay.
 And so the regent with his assistance come fra brichin the
 xij day of August and went to Dundie Sanct Johnstoune
 and syne to Stirviling and evirie gentilman and vtheris
 pairtit to thair housis. And the erle of huntlie heiring
 30 this come with his broder and thair assistance to angus
 besyd kellimuire and thair mynd was to have reskewit
 the said castell of brichin bot thai come all of lait and
 thay remanit thair about thrie dayes and tuik sindrie
 gentilmen that war in thair contrair with thair guides
 35 and convoyit thame away to Aberdeine. And the towne

Castell of
 brichin
 randerit
 Captane
 Dauid
 Wemys
 saift
 Captane
 Cuittis and
 Captane
 Muire with
 a xxx
 souldiouris
 hangit.

¹ D, p. 183.

of Dundie heirand that my lord huntlie thair enimye
 was thair thay war effeired and beleivit that he sould
 have cum to thair towne. Heireftir thay send with all
 possibill haist to Sanct Johnstoune and Sanctandros and
 the hail coist syd of fyff for to be at thame in all haist 5
 bot thai heirand tell that the erle of huntlies weir men
 war retired thay come nocht. Nocht lang efter this the
 castell of bruchtie was delywerit to the laird of pitcur¹ in
 keiping be chairg givin to my lord gray be the regent to
 do the samyn under the paine of tresoune. Vpone the 10
 xvij day of August thair was procleratiounis maid that
 nane sould speik evill of the regent and that he was ane
 inglisman sworne, quha indeid war nevir sworne inglis-
 men nather was the selff same thing evir at any tyme
 requyred of him, vnder the paine of tresoune and quhat 15
 persone wald cum and reveill quha spak aganes Mathow
 Stewart erle of lennox guidschir to the king and regent
 of Scotland that he was ane Inglisman sworne and
 nocht worthie to bruik the office of regent schip thay
 sould have for thair reveiling the half of the guides of 20
 thame that did speik aganes him. Vpone the xxij day of
 August² thair come in ane pink of flanderis to the erle of
 huntlie to Aberdein fra the duik of du albow³ with ane
 gret sowme of mony to the said erleis⁴ support. And
 this pink depairtit schortlie heireftir and my lord settoun 25
 depairtit in hir as ane ambassadour to the duik of du
 albow and the king of france for the support of the
 quein and hir lordis. Within four dayes eftir thair
 depairtting furth of Aberdein thay landit in Ceiland.
 And vpon the xxiiij of August⁵ my lord regent with his 30
 assistance and men of weir passit furth of Stirviling to
 seige the castell of downe in Menteith quhilk was keipit
 be the abbot of Sanctcolmsinch quha tuik pairt with the
 quein and hir lordis and the said castell was randerit at

¹ George Haliburton.² D, p. 184.³ Alva.⁴ Earl of Huntly's.⁵ "21st August," D, p. 184.

that tyme to the regent. Nocht lang heireftir the inglis-
men that tuik pairt with the regent and his assistance
come to Drumfreis and brunt all the landis and housis
pertening to my lord heireis and siclyk cuist downe the
5 castell of Lochmabane and did gret distructioun to the
said lord becaus the lord heireis tuik pairt with the
quein and was with hir quhan scho was tane in Ingland.
Vpone the xxvj day of this moneth of August thair was ^{1570.}
maid ane procleratioun of ane parliament in the kingis
10 name to be hauldin at Edinburgh the tent day of October.
Item at this tyme the captane of the castell of Edinburgh
callit the laird of graunge furnisit the said castell with
victuales and men for tua zeiris. In the begining of
the moneth of September thair was ane serwand of my
15 lord regentis quha had beine brocht vp with him in
Ingland and had gret credit of all his secrettis and
wreittingis and the said serwand beand send to ingland
with wreittingis be the regent he tuik also wreittingis of
my lady seattounis to our quein and so he was spyed
20 and tane with the wreittingis and sufferit for the samyn
for he played with baith the handis. And also my lady
settoun was tane for thir wreittingis sending to the quein
and eftir that scho was convicted scho was disseruit ¹ to
pas furth of this realme vnder the paine of deid and
25 so scho did. Vpone the fourt day of september ² the
regent with his counsall maid procleratiounis for weil-
fair of all borrowis and that thair preweledgeis sould
be keipit conforme to the auld actis and statutis of par-
liament. Vpone the fyft day of september thair was
30 summond be oppin procleratioun Schir James balfour of
pittindricht and his brother the pryour of Charterous the
laird of Wormestoun ³ the pryour of Sanctcolmsinche ⁴
to compeir befor the regent and his counsall within

¹ So in MS.; perhaps a mistake for "decernit."

² D, p. 186.

³ David Spens of Wormestoun.

⁴ Sir James Stewart of Doune. See Notes.

xxiiij houris thaireftir or ellis thay sould be put to the
 horne. Vpone the viij day of september thair fell xx
 dayes togidder sic horribill tempestis of snaw rain and
 weitt that it did gret skaith and heirschip vpone the
 coist syd of Scotland and Ingland that thair was tint of 5
 schippis and bottis in thir cuntreis fourtie schippes by¹
 tinsall of men and guides that the lyk was not of befoir.
 Schortlie heireftir vpone the tent day of september thair
 was sindrie gentilmen of the westland southland fyff
 northland and vthiris pairtis of this realme chairgit to 10
 compeir befoir the regent and his counsall for sic thingis
 as sould be layd to thair charge or ellis thai sould be put
 to the horne bot becaus the regent with his counsall
 had brocht in the Inglismen to our support and had
 Fol. 146 a. distroyit the antient placeis and pollocie off the south 15
 thay refusit and mony that favourit the regent and
 his counsall of befoir become his enimes as eftir
 followis To wit the homes the Carris the Scoittis
 the Maxwellis the lord settoun the lord flemyng the
 haill hamiltownis my lord Makgumrie² the erle of 20
 Cassellis my lord boyd the erle of argyle with mony
 moe in the southland. And vpone the xij day of sep-
 tember thair come in to the castell of Dumbartane to
 my lord flemyng thrie schippes and ane galay with
 viweris and monitioun in gret quantatie with wreittingis 25
 to the quenis lordis and syne depairtit schortlie. Vpone
 the xv of september the scoittis and the carris come
 to Edinburgh to the regent and gave pledges to keip
 guid ordour in the bordouris in tymes cuming. Nocht
 lang eftir this vpone the xx day of september the zeir 30
 fairsaid thair come ane ambassadour fra the quein of
 ingland and the bruit was that his cuming was to
 schaw that the king of france and the protestanis had
 appointed togidder and so it was and the bruit was
 also that our quein of Scotland and the quein of 35

¹ "By" = besides.² Montgomery.

ingland had spokin togidder and that thay had ap-
 pointed togidder in all thingis onlie certane lordis
 of the quenis syd and siclyk on the vthir syd for to
 pas to londoun to the quein of ingland and hir coun-
 5 sall. At this tyme the lordis that held with the quein
 held thame all in quyetnes abyding the hamecuming
 of my lady settoun furth of flanderis and france with
 help and support of strangeris and the regent and his
 lordis held thame in Edinburgh at ane counsall anent
 10 the hauling of ane parliament the tent day of October
 nixt following and for the seiging of Draphane. Item
 in the end of this moneth thair was ane minister of
 Spot in the southland callit¹ Skellok tane becaus he
 murdrest his wyff and was brocht to Edinburgh and
 15 thair hangit and quarterit and he confessit befor his
 deid that the temtatioun of the deuill causit him to
 commit that filthie cryme he useand the airt of Igrim-
 ancie² and siclyk he confessit that sindrie vthiris
 ministeris vsit that same. So this man was put to
 20 death for the samyn cryme. Thairfoir we aucht to
 call vpon God evirmoir to saiffe ws frome the tempta-
 tioun of the deuill for this man beand ane godlie man
 be his outward singnes and ane that fearit god zit
 nochtwithstanding the flesche of man is so simple
 25 that it will easilie be corruptit be the cast of that
 wicked serpent thairfoir we aucht to pray that god
 mycht be ane bucklar betuix ws and the Devill and
 that we may have ane trew fervent constant fayth in
 him that we may nocht be brocht away frome god be
 30 the elisioun³ and temptatioun of that wicked and
 venimus serpent quho gois about to sie quhome he
 may catch as he did with this foirsaid man. Thair-

Minister of
Spot hangit.

¹ "Kello," D, p. 188; "Historie of James the Sext," p. 64. See Notes.

² "Igrimancie"—*i.e.*, necromancy. See A. P. 1563, c. 9, Glossary, and Notes.

³ "Elisioun"—*i.e.*, illusion. See Glossary.

foir the eternall god gif ws grace that we may all tak
 example be him and nocht to set our intent to the
 Igramancie as he did quhairbe he was brocht to this
 end as I have schawin to zow. Thairfoir god give ws
 grace that we may be gydit be the spreit of god and 5
 nocht be the aluirement of Sathan our enimye. Bot
 we will returne to our purpois. Vpone the vj day of
 this moneth of october the regent with his counsall
 causit to gif ane chairge to the laird of graunge cap-
 tane of the castell of Edinburgh to delyuer the crowne 10
 and septure and sword to the parliament bot he re-
 fusit and wald nocht on naway be ressonne he alledgit
 that the regent was nocht maid nor electit be the maist
 pairt of the nobilitie of this realme. Nocht lang heir-
 eftir vpone the viij and ix dayes [of October] the erles 15
 barronis and commissioneris of borrowis that favourit
 the king and his regent come to Edinburgh and nane
 vtheris and passit to ane counsall for the fairfaling of
 the erles and lordis that tuik pairt with the quein and
 ratifieing of the regent. At this tyme thair came in 20
 ane ambassadour fra the quein of ingland to the regent
 and his counsall to that effectt that nathing sould be
 done in this parliament aganes thame that favourit the
 quein and that na new novatioun sould be vsit in this
 parliament quhill baith the said pairteis sould compeir 25
 in ingland in londone befoir the quein of Ingland.
 Vpone the x day of october the regent with the erlis
 lordis barronis and commissioneris of borrowis that
 favourit the king and his counsall passit to the tolbuith
 of Edinburgh vpone thair feit without ceptur sword or 30
 crowne to the parliament and nothing was done at the
 samyn bot continewit to the xxv day of Januarj thair-
 eftir. About this tyme was the pryoury of Sanct-
 andros givin be the regent with adwyce of the lordis
 vnto the bischope of Cathnes¹ brother german to the 35

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¹ The Bishop to whom Pitscottie sent the MS. of his Chronicles.

regent and verrie litill reseruit to the said bischop of
 the foirsaid benefeis saiffand his tytill and superioritie
 of the same bot onlie givin furth to the vtilitie and
 proffeit of the kirk and the king. Nocht lang heireftir
 5 vpone the xv of october the regent causit mak pro-
 clematioun that all maner of man sould be [in] raddy-
 nes within sex dayes warneing to pas with the regent
 to tevindeill with the regent to puneis certane rebellis
 bot thair was no thing done. Schortlie heirefter vpone
 10 the xvij day of october thair was ane proclematioun
 maid of ane taxt extending to xij thowsand pound to
 be vpliftit vpone the thrie estaitis and this taxt was
 raisit for the outsetting of the ambassadour to ingland
 and siclykk to pay the wadgeis to the regentis men of
 15 veir quhilk war in nomber thrie hundreith men or
 thairby. Vpone the xxij day of october the zeir foir- 1570
 said thair was ane proclematioun maid that all maner
 of man sould be in raddynes within vj dayes wairneing
 in feir of weir with xx dayes furnesing to be in linlyth-
 20 gow at the regent to pas quhair he pleisit and it was
 judgit to pas to seige the castell of Draphane and
 nothing was done at that tyme for vthir gretter causis.
 In the end of this moneth thair was no thing done
 bot the ingaddering of the taxt of xij thowsand pound
 25 foirsaid to the gret distructioun and herriing of the
 puire for thair war nane in all the north and west land
 that favourit the quein that payed ony thing of this taxt
 bot of the regentis syd. At this tyme thair durst nocht
 ane officair of airmes pas to the west land nor to the
 30 north land in the kingis name with letteris and gif ony
 come thay war punisit and the letteris taine fra thame.
 In the begining of november the regentis men of weir
 and the hammiltownis war at ane combat vpone Clyd
 and had nocht that the said men of weir passit to ane
 35 stipill thay had all beine slaine and taine and eftir
 that the men of veir brocht with thame away of the

pur manis guides that duelt vpone Clyd to the number
 of twa hundreith cattell and hors. At this tyme all
 the scoittis schippes that war in france war all arreistit
 and nane of thame sufferrit to pas away bot thame that
 had the quein of scotlandis counzie¹ and licence quhan 5
 thay war in ingland captive and the bruit was of the
 haulding of thir schippis quhilk var in number to
 xxiiij or thairby was for the inbringing of frenchmen of
 weir to the support of the quein and hir lordis. Vpone
 the xv day of november the erlis and lordis that tuik 10
 pairt with the quein war all assembled in the north
 in the castell of Spynnies and Strabogie at ane counsall
 anens the sending of commissioneris to the quein of
 Ingland. At this tyme vpone the xvij day of this
 moneth² the zoung abbot of Dumfermling callit pit- 15
 cairne was send in Ingland as ambassadour to the
 quein thairfor. Vpone the xx day of November thair
 war the west land lordis the on half aganes the vthir
 and thairfor the regent send his men of weir furth
 of Edinburgh to Glasgou with diligence to the support 20
 of his lordis. Nocht lang eftir thair was taine ane
 servand of ane gentilmanis of my lord homes and it
 was alledgit that he sould have slaine the regent thair-
 for thay pat him in the buittis quhilk was verie
 painfull bot he wald nocht grant and so he eschaipid 25
 with his lyff. At this tyme thair was ane proclamatoun
 maid that nane sould eit flesche on frydayes nor settir-
 dayes vnder the paine of xx poundis on forgivin for
 the first fault. In the end of this moneth thair come
 in ane post fra the quein of Ingland to the regent. 30
 The bruit was that it was for to caus my lord mortoun
 with the rest to cum in to ingland for the pairt of
 the regent and his assistance. Vpone the x day of
 December the laird of gartleis passit at the command
 of the regent and his counsall to Dundie and vthir 35

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¹ "Counzie"—i.e., *conseil*. See Glossary.² D, p. 194.

placeis for vptaking of men of weir. Vpone the xxj
 day of December thair was ane gentilman of the laird
 of Duryes in fyff slaine vpon the schoir of leith be
 sevin men of the captanes of the castell of Edinburgh
 5 the laird of Graunge callit Kirkcaldie and thaireftir the
 said men eschaiped and passit to the castell except
 ane man quhilk was taine and put in waird in the
 tolbuith of Edinburgh and thaireftir at evin the captane
 of the castell come with twa hundreith men and brak
 10 the tolbuith dore and tuik this man away, the regent
 and his men of weir nocht beand in the towne at that
 tyme.¹ In the same moneth of December thair was
 summond to compeir befor the regent and his counsall
 my lord settoun the secretar and his brother the abbot
 15 of Kell:ow² to compeir agane the xvij day of Januarj
 thaireftir in Edinburgh or ellis thay sould be put to
 the horne. Vpone the vj day of Januarj the captane¹⁵⁷¹
 of the castell of Edinburgh callit the laird of graunge
 send vreittingis to all the gentilmen of fyffe that war
 20 his freindis to be at him in Edinburgh to the nommer
 of fyve hundreith personis or thairby and passit to the
 castell to thair counsall. The regent seand that causit
 the towne of Edinburgh to keip ane stark watch all
 the tyme that thai war in the castell for the gret feir
 25 that he had of thame and syne the nixt day eftir thir
 gentilmen depairtit furth of Edinburgh. Item at this
 tyme the hammiltownis tuik paislay stipill. Nocht lang
 eftir this vpon the x day of Januarj the regent causit
 to arreist ane crear³ of my lord robertis in the towne
 30 of leith quhilk had newlie cum furth fra the said
 robert and thaireftir the regent causit the said schip
 to be dischairgit with Orkney butter and vthiris wairis
 of orkney and delyuerit the same to his captanes and
 men of weir quhilk was in Edinburgh. This lord

¹ D, p. 197. ² John Maitland of Coldingham.

³ "Crear," a merchant-boat. See Glossary.

1571.

Robert was ane bastard broder of our quenis and was
 maid heill luvtennand and rewar of orknay that tyme
 that the erle bothwell fled furth of Scotland for the
 slauchter of Harie king of Scotland. Vpone the xv
 and xvj dayes of Januar the erlis lordis barronis com- 5
 missioneris of borrowis that favourit the king and his
 regent convenit in Edinburgh for certane causes to
 be proponit in the parliament quhilk was to be haldin
 the xxj day thaireftir of this moneth and siclykk for
 the directing of the erle of mortoune and certane vthir 10
 lordis as ambassadouris to ingland for the pairt of
 the king and regent. Vpone the xix day of Januarj
 Schir James Balfour of pittindricht knycht come furth
 of the northland to the castell of Edinburgh he beand
 at the horne for partaking with the quein and as it 15
 was alledgit for art and pairt of the kingis slauchter
 and was resauit honorabillie be the captane of the
 castell. Nocht lang heireftir vpone the xxij day of
 Januarj¹ thair was ane procleratioun maid that all
 maner of man sould be in reddyne in feir of weir 20
 within xxiiij houris warneing to pas with the regent
 quhair he pleisit and was judgit to pas vpone the ham-
 miltownis and vpone the xxvij of this moneth the regent
 tuik his journey furth of Edinburgh to Stirviling with
 his men of weir and siclykk all the rest of the lordis 25
 that war vpone his syd. And vpone the same moneth
 thair was trewis taine betuix the regent and his assistance
 and the quenis assistance and that na thing sould be
 done the one aganes the vthir quhill the hamcuming of
 the ambassadour furth of ingland bot it indured nocht 30
 lang. At this tyme the Scoittis schippis come hame out
 of france quhilk war arreistit thair be the suplicatioun
 and requeist of our quein of Scotland. In the begining
 of the first aucht dayes of februarj the erle of mortoune
 with certane gentilmen passit furth of tantallone² to 35

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¹ D, p. 197.² Tantallon Castle.

londone to quein Elizabeth as ane of thame quha war
 principall for the king and his regent aganes the quein
 of Scotland than beand captive in ingland for thair was
 nothing in Scotland for the pairt of the king bot be
 5 his counsall and advyce. Thir gentilmen that passit
 to londone to the quein of ingland for the pairt of the
 king was for the staying of our quenis hame cuming
 and war the occatioune of the inbringing of the inglis-
 men of weir that tuik the castell of home and distroyit
 10 sindrie of thame that favourit the quein and als the
 castell of lochmabane and hammiltoune. At this tyme
 the capitane of the castell of Edinburgh tuik vp men of
 weir to the nomber of thrie hundreith and all the towne
 of Edinburgh did no thing bot be his counsall and the
 15 maist pairt of thame favourit the quein. And the regent
 and his counsall var at this tyme in Stirviling. Vpone
 the viij day of februarj the regent causit mak proclema-
 tiounis that all maner of man betuix saxtie and sexteine
 sould meit him in glasgow in feir of weir with xv dayes
 20 victuallis vpone the xiiij of this moneth vnder the paine
 of lyf landis and guides and this proclamatoun was to
 pas vpone the hammiltownis quha wer in the stipill of
 paislay and distroyit all thame with heirschipes that
 favourit the regent and his counsall. So the day was
 25 cum and the regent with all thame that war vnder the
 foirsaid proclamatoun passit to paislay to seig the said
 place and thair was within it xxx personis or thairby
 that held the samyn in the hammiltownis name and so
 the said place beand manfullie defendit the space of
 30 aucht dayes was randerit as god wald it beand no
 strenth bot ane abbay place. So vpone the xvij¹ day
 of this moneth of februarj paslay was randerit and the
 men that war within war had to glasgow and keipit in
 suire keiping becaus of delyuerance of my lord simple
 35 and sindrie vthiris gentilmen that the hammiltounis had
 taine and the men war nocht disponit vpone at that

Paisla
 Randerit.

tyme. Vpone the xx day of februarj the hammiltownis
 tuik ane post cummand to the regent with wreittingis
 fra the quein of ingland with sindrie vthiris gentilmen
 that favourit the regent. At this tyme the plewis had
 nocht gein xii oulkis togidder and mair for frost and 5
 snaw quhilk did gret distruction to the scheip and the
 bestiall. In the moneth of March thair was ane
 woman taine in fyff in the towne of Creill callit Smyth
 quha had carnall copulation with hir sisteris guidman
 quha was ane craftisman of the towne ane smyth. So 10
 this woman was delyuer of the bairne in his awin hous
 his wyff quha was hir sister beand thair for the tyme
 and nocht knowing of the samyn nor zit ony body
 quhan scho was delyuer except he and scho. So the
 bairne was borne beand ane man chyld and he and scho 15
 tuik the bairne and muredrest it without pitie and quhan
 this was done thay tuik it and eirdit it vnder his awin
 studdie¹ bot god quha will nocht suffer thaes thingis to
 be disclosit causit the same to be devulgat and demi-
 laitit² to wit. This smith callit James Ramsay haveand 20
 ane serwand quho laubourit in the buith with him and
 this serwand persaving the eird evir to ryve and to swoll
 quhair he stuid so he chancit vpon ane day to tak vp
 the eird and so vnder the samyn he fand the bairne
 as god wald and the said man quho aucht the bairne 25
 and the woman in lyk maner war brocht and accusit
 befor the bailzeis of the towne quho culd nocht deny
 the samyn so the woman was send hame and keipit in
 ironis and the man was put in the tolbuith bot or³ the
 morrow he had brokin the tolbuith and fled and passit 30
 furth of Scotland to ingland and thair tuik vp ane buith
 and laubourit. Bot the woman was drownit and hir
 heid put vpon the tolbuith and hir airme was put one

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¹ "Studdie," or, "stithy," an anvil. See Glossary.

² "Demilaitit"; perhaps a mistake for "delated."

³ "Or" = before.

the cockstuill that all men and wemen nicht tak
 example of the samyn nocht to commit sic ane filthie
 cryme fore god will nocht suffer innocent bluid to be
 vnpunisit and unreveiled. Vpone the xj day of march
 5 the laird of graunge captane of the castell of Edinburgh
 causit ane carmisching to be maid be his men of weir
 baith within the castell and without quhilk was verie
 prettie to behauld¹ representing as gif it had beine ane
 seige layed to the said castell or ellis to know the
 10 myndes of thame that war of the towne bot quhen tyme
 occurrit that thay sould have carmischt for saiftie of
 thair awin lyues and the said castell at that carmisching
 was away as god wald to thame that hauldis strenthis
 aganes thair native prince and regent as ze sall heir, bot at
 15 this tyme thair was nathing done in Edinburgh bot all
 was ordourit be the captane of the said castell. At this
 tyme the regent with his men of weir war in glasgow and
 hangit certane of thame that war tane in paislay at the
 seige thair of. Vpone the x day of marche or thairby the
 20 erle of cassellis with his assistance passit to seige ane
 place callit .² And schortlie eftir this the regent
 with his men of weir passit to the towne of air and thair
 about and causit good ordour to be keipit in thaies
 pairtis. Vpone the xx day of march the regent causit
 25 mak procleratiounis at the mercat croce of Edinburgh
 that all maner of men of weir that had taine wadges fra
 the captane of the castell of Edinburgh callit the laird
 of graunge sould depairt fra him and all vthiris that war
 in raddynes to tak his wadges vnder the paine of deid
 30 and siclyk and nane sould help to furneis the said
 castell with victualing vnder the samyn panis. Vpone
 the same tyme the captane of the castell causit ane

¹ This account of a sham siege of the castle reads almost as if Pitscottie had seen it, but he does not say he did. It took place on a Tuesday (Bannatyne's "Memorials," p. 91). See Notes.

² Blank in MS.

The first day
of apryle the
castell of
Dumbartane
was vone
1571.

drum to pas throche the towne of Edinburgh that all
maner of man that wald tak his wadges to cum to him
and thay sould have v lib in the moneth for he had
taine vp of men of weir at that tyme thrie hundreith that
war all in raddynes. Item at this tyme the captane 5
causit man the stipill of Sanctgeillis kirk¹ with the
abbay of halyrudous. Vpone the first day of apryle the
zeir of god I^m v^e lxxj zeiris² the castell of Dumbartane
was manfullie vone for ane speciall serwand of my lord
flemyngis callit Quhyt brocht the regentis men of weir 10
with thair captane callit ramsay ane verrie stout and
guidlyk man quha come airlie eftir midnicht and with
certane ledderis the said captane ramsay clame vp vpon
the south pairt of the castell this serwand callit crawfurd³
beand thair watch, my lord flemyng and the rest that war 15
within the castell beand than at rest. And so it was vone
with ane infinite riches thairintill and my lord flemyng
was convoyit away be this same servand callit craufurd
and the bischop of Sanctandros callit Hammiltowne ane
broder of my lord hammiltownis was taine in the said 20
castell with ane frenche ambassadour⁴ with sindrie vthir
gentilmen and had to Stirviling. And so the castell with
the haill riches of gold pertinand to the hammiltownis
and the french ambassadour with the haill monitioun
quhilk come out of france to the support of the quein 25
and hir lordis war thair manfullie be the grace of god
taine and keipit to the vtilitie of the king and the regent
as the will of god was. And vpon the fourt day of
apryle the zeir foirsaid the erle of huntlie come privlie
furth of the north and onknawin to the castell of Edin- 30

¹ D, p. 202.

² D, p. 202, attributes the taking, not to White and Captain Ramsay, but to John Cunningham of Drumquhassill, Captain Thomas Crauford, and David Home.

³ Thomas Craufurd of Jordanhill is usually credited with this exploit.

⁴ Monsieur Verac.

burgh quha was resavit thair be the captane thairof.¹
 And schortlie eftir the secriter callit maitland the zounge
 laird of liddingtoune come be sie furth of the northland
 also to the castell of Edinburgh. The bischope of Sanct-
 5 andros was led bakward vpone ane sled through the
 toвне of Stirviling as ane traitour and thaireftir the said
 bischope was had to mercat cros and hangit for he
 confessit at his depairting that he was vpone the regentis
 slauchter bot as he alledgit he knew nathing of the
 10 kingis slauchter bot god knawis the verritie. This
 bischope was or he depairtit lxxxv zeiris.² Vpone the
 x day of apryle the maist pairt of the westland bor-
 douraris as the lord heireis the lord maxwell lochinvar
 with sindrie vther barronis to the nommer of thrie
 15 hundreith horsmen come to Edinburgh to the captane
 of the castell and thair the said lordis and gentilmen
 that war in the castell had ane counsall and did pas
 thair tyme in Edinburgh and leith abyding the rest of
 the lordis cuming as my lord duik argyle atholl with
 20 the rest that favourit the quein. Vpone the xij day or
 thairby the regent send wrettingis to all thame that
 favourit him and his auctoritie to be at him in Stirviling
 and schortlie thaireftir the said lordis convenit in Stir-
 viling and thair held thair counsall anens the resisting
 25 of the foirsaid lordis that war convenit in Edinburgh.
 Nocht lang heireftir vpone the xvij day of apryle the
 erle of mortoune quha was principall ambassadour for
 the king and the regent come furth of ingland to Dalkeith
 and schortlie thaireftir he convenit his freindis and raid
 30 to Stirviling to the regent with his commissioun that he
 brocht fra the quein of ingland. Vpone the xxiiij day
 or thairby of apryle³ the zeir foirsaid thair was ane

Bischope of
 Sanctandros
 callit ham-
 miltoune
 hangit being
 lxxxv zeiris
 of aige.

Fol. 148 b.

1571.

¹ D, p. 203.

² D, p. 204, gives a fuller account of the Archbishop's confession, and the writer appears to have been present. See Notes.

³ D, pp. 208-9, gives the date "21 April."

1571.

serwand of the captane of the castell of Edinburgh callit Patrick Ogilve taine be the said captane and keipit in the castell in the ironis quha had wreittin dyueris wreit-tingis for the betraissing and distruction thair of to thair enemyes and schortlie thaireftir he was put vpone 5 the buittis and confessit his tresowne. Schortlie heireftir vpone the xxvij day of apryle the regent causit make proclmationis vnder the panis of lyff landis and guidis that all maner of man sould meit the regent in feir of weir in linlythgow the x day of maij with xv dayes 10 furnesing for to pas vpone the captane of the castell of Edinburgh and his assistance for at that tyme the said captane had furnisit the said castell with men of weir and siclyk the towne of Edinburgh aganes the regent and his assistance and to the parliament quhilk 15 was to be haulding the xiiij day of maij. Vpone the xxviiij day of apryle the regentis men of weir with certane men of weir of horsmen come to the towne of leith and syne passit to the borrow muire and thocht to have tranit the captane of the castellis men 20 of weir with thair assistance to the said muire, my lord of mortoun heward¹ ane bushe of horsmen nocht fra thame twa mylles. And zit nochtwithstanding the gret bauldnes and manheid of bayth the syddes thair was bot sober² slauchter bot nyne or ten men one 25 baith the syddes bot the Erle of huntlie and the lord home eschaiped narrowlie on-taine. At this tyme the captane of the castell tuik sindrie men in the towne of Edinburgh quha thocht to have betrayed the towne and haddin furth the lordis of the castell at the port 30 thay fechtand with thair enemyes and thaireftir maid ane proclmation that all that wald nocht tak his pairt to depart of the towne vnder the pane of deid. In the

¹ "Heward" (?) - i.e., raising an ambush not two miles from them. See Glossary.

² "Sober" - i.e., "small," D. p. 416.

begyning of Maij¹ my lord duik vtherwayes callit hammil-
 toune with his assistance and freindis come to Edinburgh
 and was resaut be the laird of graunge captane of the
 castell, and siclyk the erle of argyle my lord boyd with
 5 sindrie vtheris erlis and barronis quha war of the quenis
 factioun. This conventioun was to resist the regent and
 his assistance quha was cum to leith and Edinburgh for
 the haulding of ane parliament. At this tyme the towne
 of Edinburgh was all maid strenthie within and keepit
 10 be fyve hundreith men of weir and never ane port oppin
 bot twa that was the west port and the nathir bow.
 Vpone the ix day of Maij the zeir foirsaid the regent
 come furth of stirviling to linlythgow and remanit thair
 quhill his haill power come to him as the meirnis angus
 15 fyff stratherne with the maist pairt of the southland men
 and westland with the nommer of x thowsand or thairby.
 So vpone the xij day of Maij the regent come fordwart Fol. 149 a.
 with his haill power to the towne of leith and thair
 remanit and tuik consultatioun quhat was best to be done
 20 and quhair thai sould hald thair parliament. And vpone
 the xiiij day the regentis men of veir to the nommer of
 sax hundreith or thairby with my lord ruthveine and my
 lord lyndesay thair vangard passit vp to the cannygait²
 and thair thai trinchit at Scoittis clos heid vnder the
 25 nathir bow and had with thame twa small cairted peices
 and styllid³ thame vpone the craigheid abone leith wynd
 and the men of weir that war within the towne of Edin-
 burgh schot at thame and thair was slauchter maid on
 bayth the syddes. And vpone that same day the regent
 30 with his haill airmie come furth of leith to the cannogait
 be the abbay gait in arrey and syne thir lordis and gen-
 tilmen brak thair ordour and passit vnder staires and in
 clossis for feir of the cannonis of the castell quhilk schot
 at thame quhilk was verrie terribill and feirfull to the
 35 regentis airmye for the castell schot throche thair housis

¹ "4th May," D, p. 211.² Canongate.³ Planted.

and chalmeris and speciallie my lord lyndesayis chalmer quhair he lay for thair come ane schot he lyand in his bed and tuik away the twa cuppillis ¹ of his chalmer abone the bed heid quhair he lay, zit nochtwithstanding he was saiffe as god wald. Bot the schottis slew sindrie 5 that nevir ane man micht luik furth vpon the gait. The regent seand this thay passit on the morrow to ane place ² in the cannogait within the fridome of Edinburgh and thair the regent causit feild ³ the parliament and call the suittis bot thay ran to this hous and vnder staires and 10 continewit foirfaltering quhill the xvij day thaireftir. Vpone the xvij day thay come to the said place in the cannogait to the parliament hous ⁴ and thair thay foirfaltit the secrittar callit Maitland of liddingtowne and his broder the lord Cordinghame ⁵ with sindrie vthiris hammiltownis 15 that tuik pairt with thame that was in the castell and with the quein. At this tyme my lord heireis and the laird of ferniherst come to Edinburgh to thair support with fyve hundreith horsmen. ⁶ Vpone the xvij day of maij the horsmen of Edinburgh come furth and carmishit 20 with the regentis horsmen and tuik of the regentis cumpanie to the nommer of lx hors or thairby for thair warmony slaine of the men of weir that war without the towne becaus of the gret schutting of the castell. At this tyme the regent wald have had the men of weir 25 leddering the wallis of Edinburgh bot the men of weir knawand the towne to be strenthie for the quhilk caus thay wald nocht jeopard thame sellffis. And so the regent with his haill airmie vpon the xix day of this moneth

¹ *I.e.*, Couples or rafters.

² "William Coikis [Cook's] House in the Canongate," D, p. 214. See Notes.

³ "Fence" is the ordinary term. See Notes.

⁴ The Parliament House was then in the Tolbooth, but here means Cook's House.

⁵ John Maitland, Commendator of Coldingham, first Lord Thirlstane (D, p. 215).

⁶ D, pp. 215-7 says, "twelve score of good horsemen."

liftit thair seige in the nycht and passit to leyth and
 vpon the morrow the castell men come furth and tuik
 all the ledderis that war in thair trinchis and had thame
 to Edinburgh and syne thay passit all in arrey of battell
 5 to Sanctcuthbertis kirk and forder of bot the regent with
 his companie remanit in leith and come nocht furth and
 swa the castell lordis returned agane without battell to
 the towne of Edinburgh. Vpon the xx day of Maij the
 regent causit mak procleratiounis at the new wark besyd
 10 the peir of leith that na maner of man vnder the paine
 of lyff landis and guidis sould furneis the towne of
 Edinburgh with viweris and wictuales nor to have ony
 communicatioun with thame nor to assist thame and gif
 thai did to be hauldin as partakeris with the said castell
 15 men. This beand done the regent with his haill com-
 panie passit to linlythgow and syne to Stirviling¹ bot
 the haill horsmen and men of weir except certaine that
 convoyit the regent to Stirviling come furth of Stirviling
 with the Erle of Mortoune quha was principall vnder-
 20 taker and counsallour to the regent to the new brig
 and syne by merchiestoun and in the landis of braid and
 thair thay stuid in arreyit battell. And this same day
 the lordis and horsmen of Edinburgh come in arreyit
 battell to the quarrell hollis at the east syd of merkkistoun
 25 and thair vas ane littill watter betuix thame and sa thair
 was no thing done bot flyting the one depairtit to Dalkeith
 and the vthir till Edinburgh and so thay pairtit. Vpon
 the xxiiij of Maii the lordis that war in the towne of
 Edinburgh raid to the tolbuith with septure sword and
 30 crowne to ane parliament and thair thay continewit till
 the xiiij day of Junij. The rest of this moneth the
 regent remanit in Stirviling at ane counsall and my lord
 Mortoune with the regentis men of weir remanit in

Fol. 149 b.

¹ The Diurnal does not expressly state that the Regent went to
 Stirling (p. 216), but p. 218 says, William D[r]urie, the English
 envoy, went to Stirling on the 28th, and "spak with the Regent."

Dalkeith and the castell men and lordis that war in
 Edinburgh raid to leith and passit thair tyme in running
 thair hors vpon the sandis. At the same tyme thair
 come furth of flanderis ane pink with mekill siluir moni-
 tioun poulder and vther weir lyk instrumentis to the 5
 support of the castell and swa the lordis and horsmen of
 Edinburgh come downe to leith and convoyit away the
 same to Edinburgh. Vpon the first aucht dayes of
 Junij to wit the secund day the regent causit mak pro-
 clematiounis that all maner of man sould be in raddynes 10
 with xx dayes wictuallis within viij dayes warneing to
 pas with the regent to resist the lordis of Edinburgh
 becaus thay war to mak ane new luvetennand to the
 quein and to set furth hir auctoritie and that nane sould
 furneis nor assist thame vnder the paine of deid. That 15
 same day the lordis of Edinburgh causit captane Meluill
 with the men of weir of Edinburgh to pas quyetlie to
 Dalkeith and thocht to have taine the same and suited
 nocht my lord of Mortounis men of weir and so thai
 had wracked Dalkeith war nocht ane gret mischance 20
 happnit be the hand of god amangis the men of weir of
 Edinburgh. For thay beand in hett carmisching with the
 men of Dalkeith captane Meluill handling poulder givand
 to his souldiouris furth of ane kinking¹ thair chanceit ane
 spark of fyre quhair ane lunt fell in the said kinking and 25
 fyred the captane with sindrie vthiris and so in the
 reskewing of him thay reteired and than thair come
 certane horsmen furth of Edinburgh to reskew and slew
 mony of Dalkeith and tuik fourtie souldiouris and had
 thame to Edinburgh and captane Meluill depairtit 30
 schortlie thaireftir in Edinburgh.² At this tyme the
 quein of ingland send in ane ambassadour to the regent
 and his assistance and siclyk to the lordis of Edinburgh
 to that effect that na thing sould be done betuix thame

¹ D, p. 219, "kinking"—i.e., keg. See Glossary.

² He was buried on 6th June (D, p. 219).

quhill forder trying of thair enterprysis and becaus thair
 was in londone sindrie ambassadouris of france spainzie
 and flanderis for the pairt of our quein and remaning
 vpon thair ansueris vpon the delyuering of our quein
 5 furth of waird quha was thane presonar in ingland.
 Vpon the viij of Junij the regent send to all the gentil-
 men erles lordis and barronis privat wreittingis to be at
 him at stirviling with all possibill diligence in feir of
 weir for it was judgit that the hammiltownis and the
 10 erle of argyle war to cum to stirviling and siclykk to
 giff ane ansuer to the inglis ambassadour. Schortlie
 heireftir vpon the xij day of Junij ane bastart sone of
 the laird of Wemysis callit Mr Michall Wemys¹ quha
 had brocht furth of Denmark certane Scoittis men quha
 15 had beine thair induring the weiris betuix Suaden and
 Denmark and landit in Dundie and had maid his aith
 of fiditytie to the regent and thaireftir come to Dysert
 with his band of fute men and war all in twa boittis.
 And in the mein tyme Captaine Cullein come furth of
 20 Edinburgh with ane band of men and ane schip weil
 manit and come vpon the said Mr Michallis men of
 weir and tuik ane of the boittis with the men thairintill
 and had thame to Edinburgh presonaris and the rest
 eschaiped as god wald. At this same tyme the regent
 25 come furth of stirviling with thrie hundreith men to the
 Brunteland and thocht to have taine Captaine Cullein
 with his schip and men in the said towne bot he was
 adwerteisit and come to Edinburghe the erle of Mortoun
 also beand in leith halding wat on him and thair was
 30 gret carmishe betuix thame. Vpon the xiiij of this
 moneth the lordis that war in Edinburgh raid to the
 tolbuith to the parliament with crowne cepture and
 sword.² At this parliament thay maid luvetennandis to
 the quein and continewit the parliament to the xiiij day
 35 of august and summond the regent with mony erlis and

1571.

Captaine
 Michell
 Wemys
 brocht ane
 companie of
 men of weir
 furth of
 Denmark.

Fol. 150 a.

¹ D, p. 222.² D, p. 221.

lordis to that day to be foirfalted. Vpone the xvj day
of Junij the regent [and] the erle of mortoune with thair
assistance beand than in leith and passand to Dalkeith the
lordis of Edinburgh come furth with thair haill power to
have givin thame the charge. Bot in the meantyme 5
thair was ane inglis ambassadour that raid betuix thame
and to stay thame. Bot it cuild nocht be becaus thay
strave quha sould first leive the feildis and so the
castell men brak first at the regent and his com-
panie and be ane slicht of ane captane of Edinburgh 10
callit captane lather¹ brak away and ovir raid the
fute men of his awin syd and thay war put to the wars
as god wald to thame that wald not depairt with pace.
So my lord home vas taine [and] Mr Gavin hammil-
towne² bischop of Sanctandros was slaine with sindrie 15
vthiris taine to the nommer of thriescoir or thairby and
had thame to leith and thair remanit and on the regentis
syd captane wemys was slaine and sindrie taine and
slaine of his band.³ The regent seand this feild gang
with him he remanit in leith and cuist tranches the xxiiij 20
day of junij about the same and causit mak proclama-
tionunis that all maner of man sould be in leith in feir of
weir agane the first day of Julij and this to be done in
all schyres. At this tyme the laird of Drumlenrik rydand
furth of leith to his awin place the horsmen of Edinburgh 25
war layd in his way and tuik him with mony of all his
hors and sindrie hurt and brocht thame to Edinburgh.⁴
Item the rest of this moneth the horsmen of Edinburgh
and leith daylie carmishit togidder and mony taine on
bayth the syddes and slaine for evirie ane that was taine 30
releivit ane vthir and this was keipit as ane law amangis
thame ane lang tyme. At this tyme all thame that war
taine on baith the sydes war releivit for ane man of weir

Capten
Michall
Wemys
slaine,
1571.

¹ Lauder.

² Abbot of Kilwinning in Sept. 1551. Appointed coadjutor and successor to the Archbishop of St. Andrews. See Notes.

³ D, p. 225.

⁴ D, p. 225.

of the regentis [was] releiveit in Edinburgh and my lord
home was lattin frie for the laird of Drumlenrick ¹ and so
quhen thay had layd thair comptis at this tyme thair was
no adwantage nather of the syddes. Vpone the first aucht
5 dayes of Julij the haill lordis and barronis of the mernes
angus stratherne and fyff with all the borrowis that come
fordward to the regent to leith and this was the first
quarter reid.² For the borrowis war put all to men as
thay micht furneis and thay send hame all thair horss
10 agane becaus it was continewit in the procleratioun.
At this same tyme thair come in of france to Scotland
ane gentilman in ane schip callit Chisolme quha biggit
the lang stair vpone leith peir ³ ane sone of the bischope
of Dumbelenis with ane gret sowme of gould and siluir
15 and heirand that the regent and his companie war in
leith landit in fyff with his mony quhilk was send to
support the lordis of Edinburgh and so he was as it was
allegit betrayit be the abbot of Sanctcolmes inch. And
my lord lyndesay come furth of leith to fyff and tuik
20 him and his money and caryed him to leith to thair gret
comfort for he was betrayed be thame that he lippnit in.
Within thrie dayes heireftir or thairby thair come in ane
ambassadour ⁴ to leith furth of france in ane schip with
wreittingis siluir calliveris pouldar and corslatts and the
25 regent tuik the said ambassadour becaus he was command
to the lordis of Edinburgh to thair support and thaireftir
tuik all the wreittingis and calliveris poulder with vther
thingis that was in the schip to thamesellffis and pat the
ambassadour in vaird in the castell of Sanctandros.
30 Vpone the vj day of Julij the regent send in ane boit to
stirviling with meikill poulder salpiter calliveris and
corslatts that he had taine of befoir bot the lordis of

¹ D, p. 230. See Notes.

² "Quarter reid"—*i.e.*, raid. The country was divided into four quarters for the purpose of furnishing levies, *cf.* p. 259, l. 10. See Notes.

³ D, p. 229. See Notes. ⁴ Monsieur Verac (D, p. 230).

Fol. 150 b. Edinburgh war aduerteisit and send quyetlie twenty
horsmen to the quenis ferrie and tuik the said boit and
tuik furth all that thay nicht carrie with thame and cuist
the rest ovir burd in the sie and syne come to Edinburgh.
At this tyme our quein vas haldin in Ingland presonar 5
in ane palace callit chappell manner in Derbyschyre in
keiping be the erle of Seroisberrie.¹ Vpone the vij day
1571. of Julij the horsmen of Edinburgh came furth midgait
to leith and maid ane gret carmish aganes thame that
war in leith and sindrie taine and slaine on baith the 10
syddes. Vpone the x day or thairby the erle Mortoun
with certaine horsmen come furth of leith to aberdour
and syne raid to lochlevin and to stirviling and Dum-
blane and thair the said Erle of Mortoun and the erle of
argyle my lord boyd my lord askyne the erle of athole 15
met togidder and at that appointment god moveit the
erle of argyle to brek his promeis to the castell lordis
and come to the regent bot athole remanit still with
Edinburgh and the castell. Vpone the xvj day of Julij
capten Cullein quha was taine at the first feild of Edin- 20
burgh be the regentis cumpanie was heiddit in leith. At
this tyme the regent causit mak procleratiounis to
summond certane gentilmen of fyff with sindrie vthiris
and speciallie the balfouris to be at Stirviling agane the
xxv day of august and thair to be foirfaltit with all the 25
rest as it come to pas thaireftir. The lordis of Edinburgh
heirand this causit summond in lyk maner the regent the
erle of mortoune the lord glames my lord Ruthvein my
lord lyndesay with the towne of Dundie and Sanct John-
stoune with mony moe to compeir in Edinburgh befor 30
thame and thair to sie thame foirfalted agane the xxiiij
day of august and so thair war to the nommer of thrie
scoir foirfalted. Vpone the xx and xxij dayes of Julij
the haill horsmen of Edinburgh with thair men of weir
come to the trinchis of leith and slew sindrie of thame 35

¹ Shrewsbury.

of leith bot thay of leith var nocht cum furtht becaus
 thay war nocht so mony guid horsmen at that tyme as
 the toun of Edinburgh vas. Vpone the xxiiij day of Julij
 the same zeir the castell men of Edinburgh causit twa
 5 cannonis to be mounted at the blak freiris within Edin-
 burgh and thair thay schot at the new wark of the abbay
 of halyrudous and condampnit thair bartissingis¹ and
 schot throche thame in sindrie placeis for the regent was
 within the same and ane hansenzie² of men for to keip
 10 it. At this tyme the men of fyff, angus meirnis strath-
 erne quhilk war the first quarter reid come hame and
 did no thing bot spendit thair siluir and the westland
 quarteris come to leith as lennox stirviling linlythgow
 lowthiane and did as the first quarter men did.³ Vpone
 15 the xxv of Julij the regent causit mak procleratiounis
 that all burrowis sould be at him in leith in feir of weir
 agane the first day of august with xij dayes furnesing
 vnder the paine of lyff landis and guidis. Vpone the
 morrow the regent raid to stirviling and thair fensit ane
 20 parliament and continewit the same to be hauldin the
 xxv day of august thaireftir. And alsua the lordis of ^{1571.}
 Edinburgh fensit thair parliament and continewit in lyk
 maner to the xxiiij day of august and swa the parliament
 of Edinburgh was evir befor the regentis parliament.
 25 At this tyme thair was gret divisoun amangis the bor-
 douraris for sindrie of thame that war all of ane surname
 as the homes the Carris and the Scoittis with the rest of
 the clannis sum of thame tuik pairt with the king and
 his regent and vtheris of thame tuik pairt with the quein
 30 and the lordis of Edinburgh and for that same caus
 sindrie of thame var hereit taine and slaine amangis
 thame sellffis and this was nocht onlie amangis thame ^{Fol. 151 a.}
 bot also amangis all the borrowis and siclykk in the

¹ *I.e.*, bartizans = battlements (D, p. 234).

² An ensign or standard is the usual meaning, but here the number of men under command of an ensign. See Glossary.

³ D, p. 225, gives 26th July as the date.

north. For all the north fra Dunnotter north obeyit the
 erle of huntlie as luvetennand to the quein for the lyk
 was nevir seine of befor for god had puneist ws the zeir
 befor with hounger for the boll of quhyt gave vj pound,
 malt v markis, and meill thrie poundis and the zeir afor 5
 that god send the pest amangis ws with Edinburgh leith
 and the coist syd that thair dyeit mae nor x thowsand
 personis and now he hes send the sword amangis ws
 and thir foirsaid thrie plagues come all for our vnthank-
 fullnes for god send ws his word without bluid scheduling 10
 quhilk was frielie prechit in our awin tounge and zit we
 wald nocht harkin thairto bot evirie erle lord and barroun
 tuik vp all the landis abbaseis bischopries to thame
 sellffis quhilk sould have sustenit the pur peopill and
 thairfor god nocht onlie punischis ws with thir plagues, 15
 bot also he send ws weir amangis our sellffis with ane
 bairne to be our king. As the scriptures sayis vo be
 that cuntrie that hes bot ane bairne to rigne ovir thame¹
 as alace we may sie this day in Scotland. The rest of
 this moneth the regent causit tak vp certaine horsmen 20
 and fut men to the nommer of twa hundreith or thairby.
 And the lordis of Edinburgh did the lyk and daylie
 carmishing the ane with the vther and gret slauchter
 and taikin of presonaris on bayth the sydes. Vpone
 the first and secund day of august the haill borrowis 25
 that war chairgit befor passit to leith to the regent bot
 he seand thair obedience gave thame licence to pas
 hame agane and that thair was gret taxtatiounis layd on
 thame befor and so thay passit hame quhill new vairning
 to the xxiiij day of this monethe. At this tyme, thair 30
 was ane combat betuix thame of Edinburgh and leith
 and sindrie was taine and slaine on bayth the syddes.
 Vpone the xxx day of August the laird of balcleuche
 and fernihirst come to Edinburgh with thair haill force
 and power to support and help thame that war in the 35

1571.

¹ See Notes.

toune and thay thairin seing thair cuming tuik sic curage
 throche multiplicatioun of men thinkand to have victorie
 to that intent vshit out of the towne baith on fute and
 on hors to the nommer of twa thowsand men and come
 5 baldlie fordward to the wallis of leith and thocht to have
 had the towne becaus thay knew it to be quyet at that
 tyme zit nochtwithstanding thai thairin beand aduerteisit
 of thair cuming maid stoutfullie and manfullie to the
 feildis to meit and resist thame as thay mycht. Nocht-
 10 withstanding thair power was bot small to the respect of
 thair enimes zit thair curage was gret knawand thame
 to have ane just quarrell. So thay vshit out of the towne
 with thair luvetennand my lord lyndesay quha dewydit
 his cumpanie in twa pairtis the ane to hold of¹ the
 15 horsmen the vthir to meddill with the futemen. Than
 the carmish begoud het and crwelie on baith the syddes
 quhilk continewit still fra thrie houris eftir none or
 thairby quhill aucht houris at evin. Bot the luveten-
 nand of leith and his men knawing quhairon it stuid
 20 athir to tyne the towne or jeopard his lyff in the defence
 thair of for the quhilk occatioun he passit stoutlie ford-
 ward with ane stout and manlie curage vpone the towne
 of Edinburgh quha wer ane gret nommer aganes him
 and faucht with thame so cruelie that he causit thame
 25 to gif backis and fled to the portis of Edinburgh quhome
 on followit furiuslie Mr James halyburt towne crownar²
 quha was taine be chance and his awin negligence and
 nocht be the manheid of the towne of Edinburgh. Bot
 one the vthir syd was taine of Edinburgh and slaine far
 30 moe nor was of leith thoch Edinburgh was moe of
 nommer bayth on hors and on fute. So thair was taine
 of Edinburgh the lord home and brocht to leith and
 spuizeit of his waponis as ane presonar aucht to be
 bot zit nochtwithstanding he was sellit and stollin be

¹ "Of"—*i.e.*, off.

² *I.e.*, coroner; but here used for a military officer.

Fol. 151 b.

the men of weir to thair proffeit and so was ~~latin~~
 go hame to Edinburgh and eschaiped in that ~~maner~~.
 And alswa franceis tennovne quha was ane gret
 reular in Edinburgh and sum tyme provest¹ thair of
 was taine that same day. And in lyk maner Alex- 5
 ander bailzie ane guid broder to my lord duik was taine
 with money vthir gentilmen and burgesis var taine to
 the nommer of xxviij personis and xv slaine. Be this
 vay Edinburgh gat the war thocht thay war moe in
 nommer nor leith that in tymes cuming thay had na will 10
 to meddill with leith sa lang as my lord lyndesay was
 luvetennand to thame. About this same tyme thair was
 ane parliament halding at stirviling be my lord regent
 foirsaid and mony nobill lordis and barronis war thairat
 To wit the erle of angus argyle glencairne mortoun 15
 Boquhan mentrois merschell mar with many vther lordis
 and barronis with the vniversities sic as the archbischope
 of Sanctandros with dyueris vtheris bischopis the kingis
 magestie being brocht furth of the castell downe to the
 tolbuith with gret tryvmpe the crowne beand on his 20
 heid the vthir crowne beirand be his guidshir the regent
 baith borne vnder ane paill the cepture and the sword
 also befor thame borne. The king being littill mair nor
 four zeiris or fyve of aige his magestie maid ane propper
 oratioun in parliament to the confort of all the nobilitie.² 25
 And to be rewenger hei of the men of Edinburgh causit
 certaine horsmen and futemen of weir to pas to the Byres
 on the morne and tak away certane cattell fra my lord
 lyndesay. Than vpone the thrid day of September the
 counsall of Edinburgh with adwyce of the castell con- 30
 cludit that thai wald send ane band of horsmen and
 futmen to the nommer of fyve hundreith men to stirvi-
 ling to the effectt as eftir followis. The heiddis men
 hei of war my lord duikis freindis my lord hammiltowne

¹ Francis Tennand, Provost in 1550-1.² D, p. 242, gives the oration.

with the erle of huntlie the laird of moncleuche¹ the
 laird of fernihirst the laird of Wirmistowne and raid out
 of Edinburgh at fyve houris at evin or thairby and raid
 all the nicht and come to stirviling betuix thrie and four
 5 houris in the morneing and thair be moyanis of ane callit
 bell² son to William bell var convoyit in the towne and
 var on the calsay in arreyit battell or evir ony man knew
 the regent with the haill nobilitie of the lordis beand
 thair for the tyme haulding ane parliament as I have
 10 schawin to zow, knawing na thing of this tresowne
 quhill thay hard ane slugborne cryand on the gait in this
 maner 'ane hammiltowne' 'ane hammiltowne.'³ Thair
 the towne effeiredlie evirie man passit to his geir bot
 the men of Edinburgh To wit the laird of Virmestoune
 15 with ane certaine men of weir passit to the regentis
 ludging and thair gave him fair vordis to cum furth
 promiseand to saue him quha instantlie come furth of
 his ludging with him the laird of garlayis with vther
 gentilmen Beleivand to have beine sawit bot it stuid
 20 nocht in the handis of thair backaris to save thame at
 that tyme becaus the hammiltownis buir thame sic
 mortall feid quha causit captane caddell to schuit the
 regent efter his taikin and in lyk maner slew the laird
 of garlayis and ane broder of my lord ruthvenis quha
 25 debaitted the regent as lang as thay micht.⁴ Sum sayes
 the laird of Wormestoune⁵ was slaine in defence and
 savinge of my lord regent. In the meintyme ball-
 cleuche and fernihirst with vthiris mae of thair counsall
 and factioun passit to the erle of mortounis ludging and
 30 vald have taine him out of the samyn perforce bot he
 agane seand na remeid debaitted the samyn manfullie
 and vald nocht gif ovir the ludgeing quhill thay set it in
 fyre and thocht to have brunt him and all that was thairin
 bot he seand that come furth to the laird of balcleuche

Erle of
 lennox
 regent slaine
 be capten
 cadell efter
 he was taine,
 4 Sept. 1571.

¹ Buccleuch.

² George Bell (D, p. 247).

³ D, pp. 247-8.

⁴ D, p. 249.

⁵ David Spens.

quha savit him. At that tyme the castell heirand this
 noyas and seing the fyre ryse in the towne and hard
 quhow the matter stuid vschitt out heistelic and brocht
 certane pices of arteilzerie with thame to the captanes
 ludgeing and schot downe and langis the gait amangis 5
 thame of Edinburgh and causit thame reteir and cleingit
 the gait. In this meintyme the bordouraris and thaies
 that var with balclewch and ferniherst lap to the stabillis
 quhair thair var guid hors and fillit thair handis. In the
 meintyme the lordis and gentilmen quha war out of 10
 handis of thair enimyis convenit thame sellffis togidder
 and come fordwart vpone thair enimyis and releivit the
 rest of thair brethering quha var in handis and speciallie
 the regent the Erle of mortoun the erle of glencairne and
 syne tuik the laird of ballclewch and chessit out the rest 15
 of thair companie out at the portis and gif thai had
 had hors thay had followit than and had beine reweingit
 forder on thame bot as it was thay tuik and slew of
 thame of Edinburgh syd and speciallie he that schot the
 regent quha was hangit estirvard with ane callit bell. 20
 Vpone the fyft day of September the nobilitie that war
 at Stirviling passit to the counsall and chuissed the Erle
 of mar to be regent quha had the king in keiping in the
 castell of Stirviling the quhilk lordis and his house was
 evir compted to be trew to the crowne for the quhilk 25
 caus he was chossin regent.¹ Vpone the vij day the
 erle of mar new maid regent causit mak proclematiounis
 that all maner of man sould be at him in leith with
 fourtie dayes wictuallis in feir of veir vnder the paine of
 lyff landis and guides agane the first of october. That 30
 same day the regent causit put downe ane captane
 callit captane cadder² quha schot the regent and
 vas taine that same tyme with ane vthir man callit
 bell³ quha war the convoyar of thame to stirling and

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1571.

Erle of mar
 choissin
 regent,
 5 Sept.
 1571.

¹ D, p. 249.² D, p. 250.³ George Bell, lieutenant to Captain Montgomery (D, p. 250).

var put in the ironis for thay had na grace to get away
 with the rest as the will of god was. Vpone the viij
 day the erle of mar quha was regent with his assistance
 come to leith and remanit quhill the xv day and syne
 5 raid to stirviling. At this tyme the haill hammil-
 townis and horsmen come agane to stirviling and had
 enterit thairintill var nocht the better vatch and so thay
 raid to glaschow and did gret skaith to thame that
 favourit the regent. Vpone the x day of september the
 10 laird of Darsay¹ and the laird of Monquhany² var taine
 in leith furth of thair ludgeingis be the men of veir
 and thocht to have put thame downe, becaus the
 lordis that var in Edinburgh had maid ane scaffauld
 to have heiddit the provest of Dundie with sindrie
 15 vthiris presonaris of the regent and so thay war all
 commowit. Item at this tyme the duik of Norphok
 in ingland was taine and put in the tour of londone
 becaus he tuik pairt with our quein and hir counsall.³
 Schortlie eftir this the haill horsmen of Edinburgh as
 20 the hummis the scoittis the carris the hammiltownis
 to the number of fyve hundreith or thairby raid furth
 vpon the bordouris and tuik certane gentilmen of thair
 avin surnames and freindis quha tuik pairt aganis thame
 and brocht thame to Edinburgh and hereit and tuik
 25 away with thame all thair guides and thaireftir this
 thay returned to Edinburgh the xij day of September
 and schortlie thairefter thay red furth of Edinburgh
 to hammiltowne to the number of sex hundreith hors
 and did gret skaith about Glasgow. At this tyme thair
 30 was ane gret carmish in the Cannogait betuix thame
 of Edinburgh and thay that var in the abbay and thair
 was sindrie slaine on bayth the syddes and the anseinzie
 man⁴ of the abbay was slaine. At this tyme the men
 of weir that war in leith munted thair small ordinance

¹ Patrick Learmonth.² Sir Michael Balfour.³ D, p. 253.⁴ Ensign or standard-bearer.

vpone the trinchis of leith for feir of Edinburgh and
 thair vas daylie carnishing one aganes the vthir. Vpone
 the xxij day of september the horsmen of Edinburgh
 raid furth and brocht in the cattell and schip¹ pertening
 to thair enimes to the nommer of twa thowsand and 5
 thame that war in leith nicht nocht reskew the same
 and siclyk thai brocht in perforce meikill quhyt beir
 meill and aittis bayth of puir and rich and furnisit
 thair towne bot god saw all thair wrangous doingis
 and requytit thame at last as I sall schaw zow. Vpone 10
 the xxv day of September the regent gat arteilerie
 furth of Dumbartane and frome the erle of argyle and
 also frome the towne of Dundie and taryed in Stir-
 viling quhill thai come all to him. At this tyme Schir
 James Balfour² was maid provest of Edinburgh and 15
 keip it bot schortlie quhill.³ At this tyme thair was ane
 combat betuix the horsmen of leith and the horsmen
 of Edinburgh and thay of Edinburgh hurt the laird of
 Carmichall bot thair come to the horsmen of leith ane
 fresche companie and releivit thame and tuik sindrie of 20
 Edinburgh and also slew and had the presonaris with
 thame. Nocht lang eftir this the regent come furth of
 Stirviling with gret ordinance to leith and thair re-
 manit quhill his haill power come to him and siclykk
 evirie burgh var put to certane men of veir and var 25
 Fol. 152 b. send to leith quhilk did gret skayth to the borrowis
 for all borrowis war but to get taxatiounis in the furth
 setting of thair men of weir. The first and secund
 1571. dayes of october the zeir fairsaid the regent with his
 power and cuist all thair trinchis betuix the end of 30
 Sanct Marie Wynd and plasens⁴ and at ane place fer-
 nent the land of plasens quhair twa or thrie auld housis
 had beine brunt be the men of Edinburgh thair was
 thair arteilzerrie styllid⁵ and schot at the nathir block-

¹ "Schip" = sheep.² D, p. 250.³ A short while.⁴ The Pleasance.⁵ "Styllid"—i.e., planted. See Glossary.

hous and at the wallis of Edinburgh and schot throche
 the wallis and siclyk humilt¹ the heid of the blockhous
 and this continewit thre dayes schutting or thairby and
 schot to the nommer of vij scoir or thairby of gret
 5 schottis as half cannonis gros culweringis and culd do
 nathing to the said wall nor blockhous bot spending
 thair poulder and bullattis. At this same tyme the
 men of weir of Edinburgh schot at thame furth of Sanct
 geillis stipill and siclyk thay styld ane cannon in the
 10 kirkheid of Sanct geillis and did gret skaith amangis
 the regentis ordinance and pailliounis. Vpone the x
 day of this moneth thair was ane gret combat² in the
 north land betuix Adame Gordoun ane broder of the
 erle of huntleis and my lord forbus with his assistance
 15 for the said Adame was luvtennand in all the north in
 place of his broder the erle of huntlie as principall
 luvtennand to the quein and the said lord forbus was
 maid luvtennand for the kingis grace and his regent
 and sa thir twa pairteis war to the nommer of twa
 20 thowsand joyned togidder at ane place callit tilliangus
 nocht far fra my lord forbus principall place and thay
 faucht cruelie quhill at last the victorie inclyned to the
 said Adame gordoun and tuik mony of the said lord
 forbus assistance with thair haill monitioun and hors-
 25 men and the rest fled. At this tyme the said Adame
 dantounit all thaies pairtis and tuik mony of the for-
 busis placeis and hereit thame and slew all that feild
 except my lord and the maister quha var not at that
 feild. Schortlie thaireftir the maister of forbus come
 30 furth of the north land to the regent and his counsall
 and desyred help and support of the men of weir to his
 supplie quhilk was grantit at that tyme. At this tyme

Ane combat
 in the north
 betuix
 adame
 gordoun and
 the forbussis
 callit the
 feild of
 tulliangus
 struckkin
 the x day
 of october
 1571.

¹ "Humilt" = whommelled—*i.e.*, overturned.

² The battle of Tilliangus. D, p. 255, dates this battle 20th October, and places it near Aberdeen. Possibly there was a second battle.

the erle of huntlie was himsellff in Edinburgh and was the grettest enimye that the king had in scotland. All this tyme thair was in Edinburgh the lord duik the erle of huntlie the lord home Schir James balfour the laird of graunge captane of the said castell. Thir var principall 5 that keipit the said castell aganes the king and his regent. At this tyme the haill horsmen of the towne of Edinburgh war all without vpon the feildis about hammiltowne and my lord gloyd¹ the duikis sone vas principall luvetennand to thame. Thir horsmen raid 10 about glasgow and pat thame in ane gret affray and vord come to the regent that thir horsmen var to come vpon thame with the assistance of Edinburgh quhilk pat thame in ane gret effray bot the regent heiring tell of thair cuming raisit his camp the xix and xx 15 day of this moneth of october with thair artilzerie and passit all to leith and maid the said towne verrie strenthie and the haill airmie to the number of fyve thowsand or thairby skailled all hame except the regent with his men of veir to the number of sevin hansein- 20 zeis² quha remanit still in leith. Vpon the xxi and xxiiij dayes the men of veir of Edinburgh come furth to the feildes and hereit all about thame that pertenit to thair enimyes and brocht all to the towne and this thay did daylie quhen thay pleisit quhilk was verrie 25 wickedlie done and this thay did without ony feir of god. Vpon the xxiiij day of marche the regent causit charge all ferriers³ at the quenis ferrie and thairabout to draw all thair boittis to the fowlsea⁴ and that thair sould be na passage had for feir of the horsmen of 30 Edinburgh and this continewit ane lang tyme. At this tyme the regent causit mak procleratiounis that the sessioun of the lordis sould be hauldin in leith

Fol. 153 a.

¹ Claud.

² *I.e.*, companies.

³ MS. reads "ferries."

⁴ "Fowlsea," probably the sea beyond the river above Queens-ferry.

the xij day of November and the lordis of Edinburgh did the same that thair sessioun sould be hauldin in Edinburgh. Vpone the vij day of this moneth of 1571.
 november newis come to Scotland that thair vas ane
 5 ovirthraw givin be the king of Spainzie and his assist-
 ance vpone the seais of miditerranean the turkis
 navie in the quhilk conflectt war taikin ane hundreith
 and threttie gret galayes of the turkis and fyftie¹
 out of thir galayes and for the¹ delyuerit
 10 xiiij thowsand christianis and thair was brunt of the
 turkis galayes xxv and thair was slain moe of the
 turkis nor xx thowsand the quhilk was all trew.² At
 this same tyme the regent causit tak vp sindrie gentil-
 manis landis and guides in fyffe and west pairtis and
 15 disponit thame to his captanes of veir. Schortlie heir-
 eftir in the moneth of november the regent causit
 ane hansenzie of men of veir to cum furth of leith
 with the maister of forbus to pas with him aganes
 Adame gordoun³ with the assistance of Dundie Sanct
 20 Johnstoun and the Meirnis and Angus and thais
 pairtis and convenit thame sellffis. So vpone the xvj
 day of november thir men of veir to the nommer of
 thrie hundreith and the assistance of the gentillmen
 fairsaid convenit in brichin and marched fordwart to
 25 the cairne of mont.⁴ At this tyme the erle of mortoun
 [and] the abbot of Dumfermling passit to bervick and
 taryed thair ane lang tyme anent the inbringing of
 Inglismen to the support. At this tyme Adame
 gordoun fairsaid convenit all his airmie to Aberdein
 30 to the nommer of xv hundreith men or thairby and

¹ Blanks in MS. Perhaps the first is "canons" and the second "slaves."

² The battle of Lepanto, 7th October 1571. The losses of the Turks are nearly correctly stated (Stirling Maxwell, "Don John of Austria," p. 440). See Notes.

³ Sir Adam Gordon of Auchindoun, brother of the Earl of Huntly.

⁴ The Mount. See Skene, "Celtic Scotland," i. p. 10, and Notes.

beand that the maister of forbus [and] the maister of
 merchell with their kin and freindis and xij score of
 culvering men send be the regent and fyndie horsmen
 to their gret support var command fordwaird to Aber-
 dein be destroyit all the riveris about the vatter of
 Dee.¹ At this meintyme the towne of dunche and Sanct
 Johnstoun send to the forbus support ane hundredith
 men of weir or thairry with their hanesme and furth
 by thame thai passit vponne their awin evincure.² And
 vponne the xix day of november the fairsaid companies
 of the regentis and my lord forbus with the maister
 of merchallis³ cumpanie passit ovir the vatter of Dee
 and so thay joynd the maister of merchell with his
 cumpanie left his freind the maister of forbus. Zi
 nochtwithstanding the maister of forbus ane manlie man
 marchit fordwaird with ane small cumpany langlines
 the vatter of Dee quhill⁴ one the morrow eftir none.
 So thai come fordwaird vponne the xx day of november
 and come neir the mylnes of Aberdein and thocht to
 have gottin Auld Aberdein that nycht bot Adame
 gordoun fairsaid with ane gret cumpanie come furth
 of the new towne be four houris eftir non and gave
 the maister of forbus charge of battell. The maister
 of forbus seand that, as ane valliant campioun, joynd
 with him althocht mony of his airmye var depairtit
 frome all bot ane small nommer to the respectt of⁵
 Adame Gordounis and his airmie and faucht furiously
 with him and sindrie slaine on bayth the syddes with
 vncertaine victorie quhill at the last the day nocht beand
 lang and thay joyning at four houris eftir none vponne
 the moneth of november and so he nicht come vponne
 thame the maister and his small companie beand rydand
 all that nicht bypast and nathir had gottin meit nor

¹ The MS. spells it "Dei."² Adventure or fortune.³ *I.e.*, son of William, Earl Marischal.⁴ "Quhill" = until.⁵ *I.e.*, compared with.

drink all that day and so thai var forstouisit¹ for meit.
 Zit nochtwithstanding the maister of forbus faucht that
 day verie manfullie so lang as thay mycht sie quhill
 at last the victorie inclyned to Adame gordoun bot
 5 sindrie var taine and slaine on baith the syddes. And
 alswa the maister of forbus himsellff was taine and
 had to the towr of Aberdein.² And vpon the morrow
 the provest of Aberdein causit to gif x lib to burie
 the deid folkis quhilk was gret pitie to sie. At this Fol. 153 b.
 10 feild captane chisolme ane captane of the regentis
 was slaine with the hansenzie of Dundie. At this
 tyme Adame gordoun passit to all placeis of the forbusis
 and tuik thame perforce and causit thame to be keipit
 in his name with the principall place of my lord forbus
 15 callit Drymminer³ and so the said Adame dantownit all
 the north cuntrie and held justice courtis vpon all thame
 that assisted nocht with him fra the watter of Dee north
 and the maister of forbus was put presonar in spynie.
 And vpon the xj day of December thair was ane 1571.
 20 gret combat betuix the men of leith and Edinburgh
 and that day thair vas taine of Edinburgh syd fourtie
 men or thairby and captane hackarstoun was taine alswa,
 and of leith sydd thair vas taine captaine swyne⁴ and thair
 was bot ane few nommer hurt or slaine. And schortlie
 25 thaireftir evirie ane releivit ane vthir so thay vsit fair
 weiris⁵ ane lang tyme. At this tyme the horsmen of
 Edinburgh come to crawmond and tuik the regentis
 vyne passand to Stirviling and had it to Edinburgh and
 all vthir thingis that was passand to leith. At this tyme
 30 the erle of mortoune and my lord lyndesay watchit
 nichtlie and keipit the towne of leith verrie starklie. At

¹ "Forstouisit" = (?) "forstayisit"—*i.e.*, "forestalled" or "deprived of." See Glossary. ² "Historie of James VI.," p. 95.

³ Druminor, the original Castle Forbes. See Notes.

⁴ Probably Swain.

⁵ "Fair weiris"—*i.e.*, wars in which prisoners were exchanged ("Historie of James VI.," p. 101).

1 January
1572.

this thair come furth of france and flanderis to the support of the castell ten thowsand crownis quhairwith thai did mak the towne verrie strenthie and tuik vp men of weir and quhow schowne.¹ And alsua thay of leith maid the towne verrie strenthie and tuik vp men of weir in lyk 5
maner. At this tyme thair was summondis directed vpone the ministeris that thay sould all be in leith in the moneth of Januarj. At this tyme Adame gordowne foirsaid come to Aberdein and held his iustice airis and courtis in the quenis name and dantownit all the cuntrie 10
to his effectt. Vpone the first day of Januarj the zeir foirsaid the men of veir of leith and Edinburgh maid thame all in raddynes for carmishing quha sould have the first bluid. Vpone the thrid day of Januar or thairby thair come furth of Ingland fra the quein ane ambassadour 15
to the regent callit Maister Carie² with xij hors in tryne and syne quhan he had met with the regent and the lordis of leith he passit to Edinburgh and vas convoyit to the castell with his commissioun quhilk was as it vas judgeit to have ane appointment maid betuix the twa 20
paires of leith and Edinburgh. Nocht lang eftir this the regent come furth of stirviling to the king accompanied with the erle of argyle and vthiris to Dumfermling [and thence] to the brunteland and syne passit to leith. At this tyme the haill ministeris of scotland 25
convenit in leith with the maist pairt of the lordis that held with the king and his regent. Thair was certaine artickillis send to the castell of Edinburgh in wreitt [which] contined sindrie conditiounis and appointmentis betuix thame And to that effectt was directed for the 30
pairt of leith my lord Mephin and for the pairt of Edinburgh my lord huntlie and so thay met at the chappell betuix leith and Edinburgh and talked togidder bot thai

¹ As soon as possible; cf. "Quam primum."

² D, p. 256; "Historie of James VI.," p. 99. Mr. Carie, or Carey, son of Lord Hunsdon (Calderwood, iii. 167).

culd nocht aggrie and said thair vas no thing done bot
 left it var nor thay [fand] it. And so the ministeris gave
 thair artickillis of all the benefeis of Scotland that thay
 could be at thair gift for thair sustentatioun and con-
 5 tinewit it to the parliament thaireftir in februarj and so
 thay depairtit. Nocht lang eftir this the towne of Edin-
 burgh send furth certaine of thair horsmen and brocht
 xij cairtis leiddin with wyne fra Mussillburgh burne
 passand to¹ and had the same to Edinburgh and
 10 siclykk barkcat² hyddes cummand furth of the westland Fol. 154 a.
 and lute nathing pas to leith bot that thing that come in
 be sea. Betuix the tua pairteis thair was nathing bot
 rwgging and raveing of the pur laubouraris and the
 merchantis that favourit ony of the twa syddes. Vpone
 15 the xx day of Januarj thair was ane combat betuix the 1572.
 men of veir of leith and Edinburgh and sindrie slaine
 and taine on bayth the syddes with thair captanes and
 ze sall wnderstand war nocht that god send ane gret
 snaw and frost quhilk began at Zule and lestit quhill the
 20 tent day of Marche thair had beine gret slauchter on
 baith the syddes. At this tyme the Duik of Norphok
 callit thomas howart was brocht to Westmister in ingland
 quhair he was fylled and condampnit of tressoune. In
 the begining of februarj the zeir of god I^m v^o lxxi
 25 zeiris the hammiltownis passit furth of hammiltovne
 and tuik the laird of carmichall and ane vthir laird
 quha defendit him sellff manfullie callit³
 and thaireftir thai slew him and maid sindrie incursiounis
 daylie about glascow. The principall doar of this was
 30 my lord gloyd⁴ ane sone of my lord duik. Schortlie
 heirefter in the samyn moneth vpone the x day thairof
 to vit of februarj the erle of mortowne come furth of
 leith and syne come to Sanctandros and remanit thair
 ane quhyll and schortlie thaireftir he disposit the

¹ Blank in MS. ² Barked or tanned. ³ Blank in MS.

⁴ Claud Hamilton, ancestor of the Earls and Dukes of Abercorn.

bisshopric of Sanctandros to ane honest and godlie
man callit Mr Johne Dowglas rectour and provest of
the new colledge. Quhow be it this man had littill
abilite of tounge to preiche the word of god nor execute
the office of ane bischop zit nochtwithstanding he was
nominat and presentit be him to be bischope thocht he
was nocht qualified thairfor zit be that way the erle of
mortowne tuk vp the profiteit and so he was bot ane
strickman¹ in that caus. Vpone the xv day of februarj
the laird of balcleuche and fermihirst convenit in Haik² 10
to the number of thrie hundreith horsmen or thairby and
thocht to have cum to Jedburgh and taine the samyn
quhillk was keipit in the kingis name be the laird of
Sesfurd and sindrie men of weir and the towne of
Edinburgh send furth ane hundreith men of weir privelye 15
to have cum to the support of Balcleuche and fermihirst
bot the towne of leith vas adwerteisit thairof and send
my lord ruthvein with all the support of that cuntrie
round about to support Jedburghe bot or the men of
Edinburgh culd meit with thame of haik thay var con- 20
venit and so randerit thame sellis and var brocht to
leith and the horsmen depairted evirie man without
straik and schortlie thairefur the men of weir war lattin
frie vpone conditioun to Edinburgh all except fyve or
sex or thairby. And vpone the xix day of februarj³ the 25
lord seattoun quha had depairted ane zeir befor to
fianderis as ambassadour for thame of Edinburgh come
hame to Edinburgh quhair he vas honourable resauit.
Vpone the morrow thair cum furth of ingland fra the
quein twa ambassadouris to baith the syddes of Edin- 30
burgh and leith the one of thame was callit maister carie⁴
generall⁵ of bervick the vthir was namit Mr randell⁶

¹ "Strickman," (?) strikelight, an instrument which strikes the light others use. See Glossary.

² "Haik"—*i.e.*, Hawick.

³ D, p. 259.

⁴ D, p. 259, has Sir William Drurie instead of Carie. See p. 280, note.

⁵ More often called "Marshal."

⁶ Randolph.

Bot as to thair commissioun it was dyueris wayes judgeit
 bot thai remanit in leith and Edinburgh ane lang tyme
 and passit thair tyme about quhill marche and come to
 Sanctandros. Bot thir ambassadouris war evill judgeit at
 5 thame of leith becaus thay had ovir meikill familiaritie
 with the castell syd and played with bayth the handis.
 Vpone the penult day of februarj thair vas ane parlia-
 ment hauldin in leith be the regent and his assistance.
 At this parliament sould have beine foirfalted the lord
 10 settoun the bischope of Dumblane with sindrie vthiris
 and for sindrie artickillis to be admitit for the ministeris
 bot thair vas nothing bot continewatioun for na thing
 was done but be the adwyce of ingland. And it was
 judgeit that our quein sould have beine delyuerit and
 15 send to france gif the lordis of Scotland culd noch
 aggrie amangis thame sellffis for thay of Edinburgh vald
 had¹ hir in Scotland and the regent with his assistance
 wald had hir remanand still in Ingland and so this was
 all the contentioun. This regent was ane guid and Fol. 154 b.
 20 humbill man for he was first and his progenitouris befor
 him lord askyne² and had evir ane guid name and trew
 to the crowne and keipit evir the castell of stirviling
 and siclykk the castell of Edinburgh quhill the quein
 maryit the erle bothwell and thaireftir he passit to
 25 stirviling and gat in his keeping the kingis grace quha
 brocht him vp with the feir of god and guide instruc-
 tioun and than he become regent of Scotland. Noch
 lang eftir this vpone the thrid day of march³ the lord
 Mephin come furth of leith with ane hundreith horsmen
 30 or thairby with the futemen of leith and come neir
 Edinburgh and thair about and thocht to have stoppit
 the victuallis cuming to Edinburgh bot or they came
 the men of veir had taine all the viweris and had thame
 to Edinburgh. And so my lord mephin with his hors-

Vpone the
 iij day of
 march 1571
 [1572]
 my lord
 Mephin
 slaine at ane
 carmishe
 betuix leith
 and Edin-
 burgh.

¹ "Had"—*i.e.*, hold or keep. ² Erskine.

³ D, p. 260; "Historie of James VI.," p. 100.

men rydand ovir neir Edinburgh was schot throche the bodie him sellff and his hors and so endit his lyff¹ to the gret discomfort of thaim that var in leith. And so vpone the fyft day thaireftir he vas had ovir the watter to the kirk of mephin and buried. Vpone the morrow 5 heireftir thair was ane conventioun of ministeris in Sanctandros with the commissioneris of borrowis. Vpone the x day of marche thair was soir carmishing betuix thame of leith and Edinburgh and mony slaine and tane on bayth the syddes. And sum tyme the 10 towne of Edinburgh had the better and sum tyme leith and so this continewit lang tyme. Vpone the xij day of this moneth the regent² passit ovir the watter and syne to Stirviling and the inglis ambassadouris foirsaid passit to Sant Johnstoune and Dundie and sindrie vthir 15 placeis and syne passit ovir the vatter to leith. At that tyme the regent come furth of leith and send privie wreittingis to all the nobilitie and barronis and commissioneris of borrowis that assisted with the king and him to be at hame in leith to ane counsall agane 20 the xxv day of marche instant thair to gif thair answeris bayth to the inglis ambassadouris and ane french ambassadour callit Monseur la Croik quha was than in londoun. Vpone the xx day of this moneth the horsmen of Edinburgh raid furth of the towne and 25 brunt sindrie cornezairdis to the erle of mortoun and my lord ruthvein and sindrie vthiris.³ At this tyme thair come horsmen of Edinburgh and held thair counsall and parliament as thay did in leith and raid furth daylie carmisching and this continewit till marche vas 30 endit baith in leith and Edinburgh. Vpone the penult and henmest day of marche the zeir of god I^m v^c lxxij zeiris the regent causit to mak proclematiounis

1572.

¹ D, p. 260, says Lord Methven was killed at Broughton by a shot from the Castle. See Notes.

² D, p. 261, adds, "be occasion of sickness."

³ D, p. 261.

that all maner of man sould be in reddyne within
 vj dayes warneing in feir of weir to pas with my lord
 buchane luvetennand in the north to stop Adame gor-
 downe foirsaid quha than was in Aberdein and was
 5 purpoisit to cum to Dundie with ane gret power of men
 and had maid his procleratiounis in all the north in the
 quenis name. At this tyme Adame gordonis broder
 come to the meirnis with thrie hundreith horsmen to
 ane gentilmanis hous callit glenbervy¹ and thocht to have
 10 tane him furth of his place bot he eschaiped and so thay
 hereit all his cornis and guides bot the men of Dundie
 tuik sic feir that thay send to all the townis of fyffe about
 support. This was in the moneth of apryle and vpone
 the first aucht dayes thair of the zeir foirsaid the regent
 15 with his haill power come to the cannon mylnes² and the
 mylnes of Edinburgh and all vther placeis neir Edin-
 burgh cuist thame downe and brak thame to the effectt
 that the towne mycht nocht be furnisit be the said
 mylnes and sa thair was ane gret carmishe betuix thame
 20 of leith and Edinburgh and mony slaine hurt and taine
 on bayth the syddes. At this same tyme the regent
 causit put sindrie men of weir in sindrie placeis about
 Edinburgh as Drumlenrick,³ lasterrick,⁴ Craigmyllar, Inner-
 leith to the effectt that thay sould stop viweris fra Edin-
 25 burgh bot the men of weir of Edinburgh raid furth daylie
 nochtwithstanding and hereit all the cuntrie that with-
 stuid thame and at this tyme the weiris rais betuix thir
 parties that thay ceissit nevir on baith the syddes for
 god had send the spreit of haittrent amang the nobilitie
 30 at this tyme for thair gret dissobedience to thair prince
 that god sufferit evirie ane of thame to cuit of ane vthir
 be the sword and distroyit the common weill of his
 realme. Vpone the xv day of apryle thair was ane

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¹ William Douglas of Glenbervie.² The Milns of the Canons of Holyrood.³ "Drumsheugh" is perhaps meant. Drumlanrig is not near Edinburgh.⁴ Restalrig.

combat betuix thame of leith and Edinburgh and sindrie
 taine and slaine on bayth the syddes and so thay began
 [to hang or kill] all thame that war taine on baith the
 syddes bayth gentilmen and vthiris without respectt of
 personis. At this tyme the regent causit to mak pro- 5
 clematiounis that nane vnder the paine of deid sould
 pas nor repas to the towne of Edinburgh so all thay that
 war in the cannogait depairted and left the samyn voyd.
 Vpone the xij day or thairby of this moneth of apryle
 the lordis that var in Edinburgh gat the castell of 10
 blacknes and send gilbert balfour with fyftie haghbittaris
 to keip the samyn and so thay tuik the boittis that passit
 to stirviling or vp the narrow vatter and victualed the
 samyn for ane zeir and so thay dantownit all that cuntrie
 on baith the syddes. And schortlie thaireftir the regent 15
 furnisit ane schip with ane schalop to keip the narrow
 vatteris fra thame of blaknes. At this tyme thair was
 ane gentilman callit Mr Archebaldy Dowglas ane of the
 lordis of the sessioun¹ and maist fammiliar with the erle
 of mortoun tane be the regent and his counsall for 20
 tresoune committing aganes the said regent. To wit he
 had convoyit fyve thowsand crownis and fyve freir of
 feggis² to Edinburgh. Nocht lang eftir this the regent
 send to all the townis of the coist syde and chairgit
 thame to cum to leith with all diligence in feir of weir. 25
 This vas vpon the xxiiij day of apryle and so thay come
 and abaid in leith and in the mein tyme the regent with
 the erle of mortoune with all the horsmen that thay
 mycht get in all pairtis raid furth of leith about Edin-
 burgh to stope the viweris that thair vas to cum to 30
 Edinburgh and thay of Edinburgh had maid thair pro-
 clematiounis in linlythgow on the quenis name that all
 maner of man sould be in raddynes within xxiiij houris
 varneing to pas with my lord gloyd. Vpone the xxvj day

¹ Also parson of Douglas ("Historie of James VI.," p. 101).

² "Freir of feggis"—*i.e.*, bales of figs.

of this moneth thair was xxx souldiouris of Edinburgh
 passand to blacknes and, so the evintour,¹ the regentis
 horsmen met with thame and slew and hangit all that
 thay gat to the number of xx or thairby and the castell
 5 syd in lyk maner hangit the regentis souldiouris that
 they had taine afoir and so in this tyme thair vas no
 mony² vsit amangis thame bot all rigour. At this tyme
 the men of weir that var in the blaknes cum furth with
 certane of thair boittis and tuik the regentis schippes
 10 and sindrie crearis and boittis ladding with wyne and
 victuales and hereit all thame that passit vp or downe
 the vatter of forth. Vpone the iij day of maij the zeir^{1572.}
 foirsaid thair vas ane soir carmish betuix thame of Edin-
 burgh and leith quhilk continewit all that nycht quhill
 15 nycht severit thame and the castell men and the towne
 schot continwalie and slew ane gret nommer of the
 regentis men. Nocht lang heireftir vpone the v day of
 maij the men of Edinburgh come furth to Merkkistoun
 and carmishit with thame that war thair of the regentis
 20 syd and thocht to have taine the place bot thay var dis-
 sapoynted for it was recursit.³ Bot thai brocht all the
 cattell thairabout with thame to Edinburgh and hereit
 and distroyit all thame that var nocht of thair factioun
 bayth puire and riche without respectt of personis quhilk
 25 was ane gret pitie to sie. And alswa the castell men
 raid furth and tuik sindrie gentilmen of the Dowglasis
 out of thair awin ludgeingis and had thame presonar
 to Edinburgh the quhilk was gret displeasour to the
 regent and the erle of mortoune and so thair was
 30 nothing bot all that cuntrie about Edinburgh was hereit
 and all be hauling of this vickit castell of Edinburgh
 quhilk causit meikill innocent bluid to be sched in this
 cuntrie of Scotland. At this tyme thair was come furth

¹ "So the evintour"—*i.e.*, as fortune chanced.

² "Mony"—*i.e.*, ransom. See as to the execution of prisoners between 6th April and 8th June 1572, "Historie of James VI.," p. 101.

³ "Succoured," *Historie of James VI.*, p. 104.

Fol. 155 b.

of ingland ane ambassadour¹ to the regent and to thame
of Edinburgh and spak with thame baith. At this tyme
the haill yle of Vakar² callit seilland rais togidder aganes
the duik du albow quha was ane tyrane and ane
gret papist bot finalie he subdewit thame and brunt
sindrie of thair housis and townis and slew baith men
wyffis and bairnes but exceptioun. Bot we will leave of
thir matteris and returne to our purpois. Vpone the
xiiij day of maij thair was ane gret combatt betuix Edin-
burgh and leith and sindrie hurt and slaine on baith
the sydes. Nocht lang heireftir vpon the xvij day of
mai j thair come ane ambassadour furth of france³ and
ane vthir furth of ingland⁴ to the regent and to the lordis
of Edinburgh and that same day the regent causit mak
proclematiounis that nane vnder the paine of deid sould
speik of thame ony euill for thair ganging to the towne
of Edinburgh or ony vther pairt quhair thay pleisit sa
the incuming of thame was to mak concord betuix leith
and Edinburgh. In the end of this moneth of maij my
lord gloyd with the hammiltownis raid about glascow
and tuik all the hors that come with wictuallis or ony
graith to the marcatt to the nommer of thrie hundreith
hors and had thame to hamiltowne. At this tyme in
the same moneth thair was ane gentilman and ane
principall doar⁵ to the regent callit Murray was slaine
at ane carmishe and thair was maid gret mon for him
for he was ane captane of the horsmen. At this tyme
the ambassadour of france callit Monsieur la Croik and
the ambassadour of ingland callit Mr Carie generall of
bervick remanit still in leith and lasterrick abydand thair

¹ Mr. Marshall. See "Scotch Calendar," p. 363.² Walcheren.³ "Monsieur La Croc," D, p. 263.⁴ "Privy Council Record," and all other authorities, speak of Sir William Drury as Marshal of Berwick. He was also ambassador, and later general of the English forces. See Notes. "Historie of James VI.," p. 104, says Sir William Durie.⁵ "Doar"—i.e., agent.

ansuer quhilk was to be givin to thame the tent day of
 Junij and as it was judgeit thay sould leave baith the
 pairteis var nor thay fand thame. At this tyme the lord
 flemmyng quha passit to flanderis and france for the
 5 pairt of the lordis of Edinburgh come hame and landit
 at the west sea and brocht with thame xx thousand
 crownis to the support of Edinburgh.¹ Item at this
 tyme the Duik of Norphok was beheiddit at the tour
 of londoun in the tyme of Elizabeth beand in vaird
 10 as I have schawin to zow alreddie for tresone com-
 mitting. At this tyme vpone the fourt day of Junij
 the zeir foirsaid thair was letteris directed fra the regent ^{1572.}
 and his counsall at leith chairging all maner of substen-
 tious men of fyffe² [and] kinroschyre with the stewartrie
 15 of stratherne that thay sould be in leith and thair to
 ly about the towne of Edinburgh for to stop that na
 viweris sould cum to thame and that thir foirsaid
 schyres sould be in leith agane the xx day of Junij
 with ane monethis furnesing in feir of weir vnder the
 20 panis of lyff landis and guides. At this tyme the lordis
 of Edinburgh had gart man sindrie placeis about Edin-
 burgh and linlythgow as Nethrie³ ane place of my lord
 settounis and wictuald it verray weill for the blaknes
 and nethrie hereit all thaies pairtis that was aganes
 25 thame and so the puir was ever hereit. And it was
 murmurit throcht the cuntrie that the kingis lordis tuik
 nane⁴ regaird to the common weill of the cuntrie nor
 to the kingis honour nor proffeit nor zit to the man-
 tinance of the glorie of god nor the trew kirk thair of
 30 bot to thair awin particular proffeit [Bot] reavand out
 the benefices out of all the papistis handis To the effectt
 that thair awin proffeit micht flourish and nocht the
 glorie of god takand na regaird of the manteining of
 his trew kirk. That is to say the ministeris of godis

¹ See "Scotch Calendar," 31st May and 8th June 1572.

² Not in the Diurnal, but a circumstance Pittscottie knew as a man of Fife. ³ Niddrie. ⁴ The MS. has "mair" by mistake.

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vord quha sould edifie the peopill the sustentatioun of
the puire the vpbringing of the zouth in leirning bot
applyit all the commoditie quhilk sould have seruit to
this, to thair awin proffeit and to thair teachingis and to
that effectt thay vald nocht serwe the king nor the regent 5
quhill thay had ane benefice presented vnto thame and
ane tulchen quhairby that thai mycht obtaine the proffeit
of the beneficeis. The tulchen¹ to wit ane feinzeit coun-
terfeitt bischope presented be thame to the regent to
gif to sic ane man of thairis to bruik sic ane bishoprie 10
or abbasie or pryorie houbet he culd nocht vnderstand
ony thing of godis vord nor zit vse the office thairof
concerning to his cuir bot to weir the claithis or habeit
to ane bischope or ane pryore or ane abbot that the
said lord micht have sic ane skug² of him to the eies 15
of the peopill that be him he micht obtaine the proffeit
of the said benefice thocht he var nocht leirned nor
apt thairfoir mair nor he that new come fra the schip³
keiping. Thairfoir we consider ane simpill similitude
in this maner to caus men to vnderstand the matter 20
that is to say quhan thair is ane calf [of] ane cow sellit
to ane flescher and the awneris thair of will have in
thair conditioun that thai sall have the skin agane that
they may stop it with stra to lat the cow the moder thair-
of sie the said skin and lick it and than scho will gif 25
thame the milk to thair proffeit and vthirwayis not. And
so it becumis of our papistis bischopis abbotis pryouris
quhan thay war sellit and abolischit vnto the Deuill
for thair maister and nothing left of thair memorie, zit
the kingis lordis that obtenit thair beneficeis culd find na 30
way to have proffeit thair of without thay had ane tulchen
lyk as the kow had or scho wald gif milk ane calfis skin

¹ See Knox's "History of the Reformation," from which this description seems borrowed, though not copied literally. See Notes.

² "A cloak" or "cover." See Glossary.

³ *I.e.*, sheep-keeping.

stoppit with stra and so had the lordis ane cownterfett
 bischope in the habeit of ane religious man thocht he
 had na knowledg of the cuir nor office bot knowing weill
 that the peopill seand his presentatioun vald pay thair
 5 teindis lyk as the kow seand that calfis skin vald gif hir
 milk as I have schawin to zow. Quhilk exampill althocht
 it be sum thing sempill and barbarous zit nochtwith-
 standing it aggries to the purpois and causis the ruid
 peopeill to tak and vnderstand the matter the mair
 10 easelie. So thir lordis come to sic proffeit be thir coun-
 terfet bischopis that thay obtenit fewis¹ takis and teindis
 as thay pleisit. And thir bischopis var namit throche
 the cuntrie the lordis counterfett bischopis and nocht
 men of the kirk of god nor guid religioun. So be the
 15 kingis lordis and thair gredines the religioun was sclan-
 derit that causit the common peopill to murmure sayand
 that it vas nathir for the religioun nor zit for the kingis
 auctoritie that thir lordis vrocht or menit bot for thair
 awin particular proffeit. One the vthir syd the quenis
 20 lordis quha presented thamesellffis to mentaine and
 defend hir auctoritie bot into thair hairtis thocht na thing
 thairof bot thinking that thay vald have beine at that
 same pas and proffeit that the vthir syd var at. And
 thairfoir thay tuik the quein to be thair mantenance
 25 and to defend hir auctoritie althocht thay had no perfyte
 favour to hir bot that thay micht mak hir skug and
 buclar in thair defence knawand weill that scho had
 demittit hir of all hir auctoritie and had maid caus to be
 depyvit thairof. Zit nochtwithstanding thair conscience
 30 gave thame that all this was trew zit thay proceedit ford-
 wart in this matter to seik preheminece vndir the
 quenis pretence howbeit thay desyred nevir to sie hir in
 Scotland bot for evill of thair nichtbouris practisit thair
 lyves and conversatioun in this maner as I have schawin
 35 to zow. Be this way the murmure zeid throch the

¹ Feus—*i.e.*, holdings by the tenure of feu farm.

cuntrie that nathir the kingis lordis for favour of the
king assisted togidder nor zit the quenis lordis for favour
of the quein assisted togidder bot for thair awin particu-
laris of bischopries abbasies and pryoris of kirklandis
maid all this controversie quhilke had nocht beine gif 5
famous men of leirning of scienceis had beine placeit
in thame in steid of munkis freiris channonis preistis
abbotis bischoppis and all that schewelling¹ sort. And
so god wald puneis this cuntrie for abusing of thair
beneficeis quhilke suld have sustenit the puire and brocht 10
vp the zouth in leirning ffor the lordis that gat thir
beneficeis and bischopries foirsaid augmented thame to
thair avin vse and thair leiving vas nevir ane penny the
better nor the richar bot evir suspendit mair as the
Fol. 156 A. Isralitis did that had the excummunicat guidis amangis 15
thame quhilke war distroyit according to godis commandi-
ment by fyre and sword (reid the vij chapter of Joswæ
and ze sall find it thair swa often²) and his familie guides.
Thairfoir god gif ws grace that ar trew scoittis men to
puneis thaies acanis³ with the rest of thair excumuni- 20
cat guidides and geir partakeris of his wickitnes and so
sall we prosper and go fordwart aganes our enimes bot
1572. lat ws returne to our purpois. Vpone the x day of Junij⁴
thair vas ane soir carmishe betuix thame of leith and the
men of Edinburgh for thay that var in Edinburgh had 25
passit furth to merkkistoun [and] had monted ane
cannon at the said hous and stoppit in sindrie and slew
sindrie souldiouris thairin of the regentis and the haill
nommer of thame that war in leith come furth with the
regent vp to the abbay and borrow muire to releive the 30
said men of weir. And so the haill commonis of Edin-

¹ "Schaveling"—*i.e.*, tonsured.

² "Often," perhaps a mistake for "written."

³ This term is from Knox, who took it from the biblical Achan (Joshua vii. 19-26). See Notes.

⁴ D, p. 264, where this skirmish is more fully described. See Notes.

burgh with the haill men of weir come all furth [and]
 marchit in battell and so carmishit lang togidder quhill
 at last bayth Edinburgh and leith var emptie of men of
 veir becaus the erle of mortoun had riddin with thrie
 5 hundreith hors to Neiddrie he beand of leith syd and
 als wa twa hansenzeis of souldiouris beleiwand to have
 gottin the lord settoun thairintill and thay var dissa-
 pointtit.¹ And siclykk the lordis of Edinburgh had send
 furth all thair horsmen with twa or thrie hanzenzeis
 10 of men of weir to the westland to the hammiltownis
 and so thair was not mony on bayth the syddes bot
 commonis and so thay gave the charge evirie ane to ane
 vthir and sindrie var slaine on bayth the syddes and
 sowerit at thair avin vill and thair was sindrie of Edin-
 15 burgh tane to the nommer of threttie or thairby and
 sindrie of thame hangit quhilk was ane gret discomforting
 to thame of Edinburgh and so thair was no thing bot
 vtter defyance and hanging on baith the sydes.² Schortlie
 heireftir the hammiltownis had gottin glasgow vnder
 20 assuurance and keipit the castell and the stipill in the
 kingis name and so the west cuntrie was that nane
 mycht travell onspuilzeit on bayth the sydes. And sic-
 lykk the castell of blaknes causit to tak all the boittis
 that passit vp or downe the vatter and hereit and tuik
 25 thame that tuik pairt aganes the castell of Edinburgh.
 Vpone the xiiij day of Junij the horsmen of Edinburgh
 brocht in to the said towne of Edinburgh ane hundreith
 hors leiddin with victwallis nochtwithstanding the regentis
 garisone that lay about the towne. Zit quhat be hereing
 30 and reaving of the pair the castell was weill anewch
 victualed. Vpone the xix day of the same moneth
 of Junij the zeir foirsaid to wit I^m v^c lxxij zeiris 1572.

¹ "Historie of James VI.," p. 107.

² D, p. 264, mentions that George, Earl of Huntly, led the attack, and would have taken the town but for relief from Leith. See Notes.

the regent causit to mak procleratiounis at the
 mercat crosses of thame that var chargit befor for
 to be in leith vpon the morne efterhend quhilk vas
 the xx day of junij instant conforme to the first procle-
 matioun and that thay sould bring thair hors with thame 5
 and to remane in leith and about Edinburgh in gari-
 sownis for ane moneth and the regent with the men of
 weir of the westland of his opinioun for to pas to glas-
 cow. Vpone the xxij of Junij¹ the regent come ovir the
 watter to brunteland² and syne raid to stirviling and 10
 taryed thair quhill his power that var in thaies pairtis
 come to him with the erle of mortoun and his assistance
 and schortlie thay raid to glasgow to pas vpon the
 hammiltownis. At this tyme our quein of Scotland vas
 brocht furth of hir presoun in Ingland and had to 15
 londoun and thair was ane gret man of france as am-
 bassadour send be the king of france callit Monseur
 Fol. 157 a. Memoransie³ with ane gret tryne bot to quhat effectt ze
 sall heir heireftir quhiddel it was for our quenis de-
 lywerance or nocht. At this tyme my lord lyndesay with 20
 my lord ruthvein keipit the towne of leith with all the
 gentilmen⁴ of fyff and kinroschyre and the shereffdome
 of stratherne and stewartrie thair of and thir twa lordis
 war luvtenandis in the regentis absence. Vpone the
 xxvij⁵ day of this same moneth of Junij my lord 25
 flemyng come in to Edinburgh with ane gret nommer
 of horsmen and victuallis cattell and scheip quha [had]
 nocht bein in Edinburghe sen his first depairting to
 flanderis as I have schawin to zow. And vpon the
 penult day of Junij thair was ane gret carmishe⁶ betuix 30
 the men of Edinburgh and thame of leith for the hors-

¹ The first MS. of the Diurnal of Occurrents stops on 20th June, and is not resumed. The second MS. (p. 302) carries the narrative further down to 27th July 1575 (p. 350). See Notes.

² D, p. 302.

³ Montmorency.

⁴ Pitscottie may have been one of these Fife gentlemen.

⁵ Diurnal says 26th June.

⁶ D, p. 303.

men of Edinburgh had brocht in ane gret nommer of
 cattell and guides and victuallis and so thay of leith
 mycht nocht stop thame becaus the regent with his
 assistance var in glasgow zit nochtwithstanding the men
 5 of leith beand stout men and haveand manlie men to
 thair captanes gave thame battell and slew sindrie of
 thame and sindrie vas slaine on thair awin syd for thair
 was ane captane of the regentis and his freind callit
 home slaine quha was ane captane of the horsmen and
 10 ane verrie abill man. In the begining of Julij the zeir
 foirsaid To wit I^m v^c lxxij zeiris thair was proclermatiounis ^{1572.}
 in Angus to meit in brichin with the towne of Dundie
 and Sanct Johnestoun with all thair poweris to resist
 Adame gordoun¹ quha vas vpone the feildis to the
 15 nommer of sax thowsand men. And the towne of
 Dundie send to Sanct Johnstoun with vthir townis of
 fyffe to be at thame with all possibilitie and sa all angus
 was agast and speciallie Dundie and Sanct Johnstoun
 for thay knew not the said Adames purpois nor quhair
 20 he was bowne to. And sa vpone the vj day of Julij
 instant Adame gordoun² foirsaid send furth frome his
 campe at muntrois fyve hundreith men or thairby all
 horsmen airle in the morneing to brichin in angus quhair
 the erle of buchane vas with the lord glames and the
 25 erle of crawfurd beand bot ane small nommer and the
 said Adames cumpanie gave thame the ches and slew
 and tuik mony of thame and so Adame gordoun passit
 throche that cuntrie to Abirbrothick and vsit gret tyran-
 nie thair and about thaies pairtis. And vpone the vij
 30 day he passit to glenbervie and seagit the said place bot
 at last he come vnder assuurance as the rest did. And
 so Adame vpone the iij day retired to Aberdein and
 punisit all thame that come nocht fordward with him
 and maid his new proclermatiounis agane that all maner

¹ D, p. 304; "Historie of James VI.," p. 109 *et seq.*

² D, p. 304.

of man sould be at him with all possibill diligence
 within xx dayes wairneing to pas with him quhair he
 pleisit. And it vas judgit that he sould come agane to
 Dundie. At this tyme the regent come to Sanct Johns-
 toun and send his letteris throche fyff stratherne and 5
 angus chairging all maner of man to be at him in Dundie
 in all haist to resist the said Adame and eftir that the
 regent seand his power to¹ few send to leith about² Twa
 hansenzeis of men of weir bot or thay convenit the said
 Adame depairtit and fled to Abirdein. Nocht lang eftir 10
 this the regent with his haill cumpanie come furth of
 Dundie to Sanctandros and syne to leith and evirie man
 went hame except the regentis men of weir. At this
 tyme the hammiltownis that var in the wast about ham-
 miltounne convenit and drew furth the men of veir that 15
 the regent had left behind him that is to say twa bandis
 of men of veir to keip hammiltowne and thair about and
 so the said hammiltownis beand incoverit in the park
 of hammiltowne nocht cummand fordwart to battell as
 men sould do drew furth the fairsaid men of weir Bot 20
 the same men of veir seand thame cum so haistelie vpone
 thame fled to hammiltowne. At this tyme the regent
 had causit mak procleratiounis throche all Scotland
 quhair he was obeyit that thay sould be all in leith the
 xxiiij day of this moneth of Julij instant with xl dayes 25
 furnesing with palliouns to ly vpone the borrow muire
 of Edinburgh and thair about that na viweris sould cum
 to thame. Nocht lang eftir this thair come ane ambas-
 sadour furth of france to thame that war heir befoir³
 and thaireftir thay passit vp to the towne of Edinburgh 30
 and syne to the castell to the lordis and as it was
 judgeit it was to have concord and so this continewit
 ane lang tyme in communicatioun daylie betuix sum of
 the lordis of Edinburgh and thame of leith zit nocht-

Fol. 157 b.

¹ *i.e.*, too few.

² "About" = concerning.

³ "Monsieur La Croc," D, p. 307; "Historie of James VI.," p. 114.

withstanding all this communicatioun that vas betuix
 leith and Edinburgh zit thair was mony taine and slaine
 on bayth the sydes. Ffor at this tyme all the realme of
 Scotland war at divisioun for na man that met ane vthir
 5 be the way durst schaw him his mynd nor quhais man
 he was so this realme stuid in ane miserable estait baith
 of hounger the sword and ciuill veir daylie. At this
 tyme Adame gordoun maid his new procleratiounis that
 all maner of man within his bowndis foirsaid sould be in
 10 feir of veir at him in Aberdein to pas with him quhair
 he pleisit and sum judgeit to pas to Dundie and Sanct
 Johnstoun and vthir sum judgeit that it was to pas to
 stirviling and syne to Edinburgh and that thay sould be
 in reddyne agane the xxj day of Julij instant with fourtie 1572.
 15 dayes lone. At this tyme the lord grayhame vas send
 to the northland be the ambassadouris of france and
 ingland and the regent to Adame gordoun for to sie gif
 he culd be stayed quhill the communicatioun of appoint-
 ment betuix the lordis of Edinburgh and leith tuik sum
 20 effectt. And at that same tyme thair was ane conven-
 tioun in Atholl at ane mariaige betuix the erle of Athole
 and my lord Saltoun¹ and thair sindrie lordis was
 convenit and var at that brydill. Vpone the xxiiij day
 of Julij thair vas ane soir carmish betuix Edinburgh and
 25 leith and mony slaine and gret schuitting bayth of the
 gret ordinance of leith and Edinburgh quhilk lestit vj
 houris and so all the dres foirsaid stuid to na effectt for
 god had send the spreit of haittrent amang thame.
 Vpone the xxv day of Julij this same moneth the regent
 30 send ane hansenzie of men of weir to Dundie for to help
 and keip the samyn aganis Adame gordoun foirsaid.
 At this tyme as pleisit god thir foirsaid ambassadouris of
 france and ingland obtenit ane wreitting subscriuit with

¹ The names of the bride and bridegroom were Lady Margaret Stuart, daughter of John, Earl of Athole, and George, Lord Abernethy of Saltoun. See Notes.

Ane
monethis
trewis taine
betuix leith
and Edin-
burgh in
Julij viz.
1572.

The provest
of Jedburgh
hang. t.

The erle of
Mortoune
meid generall
luivetennand
of all Scot-
land.

leith and Edinburgh and so thair was ane monethis
trewis taine and evirie man to pas without molestatioun
quhair thay pleisit and the men of weir on bayth the
sydes to be skailled and the towne of Edinburgh to be
opinit till evirie man to pas and repas and marcattis to 5
be haddin. And so Edinburgh was opinnit the last day
of Julij. In the begining of August the zeir of god
I^m v^e lxxij zeiris the regent raid to stirviling and brocht
the arteilzerie of leith and botted it¹ and [tuik] it to
stirviling and so evirie man on bayth the sydes raid 10
quhair he pleisit but molestatioun. At this tyme the
captane of the castell was discontentit that the regentis
men of weir sould remane in Edinburgh according to
his promeis and for that caus the ambassadour of france
callit Monseur la Croik raid to stirviling to the regent 15
concerning the trewis foirsaid. At this tyme the laird
of fernihirst causit tak the provest of Jedburgh and
hangit him for takin pairt with the regent the said laird
beand aganis him. Schortlie heireftir the kingis lordis
met togidder in sindrie placeis and thaireftir set the 20
xxij day of this moneth of august to conveye togidder
in stirviling and siclyk the quenis lordis met togidder in
sindrie placeis and all thir conventiounis war to that
effectt quhat thai sould conclude vpone and quhat thay
wald decerne in thair assemblies to the french ambas- 25
sadour and the quein of inglandis and ane day was set
to conveye altogidder baith the kingis lordis and the
quenis To wit the x day of september. At that tyme
the erle of Mortoun was maid generall luvetennant of
all Scotland quhair the king was obeyit. Nocht lang 30
heireftir Schir James balfour and the bischope of Athenis²
fader broder to the Erle of huntlie raid to Sanctandros
and convenit for the pairt of the king the abbot of Dum-

¹ Put it on board boats.

² Alexander Gordon, Bishop of Galloway, had the title of
Bishop of Athens from the Pope. See Notes.

fermling and the provest of Dundie and this conventioun
 vas to sie quhair the lordis of bayth the syddes sould
 conveyne and so thair was na thing done but deferit to
 the tent day of September quhill the regent and his
 5 assistance var convenit in stirviling and to the effectt the
 regent send privie wreittingis to all that favourit him with
 the commissioneris of borrowis to keip that day in
 stirviling bot nevir ane gave credeit to ane vthir bot
 evirie man raid in feir of weir and durst nocht hassart
 10 thame sellffis bot with gret poweris for at this tyme thair
 vas gret taikins in the air of fyre and thunder and rain
 quhilk signified gret cummeris. Vpone the xxij day of
 august thair chanceit to be maid in the towne of parreis
 ane gret murthur vpone the haill protestanis quha had
 15 beine aggred lang befor.¹ Bot nochtwithstanding the
 promise was not keipit for the king of france with the
 papistis drew ane draucht of ane mariaige with his sistir
 and the king of Naver² ane quha was ane gret protestane
 and so the place was sett to mak the mariaige to wit in
 20 parreis and the haill protestanis to the nomer of ten
 thowsand or thairby convenit in parreis and the admirall
 the prince of condie the king of Naver with wthir gret
 princeis of france. And so the protestanis wald nocht
 aggrie that the king of Naver sould be mareit with ane
 25 mes and the king of france with his assistance the papistis
 wald nocht have it done bot with ane mes and so the tyme
 was prolongit quhill that same nicht the haill papistis
 beand convenit rais to the nommer of xx thowsand and
 come vpone thir foirsaid protestanis and serwandis of
 30 god thay beand in thair beddis and thair thay war all
 crwelve mordreist and slaine be the papistis that the
 lyk was nocht hard befor of sic persecutioun and all
 for Chrystis evangell. And schortlie heireftir the king
 causit ane airmye to pas vpone the towne of rochell

Fol. 158 a.

The xxij of
 august 1572
 the massacar
 of parreis.¹ D, p. 312. The massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day.² Navarre.

and seiged the samyn and so this continewit lang tyme
as eftir followis vpone the protestanis. And the rest
of this moneth the duik of Du albow regent of flanderis
murdreist in lyk maner the haill protestanis that war
send furth of france to the support of the protestanis 5
in flanderis quha had rysin aganes the said Duik Du-
albow as the maist pairt of all the borrow tounis of
flanderis and specialie the yle of Waker¹ and so thair
was gret persecutioun in that cuntrie as also as eftir
followis ffor the prince of orange had taine the townis 10
of lowane² and had defeatted to the duik Dualbow fyve
thowsand men and gret slauchter was maid quhilk con-
tinewit ane lang tyme. Item at this tyme the Erle of
Northumberland quhome we spak of befor was iustified
in the towne of Zork in ingland bot we will leave of 15
thir matteris and returne to the effaires of Scotland.
In the begining of september the regentis lordis
ministeris commissioneris of borrowis maid thame all
in raddynes to pas to stirviling for the conventioun
quhilk was the x day of this moneth and siclyk the 20
quenis lordis convenit togidder and send thair com-
missioun to stirviling and vpone the x day of september
thay convenit in stirviling and it was conclwdit that all
the nobilitie sould meit togidder in leith and in Edin-
burgh and pledges givin to keip guid ordour and the 25
men of weir to be all dispaschit³ furth of Edinburgh and
leith and to conveyne the xxij day of this moneth with
the ambassadour of france and ingland. So vpone the
xxij day or thairby the regent passit to Edinburgh with
his cumpanie of men of weir with the erle of mortowne 30
and the lord lyndesay with sindrie vthir lordis of thair
favouris with commissioneris of borrowis. And siclyk
thair convenit for the pairt of the quenis lordis as com-
missioneris Schir James balfour, the bischope of Athenis

¹ *i.e.*, Walcheren, Zeeland.

² Louvain.

³ Despatched.

and at this conventioun trewis and abstinacie¹ was
taine quhill the vj day of october. And in the mean-
tyme thir lordis and commissioneris convenit daylie
togidder in the tolbuith at ane counsall quhat maner of
5 way thay mycht aggrie togidder with the ambassadour
of france and ingland eftir lang tarying in this cuntrie
to wit thrie quarteris of ane zeir about aggreiment and
culd not obtene the samyn depairtit away hame to thair
awin cuntrie. Vpone the first aucht dayes of october
10 the zeir foirsaid to wit I^m v^e lxxij zeiris thair was trewis 1572.
taine agane betuix the kingis lordis and the quenis
lordis for twa monethis quhilk was till Sanctandros
day and in the mein tyme thir lordis on bayth the Fol. 158 b.
syddes to conveyn togidder vpon the artickillis and
15 heiddis of appointment. At this mein tyme thair was
ane procleratioun maid that all maner of man quha
pleissit to cum to Edinburgh to ane conventioun anens
the defending and resisting of the papistis of france and
flanderis and quha that pleissit to cum thair nochtwith-
20 standing ony cryme committed of befor sould cum
thair without ony molestatioun or trubill maid be thame
and the day for the conventioun was agane the xx day
of this moneth of october and evirie man had guid
houpe of concord at this conventioun. At this tyme
25 the regent causit mak procleratiounis that all maner
of man sould be at him in reddynes in feir of weir to
pas vpon the thives of liddisdaill bot it was judgeit
that this raid sould be vpon the erle of huntlie and
his broder the laird of auchindowne, for at this tyme
30 the erle of huntlie and his broder causit to mak pro-
cleratiounis in the north that all maner of men sould
be in reddynes in feir of weir within xxiiij houris
varneing vnder the paine of deid and so the raid was
stayed and nothing done. Vpon the xxix day of

¹ "Abstinacie," more often "abstinence," a short truce.]

xxix of
October 1572
the erle of
mar regent
depairtit
this lyffe in
the castell
of stirviling.

october¹ the Erle of Mar regent depairted of this present
lyff in the castell of Stirviling and was buried in Cams-
kinnen² and left the king and his bairnes in the castell
in keiping to his broder.³ And so he depairted quhilk
was ane gret pitie and los for he was ane guid man 5
and desyred evir concord bot god wald nocht suffer
ane guid man to reigne amangis so mony wicked
personis and Ipocreittis as was in this realme bot god
wald tak him to his glorie quhair he mycht have no
cummer. So the cunsall of the nobilitie quhilk sould 10
have beine in Sanct Johnstoun stayed. At this tyme
thair vas ane conventioun in hammiltowne of sindrie
lordis of the westland. In the begining of november
thair was ane conventioun in Sanct Johnstoun of certane
lordis of bayth the syddes anens appointment to be 15
maid amangis the lordis bot thair was nothing done
at that tyme and the erle of mortoun and the quein
of inglandis ambassadour come to Sanctandros. Schortlie
thaireftir the erle of mortowne send wrettingis to all
thame that favourit the king and his factioun to be 20
in Edinburgh agane the xv day of this moneth of
november to electt ane regent Bot many of the
nobilitie had thair counsallis for the pairt of the
quein and that nathing sould be done by thame.
And so this counsall continewit in Edinburgh till 25
the xxiiij day of this same moneth of november and
so the Erle of Mortoun vas choisin regent to the
king.⁴ Bot the rest of the lordis convenit in hammil-
towne as argyle athole huntlie with the rest that
favourit the quein and remanit thair till the begining 30
of December. Schortlie heireftir vpon the xxv day
of November⁵ Johne Knox minister of Edinburgh

xxiiij novem-
ber 1572 the
erle mortoun
was choissin
regent.

¹ 18th October ("Historie of James VI.," p. 120).

² Cambuskenneth Abbey.

³ Sir Alexander Erskine of Gogar, ancestor of the Earls of Kellie.

⁴ D, p. 320.

⁵ D, p. 320. On 24th November, 11 P.M. (Calderwood, iii. 236). See Notes as to Pitscottie's relation to Knox.

departed of this presentt lyff quhilk was ane gret los
 and pitie to all thame that favourit Chrystis word for
 in the tyme of his visitatioun he send to the captane
 of the castell of Edinburgh namit the laird of Graunge
 5 desyreand him effectuouslie to leive of his rebelloun and
 rander the foirsaid castell to the king and the regent
 in his name assuiring him gif he did nocht the samyn
 it wald redound to his vtter schame and ruwyne. The
 laird of graunge heiring the samyn commissioun tuik
 10 it nocht in guid pairt and declairit that he wald on
 nawayes rander the castell to the king nor his regent
 bot wald keip the samyn to the quenis behowe quhilk
 come to his skaith as I sall schaw zow. So this man
 John Knox was trew feirar¹ of Chrystis evangell in all
 15 the proces of his lyff. And for preiching of the samyn
 was banisit out of scotland and his pictour brunt be
 the papistis bischoppis and fled to geneva and thair
 remanit ane lang tyme as is befor mentioned quhill
 Chryst of his gret mercie causit his vord to be prechit
 20 in this realme of scotland and mowit the hairtis of
 certane of the lordis of scotland to send to geneva
 about him and so this trew minister and feirar of
 godis vord and haitter of thame that dois the contrair
 come in Scotland in the zeir of god I^m v^c lviii zeiris
 25 and remanit in the samyn till the zeir of god I^m v^c lxxii
 zeiris and vpone the xxv day of november and all the
 tyme that he was in this realme he preachit godis
 vord and leiwit ane godlie lyff all his dayes and endit
 in the samyn maner to the glorie of god and to the
 30 rejoycing of all trew protestanis. Vpone the secund
 day of December the regent causit procleme ane
 parliament to the xv day of Januarj thaireftir. At
 this tyme trewis was new taine agane with gret dif-
 cultie with the assistance of the ambassadour and
 35 request of the quein of ingland. So trewis and absti-

Fol. 159 a.

25 Novem-
ber 1572.¹ "Feirar"—i.e., bearer. See Glossary.

nacie was tane and proclemit vpone the vj day of
 december instant to the first day of Januarj nixtocum.
 Vpone the xv day of the same moneth the erle of
 mortoun new approvit regent causit mak proclema-
 tiounis that all maner of man sould be in reddynes 5
 in feir of weir with xl dayes wictuallis within xx dayes
 wairning to pas with him quhair he was myndit and
 so it was judgeit to sie quha wald obey or nocht and
 to be stark at the day of the parliament and vthiris
 judgit that it was to pas vpone the erle of huntlie and 10
 his assistance. At this tyme the inglis ambassadour
 callit Killingray¹ tuik gret panis to get appointment
 betuix thame of the castell and thame that tuik pairt
 with the king. Vpone the first day of Januarj the
 trewis war givin vp and weir began agane betuix the 15
 castell men and the regentis. And the regent causit
 to cast trinchis round about the castell in sindrie placeis
 and pat his men of weir to keip thame and so the
 castell was inclosit that nane micht almaist ische furth
 nor in, zit nochtwithstanding at ane tyme all the castell 20
 men come furth vpone thair tranches and dyueris war
 slaine on bayth the sydes and this continewit lang tyme
 for at this tyme the castell schot and slew ane of the
 regentis principall captanis with four vthir gentilmen one
 the regentis syd. Vpone the xv day of this moneth 25
 of Januarj the maist pairt of the nobilitie convenit
 in Edinburgh to the parliament bot thai micht nocht
 gang opinlie vpone the gait bot held thame furth of
 sicht becaus of the schootting of the castell and so
 this parliament continewit bot the end of this moneth 30
 for the regent at this tyme was ratified. Vpone this
 moneth the regent causit ane hanzenzie of men of
 weir with sindrie horsmen to pas to the blacknes and
 ly about the samyn for to keip thame that war within
 that thay sould nocht ische nor be furnisit becaus 35

1 January
 1573-

¹ Killigrew.

Mr James Kirkcaldie the laird of Graunge broder had
 new arrayvit at the blacknes with ane gret sowme of
 gould furth of france for to help thame that favourit
 the quein and the castell. Vpone the first day of
 5 februarj the zeir of god I^m v^o lxxij zeiris the regent ^{1573, N.S.}
 causit proclame letteris that all maner of man sould
 meit him at brichine in feir of weir with fourtie dayes
 furnesing to pas vpon the erle of huntlie and his
 assistance agane the first day of marche vnder the
 10 paine of lyff landis and guides. And the first viij
 dayes of this moneth or thairby thair vas ane con-
 ventionoun of the lordis in Sanct Johnstoun on bayth
 the syddes To wit the Erle of argyle the Erle of
 huntlie my lord boyd the abbot of abirbrothik callit
 15 hammiltovne ane sone of my lord duikis for the hammil-
 townis. My lord ruthvein my lord grahame Schir James
 Balfour for baith the sydes and thair thay finalie aggreit
 and that for ane appointment to be maid with the Erle
 of huntlie and the hammiltownis with the regent. And
 20 at this conventioun the quein of Inglandis ambassadour
 callit Mr Killingray¹ was thair present and tuik gret
 panis for this appointment betuix the nobilitie bot
 it was not set furth quhill the xxij of the moneth of
 februarj and than it was proclemit throch all pairtis
 25 of Scotland to thair gret rejoycing. Nocht lang eftir
 this the captane of blacknes raid to the regent to have
 randerit the castell to his grace bot or he come agane
 to the said castell Mr James Kirkcaldie foirsaid had
 subducit with his gould the men of weir that keipit the
 30 castell and so thay maid Mr James captane thairof
 and obeyit him and tuik in victuallis bayth be sie² and ^{Fol. 159 b.}
 land and as the first captane come agane he be-
 leiwand all had beine weill as he left it bot thai
 tuik him and keipit him in suire keeping with his
 35 broder callit Mr. Johne Stewart and so thay keipit

¹ Killigrew.² By sea.

the castell in the quenis name as Edinburgh did. Vpone the xj day of februar Mr. James kirkcaldie foir-said passit furth of the blaknes nocht ane stane cast frome it to have spoken with his wyff becaus scho gat licence from the regent to speik with him bot nocht to 5 pas within the said castell and was provydit be slicht. And so the regent had causit certaine men of weir to be nar hand by and or Mr James kirkcaldy van the castell and ¹ wald had beine in at the samyn the men of weir that war within betrayed him and closit the zettis and vald 10 nocht suffer him to enter and so he was tane and had to Edinburgh to the regent.² At this tyme the captane of the castell of Edinburgh causit his men of weir vsche furth and set fyre in the cowgait and brunt fourscoir of ludgeingis most crwellie.³ Vpone the xxiiij of this moneth 15 of february the regent come ovir the watter to aberdour⁴ and thair was ane conventioun betuix him and the erle of huntlie my lord boyd the inglis ambassadour and the maister of rothus with sindrie vthiris bot finalie thair was sic appointment maid betuix the erle of huntlie and the 20 hammiltownis with the regent that thay depairtit as tender freindis and all var aggreit except the castell of Edinburgh.⁵ At this tyme becaus of this appointment the regent causit proclame letteris be adwyce of the nobilitie that all maner of man that had beine foirfalted and 25 siclyk all vthiris that wald profess the religioun and the kingis auctoritie sould be answerit of thair liweingis and heretaiges that had beine hauldin frome thame duiring thair ciuill weiris. Vpone the second day of marche the regent with the nobilitie causit proclame ane parliament 30 to be hauldin the xxiiij day of apryle nixtocum for the

¹ Scotch idiom for "would have been."

² D, pp. 325-6.

³ D, pp. 326-7; "Historie of James VI.," pp. 126-8. See Notes.

⁴ The MS. reads "aberdein" wrongly.

⁵ "Historie of James VI.," p. 140. D, pp. 327-8. The Articles of the Pacification of Perth are printed, Privy Council Register, iii. pp. 193-200.

ratificatioun of this former appointment and for resist-
 ing of strangeris and for the defence of godis vord.
 And the quein of inglandis ambassadour was evir heir
 present quha desyred support of ws gif france spainzie
 5 and flanderis invadit thame and gif thay inbandit¹ ws
 that thay sould support ws. At this tyme the raid was
 stayed be ane proclematioun quhilk sould have beine
 the vj day of marche. Schortlie thaireftir the erle of
 huntlie passit to the north land and skailled mony of all
 10 his men of weir and resaut agane the forbuss in his
 favouris and randerit to thame all thair landis and ran-
 derit the maister of forbus furth of Spynnie quha was
 thair in ward. Vpone the xxv day or thairby of marche
 the regent seand all in pace except this vicked castell of
 15 Edinburgh to the effectt to bring it to the samyn fyne
 seand that thay maid so meikill slauchter send to Ingland
 about support of men of weir and arteilzerrie to batter
 the said castell. In the end of this moneth of march
 the zeir of god I^m v^e lxxiij zeiris the erle of argyle the 1573.
 20 erle of athole the erle of rothus with sindrie vthiris gret
 erlis held thair counsallis in the abbay of halyrudous
 and so the erle of rothus was send as commissioneris
 to the castell to sie gif ony appointment mycht be had
 and laubourit daylie thairintill ane lang tyme and the
 25 trewis was taine induiring the commoning bot no thing
 culd be done at this tyme but of-putting. Vpone the
 first aucht dayes of apryle the castell lordis send certane
 artickillis to the regent and the nobilitie gif thay wald
 consent to the samyn thay wald mak appointment gif
 30 thai wald nocht thay wald stand at thair defenceis. At
 this tyme the regent seand na thing bot drift of tyme
 send agane to ingland about men of weir and gret ordi-
 nance and so thair come in vii or aucht scoir of pioneris² Fol. 160 a.
 and cuist trinchis baith on the north syd and the south

¹ "Inbandit," probably a mistake for "invadit."

² D, p. 328; "Historie of James VI.," p. 141.

syd of the castell to the rest of the airmie quha war cuming in with monitioun. At this tyme the captane of the castell seing the incuming of the inglismen send to the abay to the regent the laird of Pittadro¹ constable of the castell with ane commissioun to speik of sindrie 5 artickillis and siclykk tuik instrumentis that thay had na wyte of the incuming of strangeris bot god knawis gif this had beine the wyte or nocht and so he depairted to the castell. Vpone the xij of this moneth of apryle the regent causit proclame be sound of trumpat at the 10 marcat cross of Edinburgh that na man sould speik of the inglismenis incuming bot guid and not to molest or troubill thame vnder the paine of deid and als thair landis and thair guides.² Vpone the xvj day of apryle thair come furth of berwick ane certane nommer of hagbut- 15 taris.³ At this tyme the castell schot downe gret ordinance vpon the calsay and slew sindrie men wyffis and childring. At this tyme thair come furth of Swaden ane ambassadour send be the king thair of to the regent with ane commissioun to tak vp men of weir to the nommer 20 of ane thowsand quhill desyre was grantit. And vpon the xxx day of this same moneth of apryle⁴ thair come ane thowsand men of weir of ingland and come to leifh and syne to Edinburgh to the parliament and remanit about the castell in trinchis and in the towne. Schortlie 25 heireftir the inglis trumpitour and the regentis passit to the castell and desyred thame to rander the samyn to the king and his regent bot thay gave thame ane schort ansuer that thay wald keip it in the quenis name and quhan scho was deid thay wald keip it to the king quhill he come 30 to perfyte aige bot schortlie thaireftir all this stownes vas away as I sall schaw zow heireftir. Vpone the xxiiij day of apryle the hail erlis lordis barronis com-

¹ Henry Echlin of Pittadro.² D, p. 329.³ D, p. 330.⁴ "Historie of James VI.," p. 142. The English went to their trenches on 25th April. See Notes as to the siege.

missioneris of borrowis convenit in Edinburgh to the
parliament. And vpon the xxvj day thaireftir thair
come in to leith four huis¹ and ane schip landing with
ordinance poulder and bullattis and vther thingis per-
5 teining to the ordinance and thair was of cannonis and
cannon feir to the nommer of xxxij and als of the said
xxxij thair was mony pot peices and als thay brocht
meikill poulder and bullatis. And vpon the morrow
the regent send furth of the abbay the erle of huntlie
10 with the erle of rothus with sindrie vtheris erlis lordis
and barronis to the tolbuith of Edinburgh and thair
the parliament quhilk sould have beine haldin was
adorned to the abbay and palace of halyrudous quhilk
was hauldin quhill the last day of apryle.² And in this
15 parliament the erle of huntlie and his assistance war
restoirit the balfouris restoirit the lord home foirfalted
the bischop of glasgow and dumblane foirfalted. And
alswa the erle of argyle was pairted frome his lawfull
wyff beand ane base sister of the quenis of Scotland
20 aganes the ordour of the kirk and it was conclwdit
that na salt nor wictuallis nor na maid wark sould be
convoyit of the realme for thrie zeiris and that na
wynes sould be brocht furth of france to scotland bot
for xxiiij lib the tune of burdious vyne and xxij lib
25 the schering vynes.³ At this parliament the erle of
huntlie buir the cepture the erle of angus the crowne
and the erle of argyle the sword. At this tyme the
inglis monitioun landit at leith and all cairted vpon
the peir thairof to the nummer of xxx schot or thairby
30 and remanit thair quhill gabiounis⁴ and mortis⁵ wer

27 April
1573.

¹ "Huis" = hoys, a kind of boat. The Diurnal, p. 320, calls them "houlkis." See Glossary.

² D, p. 331.

³ Bordeaux and sherry. See Glossary.

⁴ "Gabiounis"—*i.e.*, baskets filled with earth to make fortifications. See Glossary.

⁵ "Montis" (?)—*i.e.*, mounts from which the artillery shot. See Glossary.

maid fornens the castell for the Inglis cairtis daylie
 led vp to the towne aysche¹ and gret tymmber with
 vther instrumentis conforme thairto. At this tyme
 thair was ane kow of Sauchie that calffit xxv grew²
 quholpis or thairby with mony vther monsterous thingis. 5
 Vpone the x day of maij the zeir foirsaid to wit I^m v^c
 lxxij zeiris the haill cannonis war had furth of leith
 to Edinburgh and schortlie thaireftir thay war monted
 and set on four sindrie placeis forment the castell.
 Vpone the xvij day of maij the inglis cannonis war 10
 styled to wit vj fornens the galay snowt³ of the castell
 betuix John thorntownis hous and patrick Eggaris
 hous quhilk ar the vpper maist housis in Edinburgh
 and four layd in the gray freiris besyd the kowgait
 and four of thame layd without the towne on the 15
 craftis⁴ nocht far fra the vest port and four layed at
 Sanct cuthbertis kirk and the rest var layd in sindrie
 placeis and so thay began thair battrie eftirnon⁵ and
 schot at Daudis towr⁶ and at Sanct margretis postrum⁷
 and at Wallace tour quhair the Irone zet is to the port 20
 of the castell and so continewit daylie schuitting to the
 nommer of twa thowsand schott in the day be the
 space of nyne dayes thaireftir and schot downe all
 Daudis towr with meikill mair. And vpon the xx
 day of maij thair come in be sie diuers cannonis poulder 25
 and bullattis with vthiris thingis belanging thairto
 furth of ingland. At this foirsaid parliament the regent
 causit proclame and mak ane statute anens the minis-
 teris that evirie ane of thame sould have twa or thrie

Fol. 160 b.

¹ Ashes.

² Young greyhounds.

³ "Snowt" = projecting part or spur (D, p. 331). The sharp "prow" or "peak" of the galley was called a "spur." "Sc. Cal.," 28th May, 1573, "The taking of the spur." See Notes.

⁴ "Craftis" = crofts.

⁵ At "twa o'clock" ("Historie of James VI.," p. 143).

⁶ As to David's and Wallace's Towers and the Castle generally, see Notes.

⁷ "Postrum" — *i.e.*, postern. See Glossary.

of parroche kirkis to preache intill quhair thay had
 bot ane befor.¹ Vpone the xxv day of this moneth of
 maij the scoittis men and the inglismen gave ane
 brasche to the castell at Sanctmargretis port on the
 5 south syde of the castell bot the castell men discom-
 feist [thame] and few eschaippit onhurt or slaine.²
 And als thair vas fyve hundreith schot of cannonis
 schot at the castell and this was done betuix aucht
 houris and ten at nycht. And vpon the morne in
 10 the morning ane scoittis captane callit home with
 certane men of his band and vtheris passit to the
 galay snowt³ of the castell thrie men being in it for
 keiping thair of and ledderit it at the zet and wan this
 same bot thair was nane thairin that did meikill guid
 15 and thair was sindrie schottis of cannonis schot at the
 wallis bot thaj that war within lyk febill beistis knaw-
 ing that thay mycht nocht prevaill gave ovir the castell
 to thair gret dishonour. Bot than quhair was thair
 manlines and proudnes that thay had ane day or twa
 20 befor quhan thay wald nocht resawe so mony guid
 offeris as thay mycht had gif thaj wald have randerit
 the castell and had beine brocht in the kingis favouris
 and the nobiliteis bot now all thair stoutnes and manli-
 nes vas away as god wald quha seand thair rebelloun
 25 bayth aganes god and the king zit he wald suffer thame
 to continew in thair wickitnes for ane quhyle bayth
 heiring the puir and the rich nocht knawing that thay
 had ony compt to mak thairfoir befor the tribunell
 seat of god bot evir the langer that god gave thame
 30 licence to ring in thair wickedness the mair wicked
 and proud thay war thinking bot thay war in so
 strang ane hous that nathir god nor man micht do
 thame deir quhill at last god seand thair vicked-

¹ See Introduction and Notes.

² *I.e.*, unhurt or unslain. D, p. 323, places this assault on the 27th May.

³ See note above, p. 302.

nes tuik bayth manlines and stownes frome thame
 without the expectatioun of ony bodie. So we may
 tak ane example be thir men that god will suffer
 sinneris for to ring in thair sinis quhill thay rwe
 to vtter condempnatioun than he vill strek the straik 5
 vpone thame. So thir men of the castell misknawing
 bayth god and man and committing most filthie crymes
 quhilk prowoked god to sic yre quhill he brocht thame
 to this fyne¹ as I have schawin zow and causit thame to
 gif ovir the castell nocht haveand ane caus thairfoir bot 10
 quhan thay gat most honorable offeris to thair gret
 honour gif thay wald have randerit the samyn as I have
 schawin to zow bot zit be the providence of god thay
 did it nocht quhilk come to thair gret schame and
 ruwyne. Bot now thai thinkand thame most hiche and 15
 stark aganes thair native prince thinking that it was on-
 possibill to vin that doungeoun that thay var in bot god
 of his michtie power quho wirkis all thing for the best
 seand thir vicked personis of the castell thinkand that
 thay wald ovir thrawe the hail nobilitie of Scotland zit 20
 god pat sic feir and terrour in thair hairtis that he lut
 thame nathir have visdome to gyde nor zit handis nor
 strenth to defend thame sellffis and so it vas vone to
 thair gret schame and ruwyne. Zit nochtwithstanding
 evirie man judgit that thair sould be ane dres² becaus 25
 mony of the nobilitie var³ contentit that the Inglis men
 sould seige the kingis hous and principall hous of all
 Scotland and sindrie vther respecttis as salbe schawin
 heireftir. Vpone the xxviij day of maij⁴ the Scoittis
 captanes and a crownar callit halyburtowne provest of 30
 Dundie passit within the castell to ane communicatioun
 and thair finalie it was appoincted that the castell sould
 be randerit to the scottismen vpone conditioun with
 bag and baggage and to the inglis ambassadouris. And

Fol. 161 a.

¹ "Fyne" = *i.e.*, end.³ "Not" omitted.² "Dres," *i.e.*, arrangement.⁴ D, p. 333.

the captane callit home and crawfurd resaut it and
 keipit the samyn in the kingis name quhill ane callit
 Dowglas¹ ane base brother of the regentis resaut the
 samyn and [was] maid captane thairof. Vpone the xxix
 5 day of maij the captane of the castell with the rest that
 war within come furth to the towne and thair war resaut
 and schortlie thaireftir the captane with my lord home
 and dyueris of the principall was had to leith and keipit
 thair be the Inglismen.² Nocht lang eftir this the
 10 secrittar callit Maitland quha was in the said castell and
 also the principall causer of the haulding thairof as it
 was judgit depairtit of this presentt lyff for displesour of
 the ovirgiving of the said castell³ and as it was judgit
 he poysonit himsellff quhilk was the iust judgement of
 15 god⁴, and he vas keipit onburied in the stipill of leith
 besyde the knock.⁵ In the beginning of Junij the zeir
 foirsaid the cannonis war brocht furth of Edinburgh to
 leith and thair schippit in the maist pairt of the inglis
 souldiouris except sa mony as taryit with the ordinance
 20 and the ambassadouris.⁶ Vpone the xiiij day of Junij
 the erle of Angus was maryit with the erle of Maris
 dochter quha vas vmquhile regent and lord askyne with
 gret solempnitie in stirviling. The king and his regent
 and the ambassadour of ingland with mony erlis and
 25 lordis var at the samyn mariaige. All this zeir and the
 zeir befor thair vas gret weiris in flanderis and in france
 for the religioun. Ffor the king of france broder with
 the nommer of fyftie thowsand men with xl cannonis
 lay at the seig of the rochell⁷ in brittanzie bayth be sie
 30 and land. And vpon the xvj day of Junij the inglismen

Vpone the
 xxix day of
 Maij 1573
 the castell
 of Edin-
 burgh ran-
 derit to the
 erle of
 mortowne
 Regent.

¹ George Douglas of Parkhead. See Notes.

² Grange surrendered to the Marshal of Berwick ("Historie of James VI.," p. 144). See Notes.

³ D, p. 334, "9th June, 1573."

⁴ Maitland of Lethington. "Historie of James VI.," p. 144, says he died of "an auld disease, the rupture of his leggis." See Notes.

⁵ Clock.

⁶ D, p. 334.

⁷ La Rochelle.

depaired furth of leith to ingland and the laird of
 graunge quha vas captane of the castell of Edinburgh,
 with the rest of thame that keipit the samyn var delyuerit
 to the regent eftir that the ansuer had cum frome the
 quein of ingland and war had vp to the abbay of haly- 5
 rudous and thair executing taryit vpon ane ansuer
 furth of ingland fra the quein. Quhiddel thay sould be
 put downe or nocht all baid vpon ane ansuer. At this
 tyme thair passit certane men of weir to the nommer of
 xv hundreth in schippis to help the king of Swaden¹ 10
 aganes the Muscovianis. And so the rest of this
 moneth of Junij thair was gret preparatioun of the rest
 of the men of veir to pas to flanderis to support the
 protestanis aganes the duik du albow. Item all this zeir
 thair was gret drouche² that the lyk vas nocht seine in 15
 na manis dayes befor. In the beginning of Julij the zeir
 of god I^m v^c lxxij zeiris thair come fra the prince of
 oraing³ principall protestane of flanderis ane ambassa-
 dour to Scotland to the regent and the counsall thair of
 desyrand licence and conzie⁴ for to tak vp men of weir 20
 to the nommer of four thowsand or thairby bayth of
 horsmen and futmen and the horsmen to have twa
 monethis wadges in hand To wit xij lib in the moneth
 and the futemen to have vj lib in the moneth and
 twa monethis wadges afoirhand. And also thair depaired 25
 in schippis bayth of futemen and horsmen ane gret nom-
 ber. At this tyme thair was ane thowsand men of weir
 in raddynes to pas to Swadden⁵ to the rest that passit
 befor quhilk var to the nommer of four thowsand
 horsmen and futmen quha war thankfullie resaut be 30
 the king of Swadden and ane broder of my lord ruth-
 venis was principall to that cumpanie and gilbert

1573.

¹ John III. of Sweden and Henry of Valois, then King of Poland, were at war with Iwan IV. of Russia. See Notes.

² Drouth.

³ William the Silent. See Notes.

⁴ "Conzie"—*i.e.*, congé = leave.

⁵ D, p. 335; "Historie of James VI.," p. 146. See Notes.

balfour ane sone of the laird of Maquhanies¹ vas gene-
 rall vnder him. Vpone the xv day or thairby of Julij
 the regent causit the erle of angus to mak ane quyet
 raid with the maist pairt of the marce and tevindaill
 5 and thair about vpone the thives of liddisdail and
 quhan thay come the grettest theives var convoyit away
 and war aduerteisit and sum puir theives war tane for
 it is the fassioun of the countrie that ane theiff will
 aduerteis ane vthir. At this tyme Adame gordoun
 10 foirsaid depairted furth of Aberdein to france. Item
 all the rest of this moneth ane callit captane traill and
 ane vthir callit captane ogilbe² war taking vp men of
 weir to pas to flanderis to the support of the protes-
 tanis and so all was in quyetnes amangis the nobilitie
 15 of Scotland at that tyme. Schortlie heireftir captane
 Coburne come furth of ingland fra the quein thair of
 to the regent and to the counsall of Scotland to Edin-
 burgh with ane ansuer anens the disposing of the
 laird of graunge captane of the castell of Edinburgh
 20 with certane of his assistance that war in the castell
 and so the ansuer was that scho referrit all to the
 regent and his weil adwysed counsall and to vse thair
 lawis thairintill as thay pleisit.³ Vpone the thrid day
 of august the zeir of god I^m v^o lxxij zeiris the laird of
 25 graunge foirsaid captane of the castell of Edinburgh
 with his broder James Kirkcaldy quha vas tane at the
 blacknes as I have schawin and eftir none thay war
 hangit schamfullie as traittouris to the kingis grace.
 The laird of graung⁴ himsellff was brocht furth of the
 30 abbay backward in ane cok-cairt to the mercat croce
 quhair the scaffauld was and thair asked god forgiveness
 for his rebelloun bayth aganes god and the king and
 so was hangit with his broder Mr James Kirkcaldie

Fol. 161 A

Vpone the
 iij day of
 august 1573,
 the laird of
 graunge
 capten of
 the castell
 of Edin-
 burgh and
 his broder
 Mr James
 kirkcaldy
 var bayth
 hangit at
 the marcat
 croce of
 Edinburgh.

¹ Mountquhany, in Fife.

² See as to Captains Traill and Ogilvie, "Scots Brigade in Holland" (Scot. Hist. Soc.), i. p. 36 *et seq.*

³ D, pp. 335-6.

⁴ D, p. 336.

Ane Kok
that struik
cwnzie
hangit also
with the
lard off
Grange.

with ane that struik the cunzie callit Cok¹ and syne
thay war heiddit and quarterit and thair heidis and
quarteris set vpone sindrie portis, and also the secretter
vas tane furth of the stipill of leith quhair he lay deid
the space of fourtie dayes and was brunt and quarterit 5
be requeist of the quein of Ingland and so thir men
endit. At this tyme thair vas gret weiris in the maist
pairt of all Europe and france flanderis spainzie ing-
land swadden and poill with mony vthir cuntreis had
all weiris with ane gret drouche. At this tyme thair 10
was ane conventioun in Edinburgh of the ministeris
quhair sum gat four kirkis and sum gat thrie to
preche intill bot this conventioun was littill for the
proffeit of the ministeris quhilk vas vpone the vj day of
august. Vpone the xiiij day of august thair come ane 15
ambassadour furth of ingland callit foster² warden of the
bordouris. Vpone the xx day of august³ all maner of
man fra forth south conuenit in pebillis with the regent
conforme to the proclamatioun maid of befor thair
anent to pas vpone the theiwes of liddisdaill and thair 20
about vpone the bordouris and siclyk the vardenis of the
inglis bordouris war chalgit to conveln togidder for the
weill of baith the realmes. Ffor at this tyme ingland
and scotland joyned thair myndes all in ane that afoir
tyme the lyk nevir happnit amangis thame bot as auld 25
enimyis and so in this raid contenit xx dayis long con-
forme to the procleratioun maid in Julij bot Edinburgh
with vthir townes of the southland componit with the
regent. At this tyme the king of france with ane airmie
of men and schippes come fra the rochell quha war 30
seigand the samyn and var in raddynes at that tyme in
Deip and thairabout vpone the sea and as it vas judgeit

¹ His name was Cockie or Cock. See D, p. 325; "Pitcairn's Trials," i. part 2, p. 45. See Notes.

² Sir John Foster or Forster (D, p. 336). See Notes.

³ D, p. 336.

thay var to pas to ingland to invaid thame and vther
 judgeit that it was to pas to poill with the king of france
 broder for the maist pairt of the kingdome of poill electit
 the king of france broder¹ to be thair king becaus the
 5 king of poill deit without successioun. Becaus this
 airmie was in reddynes the quein of Ingland maid hir
 schippis also in raddynes with men of veir and arteilzerie
 bayth be land and be sea incaice thay come in Ingland
 to invaid thame and also flanderis was with Ceiland²
 10 subdewit with the duik dualbow regent thairof and
 assisted the king of france with schippis and men and
 at this tyme thair depairted furth of Scotland to the
 support of thame that war in Ceiland fyve hundreith
 men be sie for the Scoittismen that had passit befoir to
 15 Ceiland in Julij had vone fra the Spainzardis ane forth
 callit Rammekynis³ besyd Middillburgh and meikill
 riches obtenit thairintill with viweris. Bot we vill
 returne to the duik du albow quha had furnisit Middill-
 burgh with viweris with ane gret navie of schippes in
 20 feir of weir. In the begining of september the zeir ^{1573.}
 foirsaid the regent with the haill airmie of southland
 come fra the bordour and did resawe sum pledges of
 sum of the theiwes for the obserweing of guid ordour in
 tyme cuming and so the regent at this tyme remanit in
 25 Dalkeith. And schortlie eftir his hamecuming the thives
 quha come nocht in brunt certane townis belonging to the
 Dowglasis and maid gret slauchter and heirschip in thais
 bowndis. Vpone the x day of september thair passit
 furth of our firth to flanderis twa schippes containd
 30 thrie hundreith men to help the protestanis that keipit
 the towne of flusching and the Campheir aganes the
 duik dualbow for at this tyme the said duik send to
 Ceiland ane gret nommer of schippes with men of weir
 and did gret heirschip thairabout and maid ane gret

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¹ Henry, Duke of Anjou, afterwards Henry III. of France.² Zeeland.³ In the isle of Walcheren.

defeatt in that yleand as salbe declairit. In the end of
 this moneth of september the Erle of Argyle¹ quha had
 gottin and obtenit pairtesing with his wyff quha was ane
 base sister to the quein of Scotland be consent of the
 parliament, himsellff being culpabill and the said erle of 5
 glencairne, depairtit of this presentt lyff verrie haistelie
 at lorne and it was judgeit that he sould have beine
 poysonit. This erle was ane sister sone of the lord
 duikis alias callit my lord hammiltoun and this erle deit
 without successioun of his bodie and his broder beand 10
 fathiris bairnes succeidit in his place. In the begining
 of october the zeir foirsaid to wit I^m v^o lxxij my lord
 lyndesay schereff of fyffe and als luvtennand of fyff and
 lowthiane causit proclame letteris that nane vnder gret
 panis sould schuit with lang gownis vpone the watteris 15
 with sindrie vthiris privalleges grantit to him be the regent.
 Schortlie heirefter the lord Codinghame ane broder of
 the secriteris and [quho] was in the castell of Edin-
 burgh quhan it was vone with robert meluill² war brocht
 to Edinburgh to have beine justifeid bot it was delayed 20
 at this tyme. At this tyme the scottismen of weir quha
 passit to Ceiland in flanderis to help the protestanis
 aganes the duik dualbow regent thairof vnder the king
 of spainzie var evill handillit be the said duik and mony
 of thame slaine as salbe declaired. Schortlie heireftir 25
 adame gordowne foirsaid beand in parreis vas schot
 throche the thighes with ane pistolat be ane sone of the
 lord forbusis bot he vas slaine for the samyn. At this
 tyme the iustice air quhilk sould have beine hauldin in
 pebillis was continewit to November nixt followand. 30
 Schortlie heireftir the regent with the maist pairt of the
 nobilitie var in Edinburgh at ane counsall and at this

¹ Archibald, fifth Earl (D, p. 337; "Historie of James VI.," p. 148). See Notes.

² Sir Robert Melville of Murdocairnie, afterwards first Lord Melville, sister of Grange. See Notes.

tyme the regent and the nobilitie var in guid quyetnes
 and rest. In the begining of november the zeir of god
 I^m v^c lxxiij¹ zeiris the regent with his assistance raid to ^{1573.}
 pebilles and thair about and held justice courtis and airis
 5 in that cuntrie and at this tyme or he did ryd to thir
 courtis he placeit nobillmen in all offices of the sessioun
 and causit gret iustice to be done and the lord glames was
 maid chancelar of Scotland my lord boyd was proclomit
 generall collectour of all the thriddes and annwel rentis
 10 pertening to the kirkis of Scotland and na collectouris
 of the ministeris to be ansuerit bot he onlie and he to
 gif his compt thairof to the chalker. Vpone the xx
 day of november² the laird of Ormestoun callit blak
 Ormestoun was taine vpone the bordouris and brocht
 15 to the castell of Edinburgh for the kingis slauchter
 becaus he was with my lord bothwell at the samyn
 slauchter. In the begining of December the regent
 come fra the justice airis at the bordouris to Edinburgh
 and at his cuming money of the nobilitie come to Edin-
 20 burgh and remanit with all thame that had the cous-
 tomes and all thame that baid maist for thame obtenit
 and nathir tackis nor lyfrentis of customes availed
 to thame that had thame afoir. And siclykk all pen-
 tiounis that the quein had givin befor to ony man
 25 was at this tyme abrogated and siclyk that the regent
 had givin afoir and brocht all in agane to thair vse
 and commoditie that var courtisianis³ for the tyme.
 Vpone the xiiij day of december the laird of Ormes-
 toun that vas at the kingis slauchter as I have schawin
 30 to zow eftir that he was put vpone the buittis was
 justifeit in the town of Edinburgh.⁴ Vpone the xix
 day of December thair was sic terribill windes with

My lord
 Glames
 maid
 chancellor
 my lord
 Boyd
 collectour.

^{1573.}
 Vpone the
 xiiij day of
 December
 the laird of
 Ormestoun
 iustifeit.

¹ D, p. 338.

² "Historie of James VI.," p. 149. The Diurnal says Ormiston was taken on 10th November 1573 (p. 338). See Notes.

³ Courtiers.

⁴ D, p. 339. See Notes.

Vpone the
xix day of
December
1573 the
brig of
Dunkell
and Sanct
Johnstoun
was borne
away.

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January
1574, N.S.

raine and weittis quhilk continewit xlvijj houris togid-
der that mony horsis on the rewir syddes war borne
away and speciallie vpone the vatter of tay for it brak
the brig of Dunkell¹ quhilk was all tymber and quhen
it come to Sanct Johnstoun brig it buir away thrie 5
bowis² thairof that was neirrest the town and gif it had
continewit langer the haill towne had beine distroyit
for thay that war within the towne mycht nocht get furth
and thai that var without micht nocht get in the space
of xxiiij houris for the vatteris for it buir away the 10
walkmylnes with ane infinit scheip and cattell that the
lyk was nocht seine in that pairt sen the towne of
perth was quhilk stud vpone the mouth of almond
was borne away in the tyme of king William quha for
that same caus foundit the towne of Sanct Johnstoun.³ 15
Vpone the xxiiij day of December instant the regent
raid furth of Edinburgh to hadingtowne to the iustice
air⁴ and so thair was no thing at that tyme bot haulding
of iustice airis frome schyre to schyre and the puir men
war hereit and goddis plaigue rang at this tyme quhat 20
of derth and quhat of evill weathir and falsit invy and
malice and na credit all rang at this tyme in Scotland.
In the moneth of januarj thair was twa or thrie doc-
touris of the colledges of Sanctandros that set furth
ane dialog tuiching the oppressioun of the puire and 25
downe putting of the ministeris of thrie or four kirkis
to ane minister⁵ and the heidis of the dialog was that
the regentis and the counsall had done vrang in the
inputting of thrie or four kirkis to ane minister with
vther thingis quhilk salbe declaired and so thay causit 30
this dialog to be prented in Edinburgh, for the quhilk
caus the regent causit to tak the printer and put him
[in] presoune and summond the makar of the same

¹ "Brig of Dunkell." See Notes.

² Arches.

³ See Notes.

⁴ Historie of James VI., p. 349.

⁵ See Introduction and Notes.

dialog callit Mr Johne Daudsone¹ and quhat was
 done ze sall heir heirefter. The rest of this moneth of
 Januarj the regent remanit in Edinburgh and send his 1574
 wrettingis to all the erlis and lordis with the hail
 5 nobilitie to be in Edinburgh agane the vj day of marche
 for quhat causes it salbe declaired heireftir. In the
 begining of februarj the zeir of god foirsaid to vit
 I^m v^e lxxij zeiris the regent causit to summond adame
 gordowne ane broder to the erle of huntlie to compeir
 10 befor him and his counsall againe the moneth of maij.
 At this tyme the erle of argyle vas put to the horne
 for ondelyuerance of certaine jowallis pertening to the
 quein quhilk jowallis his wyff had resaut in the tyme
 of hir first husband the first regent and also at this
 15 tyme thair was mony wrettingis cassin in vpone the
 regent of his gredines bot nocht avowit. At this tyme
 thair was proclermatiounis maid that nane sould speik
 resave delyuer or furneis the bischop of glasgow the
 bischope of ross with the bischope of Dumblane with
 20 sindrie vthiris that war foirfalted of befor with the
 erle bothwell in lyk maner. Vpone the secund day
 of marche the zeir of god I^m v^e lxxij zeiris thair was
 slaine of our Scoittismen in lufland² at the seig of ane
 castell xij hunder men and mae. Nocht lang eftir
 25 this vpone the fourt and vj day of marche the hail
 ministeris with the maist pairt of the nobilitie of Scot-
 land with commissiounis of burrowis convenit at this
 tyme in Edinburgh anens causis of the religioun and
 for the weilfair of the realme and at this tyme the
 30 ministeris desyred to be supreamme heid of the kirk and
 that nane sould have jurrisdiction ovir thame bot thair
 sellfis and generall counsall vnder god. Bot the regent
 vald nocht grant to that bot the king and his counsall

¹ The printer was Robert Lekprevick, and the author, John Davidson, was then Regent in St. Leonard's College, St. Andrews. See Notes.

² Livland or Livonia.

could be supreme heid of the kirk vnder god and so
 this continewit the space of xv dayis with mony vthir
 artickillis quhilk vas refusit to be granted to the minis-
 teris for thair vas sindrie ministeris that set vp dialoggis
 aganes the regent and his counsall and vthiris set 5
 vpon the plaine contrair and so all was defferit
 to certaine commissioneris on bayth the syddes bot
 nothing vas done. At this tyme thair was proclama-
 tiounis maid that nane sould carie furth of this cuntrie
 to vthir cuntreis ony kynd of victuallis vnder the paine 10
 of escheiting of the samyn and lyfe landis and guidis.
 Vpon the .xviij day of marche thair was of our Scottis-
 men in lufland¹ besyd revle slaine and murdreist be
 thair awin villfullnes and drunkennes the nommer of
 xvij hundreith or thairby be the king of Swadenis men 15
 and duches as salbe declairit heireftir. Vpon the x
 day of apryle the zeir of god I^m v^o lxxiiij zeiris the regent
 come to Sanctandros and remanit and the laird of
 Carmichall was send to ingland be the regent and the
 bruit was that the quein of ingland vas verrie evill at 20
 eas. At this tyme thair was ane monstrous bairne
 borne in pittinweme in fyffe with twa faceis and four
 eine with sindrie vthiris monstrous beistis was seine in
 this cuntrie. In the begining of maij the zeir foirsaid
 thair was ane man² in Edinburgh quha was tane with ane 25
 woman by his wyff and brocht to the croce to mak his
 repentance he beand sittand at the said croce pullit
 furth ane knyf and slew him sellff and thaireftir was
 caryit and convoyit in ane cairt and bureit without
 the towne. So he depairted bot the eternall god forgive 30
 him for thair he condampnit his awin saull except the
 lord of his mercie be mercyfull and forgive him. At
 this tyme the king of france³ quha was ane gret enemye

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ne bairne
 borne in
 pittinweme
 ith twa
 ceis and
 ur eyne.

¹ Revel in Livland, or Livonia.

² Robert Drummond, *alias* Dr. Handie, (D, p. 340, which gives 11th April, Pasche day, 1574, as the date). See Notes.

³ Charles IX.

to the serwandis of god depairted in the fevir. In the
begining of Junij the zeir foirsaid to vit I^m v^e lxxiiij
zeiris thair vas ane burges and ane merchand of Edin-
burgh beand in flanderis with his guides and seand the
5 marcat come downe to his disproffeitt of victuallis and
vther geir and eftir the said man had assayit to hang
him sellff culd nocht becaus he had not rowme nor tyme
nor place convenient thairfoir and thaireftir thocht to
have slaine himsellff with ane knyff bot feiring the
10 paine thairof he tuik ane vthir purpois and boucht rank
poyson and poysonit him sellff and deit schortlie and
the conservitour of flanderis tuik all his guidis and
geir and escheitted the samyn and thaireftir the regent
of Scotland intromitit with all the geir that he had in
15 Scotland. At this tyme the maist pairt of the nobilitie
and ministrie var in Edinburgh anens certane artickillis
and about the sufferring of ane day of law anens the
clairk of Sanctandros quha had set furth the dialog as I
have schawin to zow callit "The clairk and the courtiour"
20 bot the said clairk durst nocht enter and vas fugitive and
the ministrie var dissapointit and no thing done bot
continewation till September following. About the
middis of this moneth of junij thair come in ane
ambassadour callit Munseur Killingray¹ about certane
25 of the best marineris of Scotland to the quein of ing-
landis schippes and als certaine men of weir bot quhat
was done salbe declairit. At this tyme the regent send
ane ambassadour to the king of Swadden anens the
relaxatioun of certane Scoittis captanes quhilk he had
30 causit to put in vard and anens the gret murthur that
was vpone our Scoittismen quha war in Swadden and in
lufand come hame verrie euill handlit as salbe declairit
heireftir. At this tyme thair come in be sie sa meikill
victuallis that it come downe the thrid penny. For the
35 samyn caus mony of the rich men haveand cornis to sell

¹ Killigrew, 11th June, 1574 (D, p. 341).

tuik sic displesour that mony of thame deit as eftir
 followis. In the end of this moneth of Junij thair was
 ane man of Sanct Johnstoun quha lap in the watter and
 drownit himsellff beand ane man of gret riches and sic-
 lykk ane woman tuik hir twa bairnes and cuist hir sellff 5
 in ane coill sink quha dwelt besyd prestowne and all for
 this warldlie geir. At this tyme thair was ten or xij
 Inglismen quha war pirattis taine at Montroiss with
 thair pryceis¹ and brocht to leith and thair var hangit
 1574. In the begining of Julij the zeir foirsaid to wit I^m v^e 10
 lxxiiij zeiris thair was ane conventioun of the lordis in
 Edinburgh with Monseur Cairie the inglis ambassadour
 Fol. 163 b. to quhat purpois salbe declaired heireftir. Nocht lang
 heireftir vpone the x day of Julij thair was proclama-
 tiounis maid in fyff angus stratherne meirnis mar and 15
 murray and all the north to meit the regent at brichin in
 angus in feir of weir to pas with him quhair he pleisit
 with fourtie dayes lone vnder the panis as eftir mycht
 follow. This raid was to hauld iustice airis in all the
 north. At this tyme thair come fra the king of Swadden 20
 ane Scoittisman as ane ambassadour to excuise his pairt
 of the murthure of the scottismen bot the regent gave
 him na presens and thair was gret persecutioun in france
 and flanderis aganes thame that professit goddis word.
 In the begining of august the regent raid to Sanct 25
 Johnstoun and syne to brichin quhill the rest of the
 gentilmen within the proclermatioun did ryd and meit
 him the vj day of this moneth and raid fordward to
 Aberdein with the regent to visie the cuntrie. At
 this tyme the borrowis of Scotland gadderit ane 30
 gret taxatioun to pas with weir schippes vpone the
 pirattis of the sie. At this tyme certane of the bor-
 douraris that the regent had taine of befoir brak away
 furth of his gaird and for feir of the bordouraris brek-
 kin away the lord Lyndesay vas maid luvetennant of 35

¹ Prizes.

the south cuntrie in the regentis absence. At this tyme
 thair come in our firth¹ ane scuill of heirinng² that the
 lyk was nevir of befoir in thir wattiris in this tyme of
 the zeir for thair come sic aboundance of thame that
 5 the thowsand was sauld for xxxij schilling the thowsand
 quhilk was send be god for releif of the puire fo'
 thair was sic dairth at this tyme that the boll of
 quhyt gave viij markis the boill of meill v markis and
 beir sax markis. Item at this tyme thair was ane
 10 honest man hangit in Aberdein for fals cunzie and
 sindrie vtheris var iustified for slauchter and at this
 tyme the regent obtenit meikill riches in thais pairtis
 and in the begining of september depairted to Edin-
 burgh. At this tyme the king of poill³ the king of
 15 france brother did cum furth of poill to vinneis⁴
 quhair was gret tryvmphis maid be the men thairof
 and schortlie thaireftir vas convoyit to france be the
 paipe and the duikis. This was in the moneth of
 september. Nocht lang eftir this in the moneth of
 20 October the zeir of god I^m v^c lxxiiij zeiris thair was 1574.
 gret persecutioun in flanderis and france anens the
 religioun that god send the plague amangis thame.
 And siclykk the said pestilence was verrie evill in
 ingland and in the middis of this same moneth of
 25 October Item come in be sie to the towne of leith
 and infected diueris housis or ony man knew quhilk
 schip come furth of londoun.⁵ And vpone the xx day
 of October the said pest come in the towne of kirk-
 caldie that thair deit verrie mony and but dout god
 30 send this plaigue for our sinis. At this tyme also the
 pest come in Edinburgh and the lordis of the cessioun
 did ryse bot it did small evill in Edinburgh.⁶ And

Pest in leith
 and kirkaldie
 and in
 Edinburgh.

¹ The Firth of Forth.

² A shoal of herring.

³ Henry of Valois was King of Poland, 1573-5.

⁴ Venice.

⁵ D, p. 342.

⁶ It was brought to Edinburgh from Kirkcaldy. D, p. 342.

also thair was no towne in Scotland bot it vas vesitit
 with gret seiknes and speciallie the het fewir and mony
 deit thairin quhilk rang almoist all this zeir and thair
 was exceiding gret dearth in this realme. In the
 moneth of december thair chancit in Dundie quhair 5
 ane puire creppill man duelt in ane ludge biggit at
 the east port vpone the vall thairof that twa zeir befor
 this quhilk vas the zeir of god I^m v^c lxxvij zeiris¹ the
 creppill man deit and thair remanit no man in the
 said ludg twa zeir eftir the creppill man deit bot vas 10
 common to all swyne to ly intill and now at this
 tyme sum of the toune takkin downe the said ludge
 did find in it ane gret sowme of money. The bruit
 thairof being risin throche the towne thair assembled
 to the nommer of ane thowsand peopill and did seik 15
 the ground of the said hous and thair thai fand in
 diueris placeis about the sowme of ane thowsand pound
 or thairby. Bot all wratchis may tak example be this
 man nocht to hurd vp thair siluir for god will caus
 thame at the last to depairt from the samyn and will 20
 nocht gif thame that licence to schaw their freindis
 bot will tak thame haistelie out of this lyff as beg-
 garis haveand anewch to susteine thamesellffis zit thai
 vill nocht bot wald thay considder to quhome thay
 gadder the samyn thay vald nocht do it for perchance 25
 thay may cum furth of france and get the samyn and
 thay thame sellffis nocht the better of nor zit thair
 freindis nor bairnes as become of this foirsaid man.
 In the moneth of Januarj the zeir foirsaid the cardinall
 of Loren² depairted quha was ane soir enimye aganes 30
 the protestanis and the principall dewyser of the mur-
 ther of pareis aganes the admirall and the protestanis.
 And in the verie tyme of his depairting thair rais sic
 ane tempest of vind that it blew downe the housis

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January
1575, N.S.

¹ *I.e.*, 1574. Pitscottie dates from 1577, when his *Chronicles* were written or completed. See Introduction.

² Lorraine.

and the stipillis and mony schippes perrischit be the samyn tempest. At this tyme the regent come furth of Dalkeith to Edinburgh, to the abay and thair remanit becaus of the vaypassing¹ of the plague and
 5 summond all the burgess of Edinburgh to compeir befor him for haveing away gould furth of the cuntrie and, vthir, forbiddin guides and siclykk all vthiris borrowis And schortlie thaireftir he causit vj or vij of the principallis of Edinburgh to be put in ward becaus
 10 thay had spokin ovir opinlie aganis the regent and that becaus the regent had maid procleratioun aganes the hame bringing of vynes bot for xxiiij lib the tune and siclykke that nane sould carrie salt of the cuntrie. ffor at this tyme thair vas ane act maid anens the salt
 15 and collectouris maid in evirie towne quhair salt vas maid to take vp sa meikill as to staik² the cuntrie. In the middis of this moneth or thairby the duik of Schettullaroy erle of arrane and lord hammiltowne and sum tyme governour duiring the minoritie of the quein
 20 of Scotland depairted of this present lyff and also the erle of glencairne and the erle of crawfurd depairtit. Vpone the xiiij day and xv day of februarj the zeir of god foirsaid to wit I^m v^o lxxiiij zeris the haill erlis
 25 Edinburgh to ane counsall and sat with the regent daylie at this conventioun in the abbay of haly-rudous quhill the x day of march or thairby. At this counsall and conventioun thair vas mony thingis done for the common weill as thay alledgit bot the
 30 puire commonis said thair vas nevir mair vrang done within this realme becaus this counsall causit to cry downe all the hardheidis³ and new plackis, the hardheid that was guid and mercat for ane penny quhilk gave thrie half penneis befor and the plack to twa

1575.

hardheidis
and plakis
cryit down.

¹ Passing away.² Suffice.³ A coin of mixed or base metal. See Notes.

pennyis that was marcat quhilk befor gave four pennyis.
 Bot it come to pas that nane wald resawe thame nathir
 marcat nor onmarcat for the haill lordis that knew the
 counsall dispaschit thame out of thair handis or thay
 war cryit downe and pat thame all in the handis of 5
 the puir quhilk was gret wraik to this realme. And
 siclyk thay maid mony vthir actis as eftir followis as
 anens the lawis of the realme to be gadderit in ane
 buik anens the ministrie and anens the carrying away
 of salt and vthir thingis as salbe declairit at lenth. 10
 This conventioun maid gret dairth of all thingis for
 at this tyme burdeous vyne gave v schilling the pynt
 and vyne sekk¹ vij schilling the pynt and muskedall
 gave x schilling the pynt. Also thair vas statute and
 ordanit at this conventioun that na beggaris nor yddill 15
 men sould be sufferit bot thay war agit and decreppit
 nor na beggaris sould be sufferit bot within thair awin
 paroch quhair thay var borne and that the zoung
 peopill sould laubour for thair leiving and quhair yddill
 folk or vagaboundis that mycht work var fund that thai 20
 sould be punisit rigoruslie and mony vther actis var
 maid quhilk var tedious to rehers and als proclama-
 tioun maid thairvpon in prent. And vpone the iij
 day of marche all thir actis foirsaid war proclemit at
 evirie marcatt croce. In the moneth of apryle the 25
 zeir of god I^m v^e lxxv zeiris all this moneth and the
 maist pairt of the zeir afoir was gret weittis that dis-
 troyit the cornis quhilk causit gret dairth to be and
 the puire peopill war all hereit be the crying downe of
 the money quhilk was furth of the gret menis handis 30
 and var in the puir menis handis and the rich men
 vald nocht sell thair victuallis bot of the exorbitant
 pryce. And also the townis of flanderis commandit
 that na scoitismen sould bring in salt to thair cuntryis
 be ressonne thay had all the trafeck and careit away the 35

1575-

Fol. 164 b.

¹ Dry wine, or sack. See Notes.

gould and maid gret dairth thairof in that cuntrie. In
the moneth of maij the zeir of god foirsaid to [wit]
I^m v^c lxxv zeiris the regent was verrie seiklie and come 1575
to Aberdein and remanit thair ane space and sindrie
5 beleivit that he sould have depairted. At this tyme the
victuallis rais gretlie and [had] not god of his guidnes
send in victuallis be sie it had rysin far gretter so thair
was gret dairth of all thingis. This vas in the moneth
of Junii the zeir foirsaid. Vpone the vij day of Julij¹
10 thair chancit vpone the bordouris to be ane carmishe²
betuix the inglis wardenis and the scoittis and the
principall of the scoittis was the laird of carmichall
and thair was dyueris taine and slaine of the Inglis men
³[To wit the warden of ingland was tane callit Schir
15 John foster and ane callit Schir Franceis russell sone
to the erle of bedfurd with vtheris dyuerss gentilmen.]
And vpone the xx day of this same moneth of Julij
thair vas vapinschawing throch all Scotland bayth of
burghe and land evirie schyre be it sellff. In the end
20 of this moneth of Julij Adame gordowne quha vsit
the gret crueltie in the north as I have schavin come
hame and landit at leith.⁴ Thaireftir the regent causit
him to be put in vard in the blaknes. In the begin-
ing of August the zeir foirsaid to wit I^m v^c lxxv zeiris
25 the king of france passit to the rochell with ane gret
airmie bayth be sie and land to seige the said towne
and thair was gret distruction done on bayth the
syddes as salbe declairit heireftir. At this tyme thair
was ane gret slauchter in flanderis betuix the prince
30 and the Spainzardis and the spanzardis had the victorie
beand papistis.⁵ About the middis of this moneth or

¹ D, p. 349.

² The Raid of Redswyre ("Sc. Cal.," 6th July 1575).

³ On margin as if part of text.

⁴ D, p. 350. This is the last entry in the Diurnal.

⁵ The victories of Requesens, who succeeded the Duke of Alva,
by which the isles of Mollen and Duiveland were taken. See Notes.

thairby of august the regent raid to the bordouris and the Commissionaris of Ingland and he met togidder daylie sa lang as thay remanit and maid ane stay of forder cummeris bot mony beleiwit the contrair in respectt of the former slauchter done be the laird of 5 Carmichall and the regent at this tyme lay at Langtowne. In the begining of september the regent raid to the bordouris and met with the commissioneris of Ingland and thair was ane small appointment maid in all syddes and the laird of carmichall send to ingland 10 for the quein of inglandis pleasour quha returnit sone eftir to scotland and passit na forder of nor the toun of Zork. About this tyme thair was ane taxatioun raisit be the regent vpone the haill realme alsweill temporall and spritwall estait and burghes. The effectt 15 thair of was to oppres the theives vpone the bordouris. The kingis magestie and the regent war so puire and sa super-expendit that the sowme of four thowsand poundis money behoweit for to be raisit vpone the haill realme as said is. And the kirkmen war taxed to 20 meikill and mair nor quhen thay war haill possessouris of thair benefice.¹

1575.

At Couper the xxv day of december the zeir of god I^m v^c lxxv zeiris. The quhilk day Archbaldy Dowglas 25 erle of angus war maryed solempniouslie in the presens of chrystis congregatioun with margret leslie lawfull dochter to Andro leslie erle of rothus and Schereff of fyff and this was done verrie tryvmphandlie with gret mirrienes and guid cheir and mony nobill men was thairat of quhome James Dowglas Erle of mortoun 30 and regent of Scotland Patrick lord Lyndesay of the byres with nobill lordis and gret barronis of the cuntrie with mony fair and lustie lady with mony and coistlie

¹ See Notes.

and riche abuilzementis that siclyk was nevir seine in
this realme.¹

Item that same day aucht dayes quhilk was callit ^{1 January}
newar day² quhilk was the first day of the zeir the first ^{1576.}
5 day of the moneth the first day of the oulk and the
first day of the moone the quhilk fell nocht lang tyme
befoir in that maner.

ffinis. Amen.

¹ Pitscottie was probably at this marriage. See Notes.

² New Year Day. "The New Calendar," though only adopted finally in Scotland in 1600, had begun to be used earlier, as in "Historie of James VI.," for January 1575. See Notes as to change in calendar.

NOTES

NOTES TO VOLUME I.

Reference by page and line.

PREFACE.

1. 1. From here to p. 32, l. 18, the text is printed from MS. I; but as MS. A, the text generally followed, is torn at the beginning, it is not certain that it may not have had the Preface and the commencement of the Chronicles which are now missing.

1. 3. *Maister hector boes and maister Johne ballentyne quha endit thair cronickill at the slauchter of king James the first.* As to Boece's Chronicles and Bellenden's translation of the first seventeen books, see Introduction.

1. 5. *Ane thowsande four hundreith xxxvi zeiris the xxi day of february.* The date of the murder at Perth of James I., according to the old commencement of the year on 25th March 1536, but 21st February 1537 new style. Pitscottie, with a few exceptions noted where they occur, uses the old style of the new year till his last paragraph, which he dates 1st January 1576, where a note on the new style and its adoption in Scotland will be found.

1. 10. *Wnto this day and dait heireftir following.* That is, 25th December 1575, or, more strictly, 1st January 1576 new style (see vol. ii. p. 322). The rectification of the Calendar by the omission of the eleven days was not carried out for Scotland as well as England till 1752 by the Act of 24 Geo. II., and England retained the 25th March as the commencement of the year till that Act was passed. James VI. had already altered the commencement of the year in Scotland to 1st January, by proclamation 17th December 1599, from 1st January 1600. This applied to the civil and legal year. Historical writers had frequently altered it at an earlier period, though the practice was not uniform (see Harris Nicolas, 'Chronology of History,' p. 43). The term New Style is most accurately used for the change made in 1752, but frequently also for the alteration of the

date of the New Year made in Scotland in 1599, but in England not till 1752 (see Dunbar, 'Scottish Kings,' p. 378.)

2. 5. *Be thir authouris as eftir followis.* An account of Pitscottie's authors is given in Introduction, III. The expression *laitlie informit* seems to point to some at least of these authors having been his contemporaries.

2. 16. *The Exortatioun to the Rider.* The composition of these verses, adapted from Thomas Davidson the printer's verses prefixed to Bellenden's translation of Boece, is explained, p. 3, n. 1. The spelling of "reader" "rider" appears a peculiarity of the "young scholar" who wrote MS. I. But he uses "rederis," p. 5, l. 8, and the *i* in "rider" was no doubt intended to be pronounced *e*.

4. 15. *Of thingis consawit quhan I was hynde.* If *thingis consawit* refers to Pitscottie's composition of the Chronicles, and *hynde* means a youth under twenty-one, both of which are probable—the date of Pitscottie's work being about 1577-78, as shown in the Introduction—the date of MS. I would be not later, and probably earlier, than 1599.

4. 17. *Bot this Ignorance now cuming in plaice
and obliuion had set his fute.*

I.e., But this ignorance now coming in place of, and oblivion having set his foot on, knowledge.

4. 19. *Raite* in the MS. should be "raice," to make a proper rhyme; and *c* and *t* are difficult to distinguish in writings of this period, so that "raice" is probably the correct reading, and "down raice" perhaps = "erase." *Sie* in l. 19 is perhaps a mistake for "So"; or it may mean, "You may see that ignorance and oblivion deprived me of that knowledge by which I might find some profit (buit) in old authors."

4. 20 *et seq.* The lines following, and indeed the whole of this stanza, are obscure. The reference to Latin authors who might help the transcriber no doubt refers to Boece, Ferrerius, and Major, but who were the French? Perhaps it means that critics might say he should have consulted the French chroniclers who had touched on Scotch affairs, as Froissart, Monstrelet, Comines, Beaugué, and others.

4. 24. The three stanzas beginning here are characteristic of a writer who is free from the influence of the classical revival and Roman mythology, and dedicates his work to God only. Henryson, Dunbar, and Gavin Douglas, the best known of the old poets of Scotland, freely invoked the Roman gods and the Muses, and so more naturally does Buchanan writing in Latin verse.

5. 24, to p. 11. Dedication to the Bishop of Caithness. The occasion of the Dedication and the life of Robert Stewart, Bishop of Caithness, have been considered in the Introduction. The passage at p. 10, l. 22, shows not only that the copy of the Chronicles sent to the bishop was continued after 1558, presumably to 1575, as stated in the Preface, but that the author had "the Reformation" specially

in view in the latter part of his work; nor is the earlier part without reflections of the reforming spirit.

6. 22 to the end is an epitome of the Prose Chronicles.

8. 25. *That he slewit the duik.* "Slewit" should be "flemit," for Albany was banished, not slain. The long *f* has been miscopied *s*, and *m*, *w*.

11. 1 *et seq.* *Quhan he hes done fast thy voyes vend
To Athoill that most hie cuntrie.*

The relations of John, fourth Earl of Athole of the Stewart line, with the Bishop of Caithness and Pitscottie are considered in the Introduction. Athole died in 1579, which is therefore the latest possible date of the Chronicles, and grounds have been given in the Introduction for fixing the date in 1577 or 1578.

11. 8. *Becaus thow mellis with the authoritie
at this tyme quha hes it now in hand
and als declairis of that clan the veritie.*

This reference shows the dedicatory verses must have been written during the regency of Morton. The conflict of "that clan," the Douglasses, with the Stewarts runs through the whole of Pitscottie, and gives a clue to many of his opinions.

12. *Hier beginnis the xviii Buik of the Croniclis of Scotland quhair Maister Hector Boes left and M. Johne Ballentein & translaitit of the v kingis of the Steuarts begynning at James the Secund.* There are several points in the headings of the books, which, like the marginal notes, are from MS. I., deserving notice. Here it may be observed—(1) The statement is true that Bellenden's translation of Boece's Chronicles and the edition of Boece published in 1523, during his life, stopped at the 17th book and the death of James I. But Boece continued his Latin Chronicles down to the death of James II., including also a few years of the reign of James III., and this was published by Ferrerius in Paris in 1574. The present 18th book, with which Pitscottie commences, is a translation of the 18th book of Boece. Apparently the writer, as the translation by Bellenden stopped at the death of James I., thought himself entitled to describe Boece as having also left off at that date. He must, however, have had the 1574 Latin edition of Boece in his hands, for this book is a translation from it. There is little reason to suppose he had access to the original MS. If so, this gives a date before which Pitscottie cannot have written his Chronicles—viz., 1575, when the edition of Boece by Ferrerius reached Scotland. As has been shown, 1579 is the latest date they can have been written. (2) The five kings of the Stewarts are, of course, James II., III., IV., V., and VI. Queen Mary is ignored. (3) This book, being a translation, is in several passages cramped in style, and is throughout more difficult to read with ease than the later books. The Latinity of Boece in his Chronicles is not so good as in his Lives of the Bishops of Aberdeen, and

Pitscottie was not an educated scholar. (4) The merits as well as the demerits of this book, which gives the history from 1436 to 1460, are due to Boece, not Pitscottie, who has very slightly altered it. Boece, who was born about 1465 and died about 1536, describes traditions accepted in the generation preceding his own. It is bad criticism to attribute to this 18th book the fabulousness of the early books of his History. But there is undoubtedly much inaccuracy, especially as to dates, for which the blame should be divided between the author and his age, during which the means of obtaining precise information as to facts was inferior to our own, and the scribe was more liable to error than the printer. Yet even in the nineteenth century inaccurate historians have not been unknown.

12. Note 1. The edition of Boece by Ferrerius was published in 1574, not by Badius Ascencius as here stated by mistake, but by Jacobus du Puys sub signo Samaritanæ prope Collegium Camaracence. The title-page bears

"Scotorum Hi-
storix a prima gentis
origine cum aliarum et
rerum et gentium illustra-
tione non vulgari, Libri xix.

Hectore Boethio Deidonano auctore

Duo postremi huius Historix libri nunc primum emittuntur
in lucem

Accessit & huic editioni eiusdem Scotorum Historix continuatio, per
Ioannem Ferrerium Pedemontanum, recens & ipsa Scripta & edita.
1574."

JAMES II.

CHAPTER I.

13. 12. James II. *was brocht to Scone and crownit be the nobillitie.* According to the Record of Parliament, 25th March 1437, James II. was crowned at the Abbey of Holyrood and not at Scone, "Quo die comparentibus tribus Regni statibus apud Edinburgh omnes comites nobiles et barones ac libere tenentes dicti Regni venientes ad castrum de Edinburgh prefatum dominum nostrum Regem cum maximo applausu et apparatu ad laudem Dei et leticiam totius populi ad monasterium Sancte Crucis de Edinburgh pro Corona Regni Scotiæ ibidem suscipienda solempniter produxerunt" (Act. Parl., ii. 31).

His father had been murdered at Perth on the 21st February 1437,

and Scone was not deemed safe for the coronation. This change to Holyrood was one of the causes which led to Edinburgh becoming the capital, though the practice of coronation at Scone was afterwards reverted to. James III. was crowned at Kelso; James IV. at Scone; James V. at Scone. Queen Mary's coronation is not recorded in the Acts of Parliament, but took place at Stirling on 9th September 1543 (Hamilton Papers, vol. ii. 33). James VI. was crowned at Stirling; Charles I. at Holyrood; Charles II. at Scone, the last coronation there.

14. 7. *Alexander lewingstoun knicht of Callender . . . was maid governour ouer all the realme.* This appears to be a mistake. At the accession of James II., Archibald, fifth Earl of Douglas, was Lieutenant-Governor of Scotland, as is proved by the Record of the Parliament of 1437 and the Exchequer Rolls of 1438 (vol. iv. p. 12). In the Record of the Parliament of 27th November 1438 Douglas is still called Lieutenant-Governor of the kingdom. Livingston was only governor or custodier of Stirling Castle. Boece and Pitscottie themselves throw doubt upon Livingston's position in the speech of Douglas: "Allexander Lewingstoun that ze call gouernour." Probably there was a dispute as to the limits of the jurisdiction of the offices of Livingston and Douglas. The explanation of the sudden rise of the Crichtons and Livingstons in this reign appears to be that the Scotch kings, exposed to the attacks of lawless Highland chiefs on the north and equally lawless Borderers as well as ambitious Douglasses on the south, had to rely on the most active barons in the midlands, of whom Sir W. Crichton and Sir Alexander Livingston—or the great ecclesiastics, of whom Cameron, Kennedy, and Turnbull, were examples; and on the royal burghs, more favourable to the kings from whom they derived their charters, than to the great nobles their nearer neighbours (cf. p. 15 l. 30 *et seq.*)

14. 8. *Schir williaime crichtoun was of new approvit chancellor of Scotland becaus he had worthielie exersissed the samyn office in king James the firstis tyme.* Crichton had not been Chancellor, although he was a trusted officer of James I., who made him Sheriff of Edinburgh, Keeper of Edinburgh Castle, and Master of his Household (Excheq. Rolls, vol. iv. pp. 513, 607, and 671). John Cameron, Bishop of Glasgow, held the office of Chancellor till the death of James I., and for the first two years of James II. (Documents in Keith's 'Catalogue of Scotch Bishops,' p. 148). Crichton did not become Chancellor till 1439 (Excheq. Rolls, vol. v., Pref., p. li). In Exchequer Rolls, 5th July 1438, vol. v. p. 53, Crichton is called "Vicecomes et custos castri de Edinburgh," but not "Cancellarius." He is first styled "Cancellarius" in these Rolls in 1440, vol. v. p. 77, but see also p. 72 as to 1439.

14. 12. *Alexander Erle of douglas.* A mistake for Archibald.

17. 10. *To pas in pilgrimage to the quhytt kirk of Bricheine.* Boece: "Ad divæ virginis ædem Albam Sacellam vocant nostrates." White-

kirk, in Haddington, near North Berwick, a well-known place of pilgrimage, is meant. "Of Bricheine" is an error of Pitscottie, for it is in all the MSS., as well as in Freebairn's and Dalyell's editions, and is not in Boece. There was no Whitekirk of Brechin. Some writers treat the whole story as a fiction of Boece. The recent family historian of the Douglasses—Fraser ('Douglas Book,' vol. i. p. 417)—contrary to the earlier Hume of Godscroft ('History of the Douglasses,' p. 140), takes this view. "There is thus reason," he says, "for believing that the story of the stratagem adopted by the queen for the removal of the king to Stirling is a pure myth." Mr G. Burnett (Preface to Excheq. Rolls, vol. v. p. xlix) expresses himself with more caution: "We have no trustworthy account of the circumstances under which the young king passed out of his (Sir William Crichton's) custody into that of Livingstone." But it is scarcely likely that Boece, who wrote between 1521 and 1536, only one century after the event described, invented the story of the queen's flight from Edinburgh to Stirling with her infant son. It must have been at least a received tradition which he reports. Although it is difficult to understand how Crichton and not either the queen or the Earl of Douglas had the custody of the king, it is possible Crichton may have had it as Master of the King's household—who was an important officer always in attendance on the king. Leslie (Hist., Sc. Text Soc. ed., vol. ii. p. 59) tells substantially the same story, but he may only follow Boece.

17. 19. *Schoir of leith.* The shore of Leith is a common expression for the harbour, derived from the time when there were no built piers or harbour works.

CHAPTER II.

22. 25. *Seikand frielie with the boddome of my hairt sour peace and kyndnes.* An early instance of the commonplace of the orator who thanks his audience from "the bottom of his heart." It is so much easier to start than to abandon cant, that probably public speakers who have little heart will go on for long speaking of the bottom of their hearts. The origin of the phrase was an old and now obsolete anatomy, from which other expressions in current speech are derived—as the use of "bile," "gall," "spleen," and the description of temperaments—as "sanguine" and "phlegmatic." "Ex imo corde" was also a Latin phrase.

CHAPTER III.

24. 1. *Allane Stewart lord of Darlie, quha or he dieit obteanit the supperioritie of the lennox fra the king.* Powmathorne, where he was killed by Sir Thomas Boyd, is near Neilston in Renfrewshire. The

name is variously spelt Darley, Dernelie, Darnilie, and often, as here, Darlie. Sir Allan Stewart was Constable of the Scottish troops in the service of the French king and the founder of the house of Lennox (Andrew Stewart, 'History of the Stewarts,' p. 116). Pitscottie throughout his part of the Chronicles pays special attention to the family of Lennox, to which his patron the Bishop of Caithness belonged, but the present reference is in Boece.

The date of the murder was 29th September 1439. So early in this History, and as the victim of a murder, does the fatal name appear. Darnley was succeeded by his son Sir John, first Earl of Lennox (1488-94), though he assumed the title earlier. His son Matthew, second earl (1494-1513), was killed at Flodden, and succeeded by John, third earl (1513-26), killed near Linlithgow by Sir James Hamilton. His son Matthew, fourth earl, afterwards regent, who vied with Patrick Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell, for the hand of Mary of Guise, married Lady Margaret Douglas, became father of Lord Darnley, and was killed at Stirling in 1571 by Captain Calder, being predeceased by his son, who was murdered by James, Earl of Bothwell, at the Kirk-of-Field in 1567. The Bishop of Caithness was the fifth earl, from 1578 till 1581, when his nephew, Esme Stewart, was created Duke of Lennox and given the estates of the earldom. See Introduction.

24. 15. *The deceis of Archbaldy Erle of Douglas in the hot fever at lestarige the zeir of god I^m four hundreith threttie and nyne zeiris.* The hot fever was probably typhoid. The statement in the inscription on his monument in St Bride's Church, Douglas, which is still preserved, that he died on 26th June 1438, must be a mistake, for he was present at the Parliament of November 1438. "Octavo," in the inscription, should be "Nono."

24. 23. *This Williame was the sext beltit Erle of that hous of Douglas.* The great House of Douglas, descended from the good Sir James, the follower of Bruce, became the standing rival of the House of Stewart. William, first earl, disputed the right to the Crown with Robert II., claiming through the Baliols. He died 1384. His son James, second earl, was killed at Otterburn, 1388. Archibald the Grim, third earl, Lord of Galloway, a natural son of the good Sir James, was born before 1330 and died 1400. His son Archibald, called Tyneman, fourth earl, and first Duke of Touraine, to whom and the heirs-male of his body that fief was granted, was killed at Verneuil, 1424. His son, by Margaret daughter of Robert III., Archibald, fifth earl, second Duke of Touraine, died in 1439. His son William, sixth earl, was killed at Edinburgh Castle, when a youth, in 1440. His successor was his grand-uncle, James, Earl of Avondale, seventh earl, called the Gross, who died 1443. His son William, eighth earl, was killed at Stirling Castle in 1452 by James II. His brother James, ninth earl, defeated near Abercorn and after-

wards at Arkinholm, fled to England and forfeited the earldom in 1455. His attempt to recover it by English aid failed, and he was taken prisoner and died at Lindores Abbey in 1488. The descendants of George, first earl of Angus, succeeded to the claims but not the titles of Douglas. He was an illegitimate son of William, first earl of Douglas, and the Countess of Mar and Angus, and in 1389 was granted the earldom of Angus. His son was William, second earl, whose sons, James and George, were third and fourth earls of Angus, and George was succeeded by his son Archibald Bell-the-Cat, fifth Earl of Angus. The loss of Touraine and the forfeiture of the great border estates of the Douglasses weakened their power, though Douglasdale was restored. Archibald, 5th Earl of Angus, son of George, fourth Earl of Angus, had succeeded in 1463, and was succeeded in 1514 by his grandson Archibald, who married Margaret Tudor, widow of James IV. His daughter married Lennox and became mother of Darnley. He died in 1557. All these Douglasses play conspicuous parts in Pitscottie's Chronicles.

25. 25. *He creatit senatouris of the parliament within his awin boundis.* As William, sixth Earl of Douglas, was only seventeen when he was killed at Edinburgh Castle in 1440, this and other statements of Boece and Pitscottie with regard to him are very doubtful, and perhaps transferred from the life of William the eighth earl. Parliament was, however, only the greater Court (*Curia Regis*) of a feudal king, which his vassals were bound to attend, so in itself there was nothing improbable in a powerful vassal holding a court of his vassals similar to the Parliament of a king.

CHAPTER IV.

26. 1. *Schir James Steuart brother to the lord of lorne.* Third son of John Stewart, Lord Lorne was known as the Black Knight of Lorne. His pedigree is given by Duncan Stewart, 'History of the Royal Family of Scotland,' p. 171. His being put in ward by Sir Alexander Livingston, and bailed out by Sir William Crichton in 1439, is confirmed by the Auchinleck Chronicle, p. 3: "He tuke Sir James Steuart the Lord of lornis brother and put thame in pitts and bollit thaim. . . . Sir James was borowit be the lord Gordon Sir Alex^r Setoune, lord of the ylis, Sir William of Crechtoun that tyme chancellor under the pane of thre thousand."

27. 1. *Schir Allexander Seattoun alias gordoun the first erlle of Huntlie of that name.* For his pedigree see 'History of the Family of Seton,' by George Seton, Advocate, Edinburgh, 1898.

28. 10. *Williane erlle of Douglas send Malcolme flemaine of Cummernauld and Allane lauder ambassadouris to Charllis the Sevint of that name king of france to gif him the Duikrie of Twrin.*

28. 19 *et seq.* *Charllis . . . gave to thame the heill renttis and landis in france that his guidscheir, quha was slaine at the battell of Wernot for the defence and libertie of france joysit and bruikit of befoir.* Touraine, which had been granted by the French king after the death of Archibald, fourth Earl of Douglas, at Verneuil in 1423, to Louis of Anjou, King of Sicily, was not restored; but the title of Duke of Touraine was used by the Earls of Douglas down to the last earl, and the earls seem to have got other lands in France in compensation (Pinkerton, vol. i. p. 193; Michel, 'Les Ecossais en France,' vol. i. p. 150). It is doubtful whether the embassy here described by Pitscottie was sent by William, the sixth Earl of Douglas. Alan Lauder of the Bass accompanied William, eighth Earl of Douglas, when he went to the Pope's Jubilee in 1450, and perhaps this was the real date of the embassy to the King of France. The mother of the sixth earl, Margaret, and the wife of the eighth, also Margaret, claimed in 1448 a right to provisions out of the rents of Touraine, in letters written in their names by Crichton the Chancellor (MS. de la Bibl. Nationale, Baluze, 9987, cited by Michel, vol. i. p. 150, and printed in 'The Douglas Book,' iii. p. 375).

CHAPTER V.

29. 15. *Johne Colquhoun of Luss was slain at Inchmurrin* [an island in Loch Lomond], *resisting the principal men of the Isles, Lachlan Maclean and Murdo Gibson, in 1439.* This is confirmed by the Auchinleck Chronicle, which gives the date 24th September 1439, and adds that Luss was slain "under ane assourance." Lachlan Maclean was probably Lachlan Maclean of Duart, in Mull, who received a payment from the Exchequer in 1438 (Excheq. Rolls, vol. iv. p. 77), and is mentioned in a charter by Donald of Isla, Lord of the Isles, in 1390, which granted him "constabularium et custodiam castrorum nostrorum de Kernaborg et Ileborg" and other lands, and also in 1458 and subsequent years (Excheq. Rolls, vol. vi. pp. 467, 519, and 654). Possibly the latter may be a son of a former Lachlan Maclean.

The reading Lachlan Maitland in MS. I is a mistake, as Maitland is not a Highland name.

30. 9. *In the zeir of god I^m four hundreith threttie and nyne zeiris thair rais ane gret dearth off wictuallis.* The Auchinleck Chronicle confirms this, and states "the boll of quheat was at xl schillingis and the boll of the mele xxx schillingis." Dearth was as usual followed by a pestilence, called the "Pestilence without Mercy": "Als the land ill the pest ill was so violent that their deit ma that zeir than ever ther deit onder ane pestilens or zet in ony uther sickness in Scotland." "Pest" is French for "plague," adopted in Scotch. The

outbreak of this year, whose name of the "Pestilence without Mercy" is significant of a more than ordinary visitation, began at Dumfries, so probably came from England. The Black Death appeared in England, in Dorset, in 1348. But there were other outbreaks of pestilence both in England and Scotland in the middle of the fifteenth century (Paston Letters, vol. i. p. 216).

30. 20. *Thir thrie plaigues and scurges.* War, famine, pestilence, which occur with painful iteration in the history of all countries in the middle ages. They continued to rage for more than a century, and it has been truly remarked, "To one reading the domestic history of Scotland in the sixteenth century every third year seems to bring a famine and every sixth the pestilence" (J. A. H. Murray, Preface to 'Complaynt of Scotland,' p. 65).

31. 24. *Or evir he cuild persawe the chancellaris folkis lyand in the wait for him he was invironit.* The story of the king being recaptured by Crichton and brought back to Edinburgh is also told by Leslie (Hist., Sc. Text Soc. ed., vol. ii. p. 62), who here again may only follow Boece. Both Tytler and Burton accept this as true, and it implies the former removal of the king to Stirling.

32. 16. *It is the law and curs of fortoun that he is neirrest perrell and decay that seittis [sits] presentlie highest vpon the quheill.* "Curs" is "course," not "curse." Fortune's wheel is a frequent similitude both in prose and verse—see "Randolph's Phantasy," 'Satirical Poems of the Time of the Reformation,' Sc. Text Soc., vol. i. p. 29, l. 1 :—

"I then said to my selffe: me thinkes this may assure
all those that clyme to honors seate, there state may not endure,"

et seq. The emblem is constantly used by the Latin poets: Ovid, Tristia, v. 8. 8; Horace, Od. ii. 10; Lucretius, v. l. 1116. One of the latest examples is the song in Tennyson's "Maud." See Green, 'Shakespeare and the Emblem Writers,' p. 261.

CHAPTER VI.

34. 29. *W^{me} Henry Lyghtoun bischope of Aberdeine and Johanne James bischope of Murray.* Boece has "Johannes Innes et Henricus Lychton." The Bishop of Murray, 1437 to 1458, was John Winchester, not Innes, so Pitscottie has corrected Boece by omitting "Innes" (Keith's 'Catalogue of Scots Bishops,' p. 85). Henry Leighton was Bishop of Moray in 1425, when he was translated to Aberdeen, a see he held till 1441. His predecessor in the see of Moray was John Innes (Keith). A record of an indenture at Stirling on 4th September 1439 shows that Livingston, Crichton, and the Earl of Douglas had become reconciled and made a compromise by which Livingston got

the custody of the king, Crichton remained chancellor, and the queen was to have access to her son (Act. Parl., vol. ii. p. 54).

CHAPTER VII.

39. 16. *Againe schortlie efter thair was ane parlieament at Edinburgh.* There is no record of a Parliament at Edinburgh at this time, but perhaps the General Council at Stirling, 2nd August 1440, is referred to. In it Acts were passed for holding Justice aires twice a-year, and for "The remede and punisching of crimes" (Act. Parl., vol. ii. p. 33).

CHAPTER VIII.

44. 23. *It may be weill said of this man that saifgaird it self, albeit it wald, could not preserue this man from destructioun.* This passage is made almost unintelligible by the translator omitting the quotation of Terence in the text of Boece, and translating "Salus ipsa" "saifgaird it self," instead of "the Goddess of Safety herself." Boece says: "Quid simile huic Terentiano. Ipsa salus si voluerit non potest hanc familiam servare" (xviii. p. 363 recto).

CHAPTER IX.

45. 9. *Ane bullis heid . . . quhilk was ane signe and taikin of condemnatour to the deid.* Boece has "Id enim est apud nostrates supplicii capitalis symbolum" (xviii. p. 363 verso). Leslie, Hist. Sc. Text Soc., vol. ii. p. 63, follows Boece. Pinkerton and Tytler treat this as one of the inventions of Boece. But Tytler was informed by Mr Macgregor Stirling that Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenurcha, who lived between 1560 and 1631, produced a bull's head on a similar occasion, which led to his intended victim making his escape. He conjectures that this may have been copied from Boece. But is it not as likely that both had an origin in some superstitious belief? Sir Walter Scott accepts the tradition, and as he restricts it to a "black" bull's head, may perhaps have had separate authority for it.

There are proverbial expressions which Scott probably connected with the same superstition: (1) A child is kept quiet by telling it "the black bull of Noraway" shall take it ('Blackwood's Mag.', 1817). (2) "The black bull has trodden on you," means a bad temper (Scott, 'Minstrelys of the Scottish Border,' 1802, vol. ii. p. 399). Grimm notes that the black *cow*, rather than the black *ox* or *bull*, was an omen of ill-fortune, but shows the obscurity of the origin of the superstition by asking, What can the black cow mean in the fol-

lowing phrases, "The black cow crushes him," "The black cow has trodden him"? ('Teutonic Mythology,' vol. ii. p. 6652; translation by Stallybrass). The "black dog" is a nickname for the devil.

The old verse quoted by Hume of Godscroft, p. 155—

" Edinburgh Castle Towne and Tower
God grant thou sinke for sinne
And that even for the black dinner
Earl Douglas got therin "—

probably has reference to the black bull's head. Hume does not seem to have believed the story, and says: "The bull's head was in those days a token of death (say our histories), but how it hath come in use to be taken and signifie, neither doe they nor any else tell us, neither is to be found that I remember anywhere in any history save in this one place." Of course "black" has in all times and countries been deemed unlucky, and the head of a bull severed from the body might well signify death by beheading. What requires explanation is why a "black bull's head" was a sign of death. It looks as if there was a mingling or confusion of different superstitions in this story.

45. 20. *This was done in the zeir of god I^m foure hundretht and ellevin zeiris.* A mistake, and so is 1488 in MSS. B and I, probably from some blunder in copying the figures. Possibly the figure xl had been miscopied xi in A, and 1448 in B and I may be a miscopy for 1440. The real date of the murder of the Earl of Douglas and his brother was 24th November 1440. Boece gives the year correctly, "Anno a partu virginis supra milesimum quadragesimo"; and Gray's MS., Adv. Lib., says, "In vigiliâ Sancte Katerine Virginis, viz. xxiiii November Anno Domini I^m iiiii^e xl." The day of the martyrdom of St Catherine of Alexandria was 25th November, so the vigil was the 24th. Fleming was not executed till the 28th November, and there was a hurried trial, as is proved by the appeal against the sentence or "falsing of the doom," as it was called in Scottish criminal law, by his son Robert Fleming at the cross of Linlithgow by his procurators, Walter Buchanan and Thomas Muirhead, on 7th January 1442. The Sheriff refused to receive it, and it was repeated before the Justiciar on 13th February 1442. Tytler's History, vol. ii. p. 382, prints the record from the original in the Cumbernauld charter-chest.

46. 20. *Succedit James father brother to this William.* James the Gross, seventh Earl of Douglas, was grand-uncle, not uncle, of William, sixth earl. It was conjectured by Tytler that he prompted or supported the slaughter of his grand-nephew. Certainly he took no steps to avenge it, which is singular at a time of blood-feuds. He was opposed after his succession by Douglas, Earl of Angus, and Sir John Douglas of Dalkeith, which shows there was already a split in

the Douglas family. It seems to have held less together than the family of Stewart, and this was one of the causes of its downfall.

46. 21. *The Earle of Annerdaill.* It is a mistake to call James, Earl of Douglas, Earl of "Annerdaill." The Annandale estates fell to the Fair Maid of Galloway according to Pitscottie (p. 47, l. 13), but the Exchequer Rolls support the view of Mr Burnett (vol. iv. p. lvii), that they passed to the king. Boece rightly has "*Comes Avondaliæ*," for at this time Avondale in Lanark belonged to the Douglasses, that title having been held by James the Gross before he succeeded to the earldom of Douglas. "Avondale," says Hamilton of Wishaw, "did anciently belong to the Bairds, and thereafter came to Sinclairs, and from them to the Earl of Douglas, with whom it continued till their fatal forfeiture in 1455," when it was given by James III. to Andrew Stewart (Description of Lanark and Renfrew, Maitland Club, p. 60).

47. 9. *Wntailsied.* Dalzell reads wrongly "tailzied," which makes nonsense of the passage. There were entails or settlements of the succession on a series of heirs different from the heirs-at-law long prior to the introduction of the strict entail by the Act of 1685. The Maid of Galloway, as heir-at-law, succeeded to the lands which were not tailzied on heirs-male, and the tailzied went to Earl James as the nearest heir-male.

48. 11. *Nocht spairing the tyme foir-biding as was the use then.* I has "forbidding." Dalzell reads "forbidden," and Boece has "*nihil veritus diem sacram eas [i.e., nuptias] ad Parasceven celebrare festinat.*" A marriage on Good Friday (*Parasceve*) was forbidden by ecclesiastical law in Scotland prior to the Reformation, so "forbidden" is no doubt right. "As was the use then" is an insertion of Pitscottie. Earl James Douglas died on 25th March 1443, and the marriage of his son did not take place till after his death, but there may have been a pre-contract.

48. 23. *Schir William Ruthven of that Ilk schereff principall of Perth.* This is an early instance of the use of the term Sheriff Principal for the hereditary sheriff, an office held by the family of Ruthven, and suggests that he had a depute. He was succeeded by John Ruthven of that ilk, who sat in a General Council 1456, and was followed by Sir William Ruthven, created Lord Ruthven in 1487 (Act. Parl., vol. ii. p. 181 b).

49. 3. *Mydsymer day I^m foure hundertht xliiij seiris.* Boece has "St John the Baptist's day," which was kept on 24th June as the day of nativity of the Baptist (Hampson, *Medii Ævi Calendarium*). The Auchinleck Chronicle gives a different account of the results of the conflict between Ruthven, Sheriff of Perth, and "John Gorme Stewart of Athol." According to it, "William of Ruthven and ane man with him on his syd was slain and on the other side John Gorm and of gentlemen and yeomen xviii and ma and money hurt in perell of their lyf." It also gives the cause of the fight—viz., "the takin of a man

for theft that the said William tuke," no doubt in discharge of his duty as sheriff. See as to John Stewart Gorm Mr Burnett's Notes, Excheq. Rolls, iv. p. xlii.

CHAPTER X.

49. 7. *Robert Sempill and Patrick Gallbraith being deput to the king's self.* The conflict between Robert Semple and Patrick Galbraith is given in the Auchinleck Chronicle, with the date 15th July 1443, and further details. According to it, Sir Robert Semple was not slain, but only put out of the nether baily or courtyard of Dumbarton Castle while Galbraith kept possession of the castle.

Coubrethe, in the contents of the chapter, is an older form of the name Galbraith, which is said to be a corruption of "M'A'Bhreat," son of the Briton. It appears in the thirteenth century in Strathclyde as Galbrath (Macbain, 'Gaelic Dictionary,' p. 360). Possibly Semple and Galbraith (like Ruthven and John Stewart Gorm) represented the Norman and Celtic families of the district, and the difference in race increased their rivalry. They were made joint Constables of the Castle of Dumbarton by James when he attained his fourteenth year, and so were deputed of the king. It is noticeable that Douglas, both in this case and that of Gorm, who attacked Ruthven, supported the lawless Celtic representatives against the king and constituted authorities. This was the same policy afterwards pursued by the English kings, who made the West Highland rebels their allies.

49. 22. *Thairfoir tuik purpois to pase to the king in Streveling to gett ane remissioun.* While the submission of Earl William Douglas to the king and the consequent fall of Sir William Crichton the Chancellor are not told precisely in the same order in the Auchinleck Chronicle, the facts there related confirm the change of Government which Boece and Pitscottie describe. According to that Chronicle, on 20th August 1443 Earl William took Sir George Crichton the admiral's Castle of Barnton in Lothian, and within four days cast it down; and on 4th November, at a Council-General in Stirling, Crichton the Chancellor and his brother Sir George and their adherents were put to the horn. The Crichtons retaliated by harrying Sir John Forrester's goods and cattle at Corstorphine, and burning Douglas's granges of Abercorn, Strabrock, and other five places, and his Castle of Blackness.

The Council-General at Stirling on 4th November 1443 is on record (Act. Parl., vol. ii. p. 33).

CHAPTER XI.

52. 18. *The Earle of Douglas . . . caussit proclame ane parlieament to be haldin at Stirling.* There was a Council or Parliament at Stirling on 4th November 1443 (Act. Parl., vol. ii. p. 33), which is the date given by Buchanan, but its proceedings have not been preserved except two Acts in favour of the Church and Pope Eugenius. Pitscottie does not mention a reconciliation at this time between Douglas and Livingston, which Tytler assumes without giving his authority. On the contrary, Pitscottie, translating Boece, p. 52, says that both Crichton and the Livingstons were forfeited at the Parliament, and Buchanan (vol. ii. p. 18) takes the same view.

53. 6. *They seigit the castell of Brantoun in Lowthiean.* Brantoun is Barntoun, by the same transposition of *r* as in Bruntisland, Burntisland. It belonged to George Crichton the Admiral, brother of William the Chancellor.

54. 1. *The bischope . . . thinkand it become him nocht to be ane fichter.* This is an early instance of a bishop deeming it unbecoming his office to fight. Yet several bishops fought at Flodden in 1513, and James Beaton wore armour under his rochet in 1520.

54. 5. *Led upoun him ane sentence of curssing.* Such a sentence was often a more deadly weapon than arms in the hands of a powerful ecclesiastic.

55. 30. *This battell was strikin in the zeir of god I^m iii^j xlv.* The battle of Arbroath was fought on 23rd January 1446, new style (Auchinleck Chronicle, p. 7; Excheq. Rolls, vol. v., Pref., p. lxxi).

CHAPTER XII.

56. 21. *In Annerdaill for the pepill hes ewer bene and zeit ar gevin to nothing more nor to slaughter.* This might well be said by Boece or by Pitscottie. His Chronicles are full of expeditions against the thieves of Annandale, always successful for the time, but only for the time, the last of importance being those of Regent Murray in 1567 and of the Regent Morton in 1573. The other Border dales were scarcely less notorious. Sir Richard Maitland, the father of Lethington, wrote a characteristic poem "Aganis the Thieves of Liddesdale" (Pinkerton, Scots Poems, vol. ii. p. 531).

57. 9. *In this nixt zeir efter, the king, be the Earle of Douglas consall seigit the castell of Edinburgh nyne monethis.* The Auchinleck Chronicle says "weeks," which is more probable. This was in 1445.

57. 16. *The castell being randerit as said is was reformat againe new better nor it was befoir.* The strengthening of the castle by new

fortifications, which enabled it to stand more than a year's siege in 1571-73, now began. In 1447 a "Book of the Works" is mentioned as kept in Edinburgh Castle, and from 1455-70 Thomas Oliphant, the Constable, was Master of the Work. In 1458 Adam Cant, customar of Edinburgh, was Master of the Work, and in 1511-12 Thomas Kincaid (M'Gibbon and Ross, 'Castellated Architecture,' vol. v. p. 528). In this work (vol. i. p. 449) it is stated erroneously that Crichton held out successfully, and it is assumed that the siege lasted nine months.

57. 17. *Ane parliament . . . at Peirith.* This Parliament was held 14th June 1445 (Act. Parl., vol. ii. p. 33). The record is imperfect, and the restoration of Sir William Crichton is not mentioned.

57. 30. *James Stewart witht in ane schort tyme thairefter was tane wpoun the sie witht Flemingis witht sum earleis baitht of Scotland and Ingland and led captiue to Flanderis quhair he dieit witht in ane schort tyme thairefter and his wife, King James the secondis mother, dieit efter him heirand also of hir husbandis deceis.* The queen-mother died on 15th July 1445 or 1446, according to the Auchinleck Chronicle, p. 37; Exchequer Rolls, vol. v. p. lxvii; Dunbar's 'Chronology of Scottish Kings,' p. 157; and if the date of a safe-conduct, 17th August 1451, noted in Rymer's 'Fœdera,' in favour of "J. Stewart, husband of the late queen of Scotland, John and James his sons, Hugh Kennedy, Provost of St Andrews, and five others," can be trusted, he did not predecease his wife. Leslie (History, Sc. Text Soc. ed., vol. ii. p. 67) gives his death in 1446, but probably, like Pitcottie, follows Boece.

58. 9. *Sex daughteris all honourabillie marieit albeit thair followit na great successioun of thame.* The marriages of the daughters of James I. form a remarkable series of alliances, and Boece's remark is shrewdly accurate. None of them found English bridegrooms, but all made honourable matches abroad or at home. Yet the consequences were not so important as might have been expected, though perhaps less unimportant than Boece supposed. The order of their marriages appears to have been: Margaret, the eldest, married the Dauphin Louis, afterwards Louis XI., in 1436, shortly before her father's death; and though an ill-fated match, as she died from the effects of a slander, it led to other Continental alliances. Isabella (Helen in Pitcottie, Elinor in Auchinleck Chronicle) married in 1442 Francis I., Duke of Brittany, one of the most important vassals of the French Crown. Mary, the fifth, married in 1444 Wolffaert Van Borselen, Lord of Campheir (now Vere) in Walcheren, but not (as Boece states) after his death the Duke of Austria. This marriage led to the establishment of the Scotch Factory or Staple Market in the Netherlands, which continued until 1795, when its privileges were withdrawn. Sigismund, Duke of Austria and Count of Tyrol, married in 1449 Eleanor, the fourth daughter. Joanna, who had been sent to France with Eleanor to visit her sister but returned unmarried in 1457,

is omitted by several historians, and, according to Mr Burnett (Excheq. Rolls, vol. v. p. lxix), she is the "muta domina" who, though dumb, married the Earl of Morton. The sixth, Annabella, had been contracted to Louis, Count of Geneva, in 1444, but the contract was broken off in 1455, and a few years later she married George, Earl of Huntly. In Pitscottie's list the two last are transposed. We have no exact information as to their respective ages, but I follow Mr Burnett (Excheq. Rolls, vol. v. pp. lviii, lxii, lxix, lxx).

58. 16. *Earle of Huntlie callit George . . . marieit the Earle of Arrollis dochter of quhome come Earle Alexander, Earle Adame of Sutherland.* After his "pairting" (divorce) from the Princess Annabella, the Earl of Huntly married a daughter of the Earl of Errol, by whom, according to this account, he had Alexander, Earl of Huntly, and Adam Gordon, who became Earl of Sutherland in right of his wife (see Hailes, Sutherland Case, p. 14). But Alexander, Earl of Huntly, and Adam, by marriage Earl of Sutherland, were children of George, Earl of Huntly, and the Princess, and not of the daughter of the Earl of Errol. ('Dictionary of National Biography.' See also Riddell, Tracts, p. 82.)

58. 26. Instead of *Earle James Freebairn* reads *hearty James*, which may be right.

59. 3. *Honourabillie conwoyit be the Lord of Campheir.* The names of the suite who convoyed Margaret of Gueldres, in addition to the Lord of Campheir, are so misspelt both in Boece and Pitscottie that it is difficult to correct them. Boece has, "Comitantibus principe Verensi, Bergensi, Comite a Nanssau, Episcopis Camerarensi et Leodiensi, Præterea principe Ravestan." Dalyell's edition of Pitscottie reads, "the marquis of Bergie, Earle of Nassou, the Bischopis Camri and Levergie. Attour thaie come ane prence of Ramistoun."

The "Marquis of Bergie" was probably the Marquis of Bergh in Guelderland, "the Earle of Nanssau" Nassau, and the bishops the Bishops of Cambray and Liege. The Prince of Ramistoun, or Ravistan, was Adolph de Cleves, brother of the Duke of Cleves—Seigneur de Ravenstein, in North Brabant, mentioned in 'L'Histoire de Jacques de Lalain,' Bruxelles, 1634. Tytler's statement that the Archduke of Austria and the Duke of Brittany, along with the Dukes of Savoy and Burgundy, also came to Scotland with the bride, is based on a misinterpretation of a passage in the Auchinleck Chronicle (p. 41), which merely says they counselled the marriage. Margaret, usually called Mary of Gueldres, was the daughter of Arnold, Duke of Gueldres, and niece of Charles the Bold of Burgundy.

59. 7. *et seq. The marieage being solemnizet thair was ane parlieament haldin at Edinburgh, of the quilk be the consall of sum ambitious flatteraris Schir Alexander Levingstoun sum tyme governour Alexander Levingstoun his eldest sone Robert Levingstoun sometyne*

thesawer David Levingstoun baith descendit of the house of Callen James Dundas and Robert Bruce of Clakmanan knychtis war to Tytler (History, vol. ii. p. 147, n. 4), followed by Fraser in 'Douglas Book,' see also Mr Burnett, Pref. Excheq. Rolls, vo p. lxxxi, charges Pinkerton, "misled by Boece and Lindsay," with error in placing the destruction of the Livingstons in 1446. But error is Pinkerton's only. Boece and Pitscottie place the fall of Livingstons immediately after the king's marriage, which was solemnised 3rd July 1449, and the Livingstons were arrested on Mor 23rd September 1449 (Auchinleck Chronicle, p. 25), "at the Bri of Inchbellie on the Kelvyn," between Glasgow and Kirkintill. They were forfeited in the Parliament of Edinburgh, which sat 1 January 1450. Boece and Pitscottie are also assumed by the s writers to have made a mistake in describing Alexander Living who was beheaded as the eldest son of Sir Alexander Living the Governor. The Auchinleck Chronicle, p. 42, states that "Ja Levingstoun son and heir to the said [Sir] Alexander was pu deid"; and Boece calls the eldest son of the Governor "Jacob. But James was alive in 1455 according to the same Chronicle, and appears in the Exchequer Rolls as Chamberlain in 1454 (vol. v. p. 1) and down to his death in 1467 (Crawford's 'Lives of Officers of St p. 312), so this statement must be an error. Mr Burnett conjectures that Alexander Livingston, who had been arrested along with brother James (Auchinleck Chronicle, p. 25), was put to death. Boece and Pitscottie have it, but that he was a younger and not eldest son of Sir Alexander Livingston as Pitscottie makes him. Perhaps James became eldest son only after Alexander's death. Rol Livingston of Linlithgow is called comptroller and not treasurer the Auchinleck Chronicle, p. 26. The history of the Livingstons family, their sudden rise at the commencement of the reign, th fall in 1449, and the escape of James Livingston and his father Alexander from the ruin of their house, are difficult to understand. There may be more truth than modern writers have been disposed to allow in the statement of Boece and Pitscottie, that the eldest son Alexander Livingston the Governor, James Dundas, and Rol Bruce "payed great sums of money," and so purchased their remission.

CHAPTER XIII.

62. 16. *Obtenitt fre the king the ward and marieage of An Dunbar, zoungest dochter to James last earle of Murray of that na . . . and sa maid him Earle of Murray.* This is a distinct statement of the rule of old Scottish Peerage law, by which the marriage of a peeress gave her husband right to the title, which English peers, in Scotch Peerage cases, frequently ignored.

62. 24. *George Douglas to the earledome of Ormond.* This should be Hugh.

63. 20. *Boith slaine at the battell of Dumblaine in Stratherne.* This is an error for which Pitscottie is responsible. Boece states correctly that Thomas was slain at the battle of Dupplin (1332), and John at the battle of Durham (1346).

64. 4. *And this was the first of Dumbaris*, who were Earls of Murray is implied. The genealogy of the Dunbars, Earls of Murray, requires, to make it correct, the restoration from MSS. B and I of the words "quho begat Thomas Dunbar," omitted by MS. A. The succession was—(1) Randolph; (2) Thomas, his son; (3) John (brother of 2),—these both died without issue; (4) John [Dunbar], son of Giles, second daughter of Randolph, and of John Dunbar, younger brother of Patrick, Earl of March; (5) Thomas, son of John and a daughter of Robert II.; (6) Thomas (son of 5); (7) James, son of Alexander (brother of 5) and of Maud Fraser, heiress of Frendraught. Alexander, being an illegitimate son of a hand-fast marriage of James (7) and Isobel Innes, the succession passed to Archibald, Earl of Douglas, who married Elizabeth, the younger daughter of James (7) by his marriage with Katharine Gordon, daughter of Alexander, Lord Huntly. The elder, Janet, married Sir W. Crichton, and got the lordship of Frendraught. The influence of the Douglasses procured the title of Murray for the husband of the younger daughter. See p. 113, l. 17 (Riddell's Tracts, p. 214).

64. 16. *This Issobel was hand fast witht him and deceissit befor the marieage quhairthrow this Alexander albeit he was worthie of ane greater leving might nocht succiid be the lawis and pratick of this realme.* Alexander Dunbar, son of James Dunbar and Isobel Innes, was treated as a bastard. The old custom of hand-fast marriage had been superseded by the law of the Church, yet even a Churchman like Boece deemed a bastard born of such a connection worthy of a better succession than the law allowed.

As to hand-fast marriages, Riddell ('Peerage and Consistorial Law,' p. 500) cites this case as reported by Pitscottie. Martin's 'Western Islands,' p. 114; 'Collectanea De Rebus Albanicis,' p. 119; E. W. Robertson's 'Historical Essays,' p. 172; Macdonald's 'History of the Clan Donald,' vol. i. p. 432 *et seq.*, show the custom was long prevalent in the Highlands and Western Isles. There are also traces of it in the Lowlands. The word is, of course, Anglo-Saxon, and may be compared with Handsel, but it does not appear to have been much used in England, though Shakespeare has the word ('Cymbeline,' i. 6; see Jamieson's Dict., *sub voce* "Hand-fast"). Cosmo Innes ('Scotland in the Middle Ages') observes that we have no proof of hand-fasting being recognised as marriage after the introduction of Christianity, and this may be true. But the custom, though illegal, continued, and was one of the causes of the illegitimacy with which

Scotland has been reproached (Aberdeen Kirk-Session Records, 1562 and 1563, Spalding Club, p. 11; Murray, 'Property of Married Persons,' p. 28). There is a place called the Hand-Fasting Haugh in Eskdale, where such marriages were contracted, according to tradition, at a fair held there (Antiquities of Eskdale Muir, 'Dumfries and Galloway Antiquarian Society Proceedings,' 1896-97, p. 25). Legitimation by subsequent marriage favoured it. But the recognition of marriage by promise *subsequente copulâ* to some extent checked it, for persons who entered into such relations ran the risk of having their marriage declared although there was no issue.

CHAPTER XIV.

66. 27. *Joianne Camprons* [Cameron] *bischope of Glasgow*. The story of his death, probably from apoplexy or epilepsy, told by Boece and adopted by Pitscottie and Buchanan, is no doubt a legend. The facts of his life are summed up by Mr Joseph Robertson in a note to 'Concilia Scotiæ,' p. lxxvii.

He was a Church reformer, and supported James I. against his rebellious nobles, and even against the Pope, who suspended and excommunicated him for ten years, though he was afterwards restored. This dispute with the Pope probably accounts for his unpopularity with the papal party amongst the clergy. The bias of Boece's narrative is marked, and may have had some private cause. He died on Christmas Eve, 1446. The reference to his oppression of the poor tenants of the see probably refers to his turning the rights of the kindly tenants or rentallers into feus or leases.

68. 19. *The maidin of France . . . ane woman of excellen spreit*. Joan of Arc, who was executed in 1431, is always treated favourably by early Scotch historians, who regarded her as the saviour of France and the enemy of England.

68. 27. [The marriage of] *Henrie the Sext upoun the Duike of Loranis daughter*. Margaret, more commonly called "of Anjou," was the daughter of Renè of Anjou and his wife Isabella, daughter and heiress of Charles II., Duke of Lorraine, by whose death in 1431 Renè became Duke of Lorraine. The marriage was in 1445.

69. 11. *The Duke of Gloucester hangit*. Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, uncle of Henry VI., died on 23rd February 1447 when under arrest, and there were rumours that he had been murdered, but these are thought to be unfounded by the best historians, and there is no English tradition that he was hanged.

69. 14. *The Earle of Bewment*. Lord Beaumont, one of the principal opponents of Gloucester, who put him under arrest.

69. 27. *Ane Ireland man callit Henrie*. One of the traditions

about Jack Cade was that he was an Irishman, and his partisans called him Henry Mortimer. Major ('*Historia Majoris Britanniae*,' p. 374, Scottish Hist. Soc. ed.) names him "Henricus," which the editor supposes to be a mistake for Hibernicus, but perhaps Henricus is right after all.

70. 5. *Lord Gray the thesaurar*. This should be "Lord Saye" (Major, p. 374).

CHAPTER XV.

71. 9. *To gar Humbere, Cumbere, and Northt-humberland to pro-voike the Scottis*. I am not aware of any other instance of the use of "Humbere" for a district of England. Perhaps it is a mere mistake. Possibly Yorkshire is meant.

72. 20. *Magnus Reid maid knyght of the Ordour*. Knight of the Order is a mistranslation of "Auratus eques" in Boece. There is no reason to suppose that he was a Knight of the Order of the Garter or any special order.

There is great confusion as to the surname of this English leader, who is ignored by English historians. His name seems to have been "Magnus." Boece has "Magnus rubente Jubâ"—i.e., "with the red mane" or beard, which the transcriber of A misunderstood for "reid hand." MSS. B and I of Pitscottie say "with the red mane," and a French MS. (Brit. Mus., Vesp., C. xvi. p. 41) calls him "Barberouse le grand." Buchanan describes him as "ane man of a knightly family." It has been conjectured wrongly by Pinkerton that his real name was "Redman." Tytler and Burton do not mention him. Pinkerton's Note 1, p. 205, is valuable, but as to his date of the battle, 1448, see note to 73, 7.

CHAPTER XVI.

73. 3. *George Douglas Earle of Ormond*. This is the reading of MS. A, but B and I have "Hugh," which is right.

73. 7. *Wpoun the watter of Serke*. This is called the battle of Sark, from a small stream which falls into the Solway near Gretna, but in the Auchinleck Chronicle the battle of Lochmaben Staine (p. 18), probably from the fact that the victors went to Lochmaben after the battle. English historians ignore it. Pinkerton gives an account of it from the French Chronicles of Monstrelet (vol. iii. p. 8, ed. 1518) and Jean Chartier (p. 146), which Tytler (vol. ii. p. 143) calls fabulous. Monstrelet's narrative is no doubt very general, and, without naming Sark, only says that the English had crossed the Solway with a large army, when the Earls of Murray and Ormonde "assembled a force of 32,000 able warriors, and falling upon the English camp unawares, put them to the rout with great slaughter

and loss in prisoners and wounded. They were pursued as far as the Solway, wherein many were drowned. On this expedition a knight of great power in Scotland was slain, called Sir John Vbenailles," under which vocables perhaps lurks the name of "Sir John Wallace of Craigie." He adds: "Three Scots priests of the diocese of Dunblane affirmed the above account to be true before the holy shrine of St Denis in presence of the monks of that Abbey" (John's Translation, vol. ix. pp. 13, 14). Chartier was a Canon of St Denis. There seems no doubt the battle was fought, but probably the victory was magnified by Scotch writers. The date was 23rd October 1448, according to Ramsay, 'Lancaster and York,' vol. ii. p. 88. If so, Pitscottie errs in placing it after the marriage of Mary of Gueldres, which was celebrated in Holyrood in June 1449. But Mr J. Neilson has given strong reasons for dating it in October 1449, one of which is the existence of a deed in the Register of Paisley (pp. 82, 83) by Wallace of Craigie, who is said to have died three months after the battle, which shows he was alive on 28th January 1550.

73. 16. *In the reeir gaird was all the Waldmen.* This no doubt means "Welshmen," the reading of MSS. I and B. Pitscottie's transcribers make havoc of the name of the Welsh commander. Perhaps MS. A, "Apmiroun," is nearest the mark, but he calls him after the battle (p. 76, l. 9) "John Pennyntoun," unless this is a different person, for he is styled an English knight. See Auchinleck Chronicle, p. 40.

73. 21. *Wpoun the wther syde Scottismen placeid them selfis craftellie.* The disposition of the forces according to Pitscottie's account is not clear, but it would appear that according to it Ormonde commanded the main body ("stail" or "steil"), Maxwell the right, and the Laird of Johnston the left wing. Boece's account is more distinct: "Dextro vero cornu Magnus rubente jubâ præerat. Sinistro vero ex Gualis veteri Britannica gati conflato Joannes a Penemtoun militaris rei peritissimus. Medium autem Northumbrie Comes cetera cum multitudine tenebat. Ormundus adversum Comitem Northumbriæ duxit suos. Wallacem à Cragge auratum equitem generi atque virtuti nobilem egregiâ cum militum manu contra Magnum collocat. Adversus vero Gualos Maxwell et Johnston electâ cum Scota juventute." Perhaps the blunder may only be owing to the wrong insertion by a copyist of the word "of" before Lord Maxwell (p. 74, l. 3).

76. 8. *Thair was taine in this battell John Pennyntoun and Robert Heirintoun tua nobill men Inglische knychtis.* The Auchinleck Chronicle agrees with this, but MS. B reads "Johne Openorone" for "Pennyntoun," probably the same person as "Apmiroun," though he is called here English, because he fought on the English side, as Commander of the Welsh.

CHAPTER XVII.

79. 3. *Thay send ane ambassadour to intreit peace witht the king of Scotland, quho be the advyse of the nobillis grantit the samin foir thrie seiris. . . . This peace was maid in the zeir of god 1450.* It does not appear that there was a peace for three years made in 1450; but there had been truces on 10th July 1449 and 15th November 1449—confirmed by James at Stirling on 9th June 1450 (Rymer's 'Fœdera'), and it is possible an English ambassador was sent to procure this confirmation, though his name has not been traced.

On 14th August 1451 a truce was agreed to at Newcastle to last till 15th August 1454 (Rymer's 'Fœdera'), ratified by James at Perth on 21st August of that year. This seems to be the three years' peace here referred to. The Auchinleck Chronicle mentions under the year 1451, "and at this time thai gat the Erles [Douglas] sele to consent to the trews. And incontinent thai send furth Snawdown the kingis herrod [herald] to Lundun to bind up the trews" (p. 44). The visit of the Earl of Douglas to Rome was in 1450, the year of Jubilee, and he returned through England in 1451.

79. 10. *et seq. Schir William Colvell.* Dalyell has "Sir William" throughout the whole story; but Pitcottie, after mentioning Sir William here, has "the said Richart" (p. 79, l. 15 and l. 23), though he has not mentioned Richard before. The Auchinleck Chronicle, p. 24, as well as Boece and Buchanan have "Richard" throughout.

80. 12. *Mr James Douglas, ane mane of singular erruditioun.* James Douglas succeeded to the title after his brother William's murder.

80. 21. This is an important list of the followers of Douglas, and shows his party was by no means confined to the Lowlands or his own vassals.

80. 27. *Quhene he come of Flanders he past in France and out of France to Itallie and sua fordward to Rome.* The Jubilee of the Pope in 1450 was the ostensible object of Douglas's journey, and no doubt the principal occasion for it. But Tytler conjectures with probability that he sought also the restoration of Touraine. Many Scotch gentlemen had settled in that fertile province of France, and if Douglas had recovered it no doubt others would have followed.

CHAPTER XVIII.

84. 2. *The Earle of Douglas efter this came hame himself and was ressavuil richt hairtfullie be the king and remittit all byganis.* This reconciliation must have been hollow; but a series of charters under the Great Seal, granted in the Parliament of Edinburgh in July and

of Stirling in October 1451 (Act. Parl., vol. ii. pp. 67-73), prove that Douglas resigned all his lands in the king's hands, and received back those in Ayr, Lanark, Dumfries, and Galloway, and the office of Lieutenant of the Middle and West Marches (see note p. 85, l. 1). It is more probable that this was the office conferred on him than that of Lieutenant-General of the whole kingdom, as Pitscottie states (p. 84, l. 7).

84. 11. *Sua schort quhyle efter, he [i.e., the Earl of Douglas] pas speik wiht the king of Ingland wiht out knowlege of the king Scotland his awin prince.* The Auchinleck Chronicle (p. 44) mentions that, in 1451, Sir James of Douglas had gone to "Lundun," and "was then with the king of Ingland langtyme and was much maid of."

CHAPTER XIX.

85. 8. *And thairfor placeit in the Earle of Orknay and Sir William Lord Creichtoun in thay offices.* At the Parliament of Edinburgh, 25th June 1451, the Auchinleck Chronicle (p. 45) mentions the restoration of the Earl of Douglas to all his lordships, "outane Erledom of Wigtowne of the quhilk the Erles mother had conjunct fment," but makes no mention of his office, and there is no doubt that William Sinclair, Earl of Orkney, and William, Lord Crichton, Chancellor, had the chief conduct of affairs. Both were supporters of the Church, and Crichton founded a collegiate church at Crichton in 1449, in imitation of Sinclair's more splendid foundation at Roslin in 1441. The church of Crichton has been restored this year, 1899.

87. 27. *Hadherentis*=adherents. This is perhaps one of the cases in which the Scotch dialect put on an aspirate, as "hit"=it, and, I often, "huz"=us.

CHAPTER XX.

88. 15. *Messeris.* This is probably a contraction, possibly a copy for "messengers" or "macers."

89. 28. The words "for luife he buire to the king" are possibly copied by mistake from the same words, p. 90, l. 2. But it is possible as Pitscottie did not scruple to repeat the same expressions for regard to style, he emphasises the fact that Maclellan got the office "tutour of Bombie" on account of the love he bore the king.

91. margin. *The tutour of bombie heiddit be the erle of Douglas.* Bombie was an estate in Galloway. Buchanan tells the same story more briefly and without the incidents Pitscottie gives. He calls the family Maclean, but Maclellan is the right name. The story is inserted by Pitscottie, and is not in Boece nor in the MSS. and B. But it is in MS. I, from which it is here taken, and also

some later MSS., from which it had been copied by Freebairn. Dalyell inserts it in a note, p. 96, and says it is from "the most modern of the manuscripts"; but if by this he means MS. I, he is mistaken. He has come to this conclusion by modernising the language of the MS. from which he took it, or possibly using a modern copy of I, for there is no proof he knew of the existence of MS. I. A short passage from Dalyell's note, if compared with MS. I, will show this at a glance; the words in italics mark the difference: "*Among* the rest of thir was *one called Maclelan* who was tutour of Bumbie for the *time* and sister son to Sir Patrick Gray *who* was maister of Gray and *principal* *servitour* to the king and captane of his guard."—Dalyell.

"*Amang* the rest of thir *thair* was *ane callit Makclalene* for *luif* *he bure* to the king *quha* was tutour of Bumbie for the *tyme* sister sone to *Schir* Patrick Gray *quha* was Maister of Gray and *principall* *servitour* to the king and *Captaine* of his *gaird*."—MS. I. MS. I has the older Scotch form in the words italicised.

The whole incident is one of the picturesque tales in which Pitscottie delighted, and is told in his naïve way. It is of special interest as the first time we meet with our author's own narrative, for it is not in Boece, though Pitscottie has also enlarged somewhat the passage as to the genealogy of the Lindsays, and, as we shall see presently, introduces in his twenty-fifth chapter the story of the siege of Abercorn, and the apologue told the king of the sheaf of arrows by Bishop Kennedy.

91. 27. *Quha reuerenced.* It is still the custom when a royal letter is publicly read for the persons who have their heads covered to take off their hats, or if uncovered to stand up, of which there is an example in reading the commission to a judge or officer of State in open court.

92. 34. *And sum sayis he gat the gret seall thairunto.* This is in the MS. printed in 'Extracta ex Chronicis Scotiæ,' Abbotsford Club, 1842, p. 242. The Auchinleck Chronicle says "the Privy Seal." "The foresaid King James send out of Strivling with William Lauder of Haltoun a *special assouerans and respit under his preve sele* and subscrivat with his awne hand. And all the lordis that was with the king that tyme was oblist supos the king would brek the band forsaide that thai suld let it at thair power"—i.e., "prevent it to the extent of their power" (p. 46). The Scottish estates in the Parliament of 1452 issued a declaration denying that there had been such safe-conduct (Act. Parl., vol. ii. p. 73). James II.'s own account of the matter will be found in letters from him to Charles VII. (Stevenson's 'Illustrations of the Wars of the English in France,' vol. i. p. 315).

94. 29. *This slaughter was maid in the zeir of god Im iiii^e lij zeiris wpoun the xx day of Februar.* The date of the death of Douglas appears to have been the 21st of February. The Auchinleck Chronicle says, "the moneday befor fasterns-even that was the xxi day of Februar." But as the murder took place after supper the

discrepancy of date is slight. The narrative is somewhat fuller in the Auchinleck Chronicle, which gives the names of those who assisted the king—"Sir Alexander Boyd, the Lord Dernlie, Sir Andrew Stewart, Sir William of Crichtoun, Sir Symon of Gledinane, and the Lord Gray" (p. 47).

CHAPTER XXII.

97. Contents, last line but one. *Paccates* for "placards" is probably the true reading. See Glossary.

99. 20. *The battell* [of Brechin between Huntly and Crawford] *was strikin upoun the Assentioun day in the zeir of god I^m iiij^e liij zeiris*. The Auchinleck Chronicle says 18th May. The true year was 1452, for the Parliament held immediately after in Stirling, by which the Earl of Crawford was forfeited, bears in its minutes to have sat on 12th June 1452. The Earls of Douglas and Ross and others of their party who were summoned did not appear, and the Three Estates made a declaration acquitting the king from having violated any safe-conduct in putting the Earl of Douglas to death, and asserting that Douglas was in a state of open rebellion, having acknowledged his league with the Earls of Crawford and Ross against the king (Act. Parl., vol. ii. p. 73).

The Auchinleck Chronicle further mentions that in this Parliament, "which was continued for 15 days," Sir James Crichton, son of the Chancellor, was made Earl of Moray; Lord Hay, Earl of Errol; and Sir George Crichton, brother of the Chancellor, Earl of Caithness. Others of the king's supporters were made Lords of Parliament, and the forfeited estates of the Douglasses bestowed on them (p. 49). Probably the continuation was to Edinburgh, where there was a Parliament on 26th August 1452 (Act. Parl., vol. ii. p. 41). But the final forfeiture of James, Earl of Douglas, does not appear to have been made till the Parliament of 9th June 1455. The process of forfeiture is printed, and the date of the decree was 17th June 1455 (Act. Parl., vol. ii. p. 42, and Appendix, p. 75).

CHAPTER XXIII.

101. Contents and p. 106. *Genealogie* [*i.e.*, genealogy] *of the hous of Craufurd*. It might have been suspected that Pitscottie inserted the genealogy of the Lindsays, his own clan, but it is to be found in Boece, xviii. 376 recto.

The insertion, however, in MS. I of the descent of the Lyndsays of the Byres, Pitscottie's branch of the clan, is an incidental proof that we have in that MS. the genuine text of Pitscottie. Dalzell omits, but Freebairn inserts the Lyndsays of the Byres, which shows that at

least one of the MSS. which the latter used was fuller than those to which Dalyell had access. When the Lyndsays came to Scotland is not certain. MS. I says in the reign of Malcolm Canmore, while A pushes it back to that of Malcolm MacAlpin. Lord Lyndsay says, "Walter de Lindsay, an Anglo-Norman, a great baron under David I., Prince of Cumbria, before his ascension to the throne, is the first of our name who appears in Scotland (Lives, vol. i. p. 2). The first Lyndsay of the Byres was a younger brother of the first Earl of Crawford, who was created earl in 1398 by Robert II.

107. 19. *James Lyndsay faught wpon the breige of Loundone in singular battell with the Lord of Waillis.* MS. I has "Wollis" and Boece "Wellis." This famous duel was fought between Sir David de Lyndsay and Sir John de Wells in 1390 in presence of Richard II. and his queen in London. The fullest account is in Wyntoun, but it is also mentioned in Bower, 'Continuation of Fordoun,' xv. ch. 4; 'Liber Pluscardensis,' vol. i. p. 332; 'Extracta ex Chronicis Scotiæ,' p. 204. The best modern description is by Neilson, 'Trial by Combat,' p. 233 *et seq.*, where further reference to it and other duels about the same time mentioned in the 'Rotuli Scotiæ' will be found.

CHAPTER XXIV.

111. Contents. *The king baneait be the Erle of Craufurd.* This should be "bancatit"—*i.e.*, "banqueted."

112. 30. *And dieit in the zeir of god 1^m iiij^e liiij zeiris and was burieit with great triumph and pompe in the grayfreiris in Dundie in his forbearis sepulture.* The Auchinleck Chronicle gives the Earl of Crawford's death in September 1453.

112. 32. *In the same zeir the colledge of Glasgow was foundit and erectit.* The date is more accurately given in the Auchinleck Chronicle (p. 47) as 20th January 1451, when the bulls granted by Nicolas V. to Bishop Turnbull ('Register of Glasgow,' vol. ii. p. 385, 7 Ides of January 1451) were proclaimed at the cross of Glasgow.

112. 34. *In the zeir preceidand [i.e., preceding 1454] Mahomet prince of Turkis beseigut and wan the nobill and ansient toune of Constantinobill.* Constantinople fell to the Turks, 29th May 1453.

CHAPTER XXV.

113. 6. *In the next zeir quhilk was the fyfte five zeir of God thair was ane parliament sett at Edinburgh.* This Parliament met on or about 9th June, and was continued to 4th August 1455 (Act. Parl., vol. ii. p. 42 *et seq.*)

114. 3. *The first beltit Earle of Arrell.* That belting with the

sword (*cinctura gladii*), of which these are early examples, was only a symbol of investiture of earls in their dignity and not the creation of their right was proved by Riddell ('Peerage and Consistorial Law,' vol. i. p. 9 *et seq.*; vol. ii. p. 680 *et seq.*) against the view of Lords Mansfield and Rosslyn, though his intemperate language somewhat obscures his argument.

114. 18. *Schir James Hammilltoun the Earle of Douglas famelihear servand.* The defection of Hamilton from the house of Douglas and transference of his services to the house of Stewart was a turning-point in Scotch history. It is treated at great length in MS. I, which has therefore been preferred as the text, and the shorter narrative of A is given as a note, p. 121.

The narrative from this point to the end of the apologue of the Sheaf of Arrows told by Bishop Kennedy is given by Dalyell in a note from what he calls "the most modern of the MSS., the xxv chapter." It is in the twenty-fifth chapter of MS. I, and this seems to show that Dalyell had seen a MS. similarly divided. MS. I appears to be right in introducing this anecdote under the reign of James II. instead of James III., where it appears in MSS. A and B. Dalyell as usual modernises the language of the MS. he calls most modern. It is, in fact, only a few years more modern than MS. A.

122. Note 1. *James Hamiltounis mareage with the king's eldest dochtar is thair tytill to the croun.* James Hamilton of Cadzow, ancestor of the Dukes of Hamilton, married Lady Mary, daughter of James II., formerly wife of James Boyd, Earl of Arran.

CHAPTER XXVI.

123. 13. *Donald Lord of the Illis and Lord Rose.* This expedition by John, not Donald, Lord of the Isles, an ally of Douglas, was chiefly by sea, and resulted in less loss of life than might have been expected—"of good men 15, of women 2 or 3, of children 3 or 4" (Auchinleck Chronicle); but the plunder was considerable—"5 or 600 horses, 10,000 oxen and kine, and more than 1000 sheep and goats." It also burnt down several mansions near Inverkip in Renfrew, and levelled with the ground the castle of Brodick in Arran, and wasted with fire and sword the Cumbræes, and imposed tribute upon Bute. See Act. Parl., vol. ii. p. 109; Gregory, 'Western Highlands.'

124. 7. *He chassit George bischope of the Yillis.* This was George Lauder of the family of Balcomie, in Fife. His proper style was "Episcopus Lismorensis," a see he held from 1427 to at least 1462 (Keith's 'Catalogue of Scotch Bishops,' p. 171).

125. 16. *Quha nocht onlie had silit hir in contracting hir of that ungodlie and wickit marieage.* The marriage to her brother-in-law. "Silit" should probably be "filit"—i.e., "defiled hir," but perhaps

"siled" for "soiled" is meant. See Glossary. The long *s* and *f* are often confounded in the MSS.

125. 29. *He marieit hir on his brother Johnne Earle of Atholl.* This was the uterine brother of James by his mother's second marriage to the Black Knight of Lorne, as stated in MS. I.

CHAPTER XXVII.

126. 6. *This nobill woman was marieit be hir awin counsell.* In note 3, p. 126, it has been conjectured that this should be read "his" instead of "hir," and means the king's counsel, as Boece has "*suâ operâ.*" But possibly "be" is used in the sense of contrary to her own counsel.

127. 5. *Schir William Creichtoun sumtyme chancelar deceissit the same zeir.* Crichton and Bishop Kennedy had been the two main supports of James—the one by his promptness in action and the other by his wisdom in council.

127. 28. *In this battell mony Inglischemen war slaine to the number of thrie scoir, and ten gentillmen taine captiues.* Dalryell has "four scoir," but it is somewhat suspicious that he does not mention the Scotch loss. Freebairn agrees with the text.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

130. 4. *During the tyme of this conventioun thair came ambassadouris ffre Richart Duike of Zork.* It is very doubtful whether any embassy from the Duke of York came to Scotland; and the relations of James II. with the two parties in England is not correctly represented in this passage. The ambassador in his speech (p. 136, ll. 1-5) offers to restore Northumberland and Durham to the Scotch king as the reward for his assistance, and James in his reply agrees, on these conditions being fulfilled, to aid York in expelling Henry VI. Leslie, on the other hand, states that this offer was made by Henry VI. and confirmed by a treaty in 1458. This is much more probable, for James favoured throughout the house of Lancaster, and after his first defeat Henry and his wife took refuge in Scotland. In fact the Scotch gave little active assistance to either party, but took advantage of the civil war to recover Roxburgh.

130. 25. *To quhome the iust crowne of Ingland appartainit quhilk befel Lionel the third sone to Edward the third.* Lionel, Duke of Clarence, third son of Edward III., had a daughter Philippa, wife of Edward Mortimer, Earl of March, whose son Roger was declared heir to the Crown by Richard II.; but Henry IV., son of John of Gaunt, fourth son of Edward III., seized it, and the house of Lancaster held it for three generations. The house of Lancaster

based their claim on the ground of descent from Blanche, wife of John of Gaunt, a descendant of Edmond, called Crouchback, who was alleged, but erroneously, to have been an elder brother of Edward I. He is called by Pitscottie "Edwart Kebak," p. 133, l. 1, but rightly Edmond, l. 18.

133. 1. *Debarrit the thrid sone callit Edwart Kebak fre the crown.* This should be "debarrit Henry the third's son," called Edmond.

136. 3. *Henrie of Ireland.* See note, p. 69, l. 27.

CHAPTER XXIX.

138. 23. *Ane monk, quho did conterfit mervalus gravitie and hollienes of lyfe as sic men had weill wount to do.* We might suspect in this passage the hand of the Protestant Pitscottie, but it is in the text of the Catholic Boece.

139. 29. *The kingis airme was wanqueist and owercome, himself takin presonar and had to Loundon.* Henry VI. was defeated and taken prisoner at Northampton, 18th July 1460. James II. was killed at Roxburgh, August 1460; according to the Auchinleck Chronicle, "the third Sunday of August," but this appears to be a mistake for Sunday 3rd of August (Fordun, 'Scotichron.,' ii. 516, Dunbar's 'Scottish Kings,' p. 200), and Roxburgh was taken on the following Friday, 8th August.

CHAPTER XXX.

141. 22. *That had no command to giue ansuer thairwpon.* "They" seems omitted, and the passage should read, "that thay had no command." This embassy from the Yorkist leaders to James may have come when he was besieging Roxburgh, but it is not mentioned by other writers.

CHAPTER XXXI.

145. 14. *It is said that thair was maney marvellis about that tyme quhilk pronosticat the kingis deid.* This love of marvel is equally characteristic of Boece and of Pitscottie, who never omits noticing them in his own part of the Chronicles. It was a common trait of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and no doubt earlier, especially in Scotland. To the reader of the nineteenth it is difficult to see what connection there was between the birth of a hermaphrodite or the solitary survival of a cannibal and the death of a king. But in the time of these writers anything contrary to the ordinary course of nature and not understood, like a comet or an eclipse in the celestial sphere or such prodigies as those mentioned here in human affairs, was deemed a portent.

147. 11. *Laurentius Walla ane gentill man of Rome quhilk did greit goode in restitutionoun of the Latine tounge to the auld puritie [et seq.]*. Laurentius Valla the Humanist, born in Rome 1407, studied at Florence, taught at Piacenza, Pavia, and Naples, where he was prosecuted by the Inquisition but protected by Alfonso IV. In 1448 he became secretary to Nicholas V., and died in 1457. His chief work, 'De Elegantiss Latinæ Linguæ,' is here referred to. He translated Xenophon, Herodotus, and Thucydides, and collated the Greek New Testament with the Vulgate. See, as to his life and writings, Hallam, 'History of Literature,' vol. i. pp. 150, 182, 196; Crichton's 'History of the Papacy,' vol. ii. p. 339.

147. 14. *Franciscus Phelaphus*, b. 1398, d. 1481, a Greek scholar, born in the March of Ancona, taught in Venice, Bologna, Florence, and became one of the secretaries of Nicholas V. His conflict with Poggio and their invectives against each other are celebrated amongst the quarrels of authors.

147. 15. *Franciscus Petraha*. Petrarch the poet, 1304-74, is somewhat out of time amongst the other scholars named, who belong to the fifteenth century, but is inserted because he was an early example of the Humanists, one of the first Italians who studied Greek.

147. 16. *Nicollas Perotas quho sett haill studie to abolische and put away the rude maner of teichment*. Dalyell, not understanding, reads "leichment" for "teichment." Perotas or Perotta was Bishop of Siponto, who wrote a Latin dictionary in the form of a commentary on Martial, entitled 'Cornucopia sive linguæ Latinæ Commentarii,' and translated Polybius. His Latin grammar was frequently reprinted as a school-book in the fifteenth century.

147. 19. *Teodor Gaza ane weill besene man baitht in Lattine and greik*. Theodore Gaza, born at Thessalonica in 1398, fled to Italy 1444, when the Turks conquered it, and taught Greek at Ferrara and philosophy at Rome. He found patrons, as Valla had done, in Nicholas V. and Alfonso IV. of Naples, and died in 1478 at a living which Cardinal Bessarion had given him. Erasmus paid him the encomium that no one was "more successful, whether he renders Greek into Latin or Latin into Greek," and he translated into Latin portions of Aristotle, Theophrastus, Hippocrates, and St Chrysostom.

147. 20. *Witht money wtheris quhoise names war tedious to rehers*. Boece adds the names of Poggio of Florence (1380-1459), the author of 'De Ruinis Romæ' and other works; Platina, the biographer of the Popes (1421-1481); Johannes de Regio Monte, a German mathematician; and his own countrymen, Nicolas of Dundee, a friar preacher, and Johannes Eldmar, one of the scholars Bishop Kennedy called to St Salvator's.

The list of these leaders of the revival of classical learning is interesting, as showing the names which had reached Scotland in the time of Boece, and also that Pitscottie had not the same interest in

them as his author. The age of the Renaissance had passed and that of the Reformation had come when he wrote.

148. 8. *Ane exclamatioun of King James the secund.* The first stanza of this poem is in Lyndsay's 'Complaynt of the Papingo' (Laing's ed., vol. i. p. 77). The remaining stanzas have not been traced, and as they give a short version of the text of the Chronicles of Boece as translated by Pitscottie, were probably written by Pitscottie himself. The exhortation to governors, by which is meant regents and officers of the Crown, with which they conclude, was intended to apply to the regents in the minority of James VI., and in particular Morton, who was regent when Pitscottie wrote.

JAMES III.

CHAPTER I.

152. *Heir beginnis the Nynteine Buke of the Cronickillis.* Pitscottie still represents his work as a continuation of the Chronicles of Boece, and so calls this the nineteenth book. There is a very short portion, about three pages, of the MS. of Boece printed in the edition of Ferrerius relating to the reign of James III., and Ferrerius himself continued the History down to the death of James III. in the form of Annals, but Pitscottie has not translated these, and his original work commences here. How far it is absolutely original we do not know, for the writings of the authors he refers to in his Preface are lost with the exception of the History of Major, from which he has taken only a few isolated passages; for example, the appreciation of the character of Bishop Kennedy and the depreciation of that of Mary of Gueldres, the queen-mother. It is possible that he made larger use of his other sources.

153. 8. *Sune efter thair was ane conventioun sett at Skune quhair thai conveinnit, and his mother witht the rest of the nobilietie and thair be advyse cronit hir sone James the thrid.* The parliamentary records are not extant, but no other historian mentions a coronation at Scone. According to the Auchinleck Chronicle and other histories, the coronation was in the Abbey of Kelso, 10th August 1460.

153. 11. *Of the aige of sewin zeiris.* "It would seem that James III. was nine years old at his accession in 1460" (Accounts of the Lord Treasurer, vol. i. p. xxxvii note). Pitscottie himself says he was nineteen at the date of his marriage, which undoubtedly took place in 1469. See note, p. 161, l. 3.

153. 21. *Efter that the Inglischmen desyrit peace witht Scottis for*

xv seiris quhilk was grantit to them. The relations between Edward IV. and Scotland make this fifteen years' peace doubtful. The next event mentioned is the protection given by the Scotch Court to Henry VI. It is of course possible that a peace was made by Henry VI., but he had no power to carry it into effect. Buchanan mentions it apparently as a peace with Henry VI., but if made it was a dead letter.

154. 2. *And he was weill ressaut and remanitt in the Grayfreiris in Edinburgh sa lang as he pleissit.* Margaret of Anjou and her son, after the defeat at Northampton, 10th July 1460, visited the queen-mother of Scotland at Lincluden in January 1461 (Excheq. Rolls, vol. vii. p. xxxv), but Henry VI. was at this time a prisoner. He rejoined the queen after the defeat of Warwick at the second battle of St Albans, 17th February 1461. But after the decisive victory of Edward IV. at Towton, 29th March 1461, he fled with Margaret and his son to Scotland. The date of this visit after the defeat of Towton is fixed by a contemporary letter to John Paston, 4th April 1461, which mentions that "King Henry, the Queen, the Prince, Duke of Somerset, Duke of Exeter, Lord Roos, fled into Scotland" (Paston Letters, vol. ii. p. 5). From a report by Lord Hungerford and Robert Whytingham, her agents in France, to Queen Margaret, written at Dieppe 30th August 1461, it would appear that the rumour had reached France in April that Margaret, the Prince, and Lord Roos, with a number of followers, had gone to Edinburgh, but that Henry was still at "Kirkcudbright with four men and a child" (Paston Letters, vol. ii. p. 46). Henry and Margaret went from Kirkcudbright to Linlithgow and thence to Edinburgh in the year 1461 (Excheq. Rolls, vol. vii. p. xxxvi), where they resided in the Convent of the Gray Friars. The report informed Margaret of the death of her uncle Charles VII., and dissuaded her from coming with the Prince to France till she heard further. Accordingly she did not sail till 16th April 1462, when she went from Kirkcudbright to Brittany (Excheq. Rolls, vol. vii., Preface, p. xxxvi, and passages in the Rolls there referred to). Henry remained in Scotland till the beginning of 1464, and there is a Charter by him, dated 2nd January 1463-64, in favour of the Town of Edinburgh (Burgh Records Society, p. 119; Maitland's 'History of Edinburgh,' p. 8).

154. 15. *Quhen all thir thrie was compleit, to wit, the colledge, the lair, and the bairge, . . . the leist of the thrie cost ten thousand pund sterling.* This is one of the passages where Pitscottie follows Major (Sc. Hist. Soc. ed., p. 389); but, like other historians, he has turned Major's interrogation into an affirmation, for Major says only, "Many men are apt to put the question on which of these three things he had spent the most." The tomb, called by Pitscottie "lair," still exists, stripped of its statuettes and with much of the rich carving worn off, in the church of St Salvator, the college Kennedy founded.

The barge was lost on the English coast on 22nd March 1474. The college still flourishes as one of the United Colleges of St Salvator and St Leonard. Major was in his old age its rector.

154. 2A. *At this tyme the king of France send one captaine callit Petter Bruce.* This name has been, as usual with French names, variously spelt by Scotch writers—Brase, Brece, Brice, and here Bruce, perhaps because that name was well known in Scotland. An English writer calls him "Piers Brusy" (Paston Letters, vol. i. p. 126). His real name was Pierre de Brézé, Seneschal of Poitou, and afterwards of Normandy, a naval commander of much ability. He was sent by Louis XI., with 500 men-at-arms, to assist Queen Margaret in 1457 and again in 1463 (Ramsay, 'Lancaster and York,' pp. 201, 293). The account of Brézé's expedition in Pitscottie is too brief to be quite accurate. Both old chronicles and modern history vary in their description of its details. But no account can conceal the fact that Brézé failed. In spite of his counsels Louis XI. made a truce with the English king in the autumn of 1463, Queen Margaret fled to her father's Court in Avignon, and Edward IV. recovered most if not all the English fortresses for a time occupied by the Scots army commanded by George, Earl of Angus. What were the English forts, beginning with the strange name of Dandwarpe (usually Antwerp), which Pitscottie (p. 157) represents the Scots as reducing to servitude? Possibly it is a mistake for Alnwick. Alnwick, Dunstanborough, and Bamborough had been taken by Margaret, probably with Scotch aid, and were recovered by the English in December 1463. They were retaken by the Scotch, but again recovered by the English in 1463 or 1464 (Ramsay, pp. 294-304).

155. 18. *But wherment the Inglishmen was sa feirit wiith the* . . . *of the Scottis that they skailit thair seige* [of Alnwick]. According to the English chronicles Alnwick surrendered to the English on 1st January 1463 (W. Wyrcestre, Annals, 495, and 500, as cited by Ramsay, vol. iii. p. 294).

156. 2A. *... four hundreith lxviii seiris in the* . . . *of ingland come out of france* . . . *thence furth vent to Ingland.* This . . . known to the English or French chroniclers, and . . . Margaret seems at this period to have been in . . .

157. 2A. *... waster maures.* This is probably Maurice, one . . . under Sir John Ogle, the Warden of the East . . .

158. 2A. *... of hir body . . . [quhilk aluterlie* . . . *the lyk thing was done be vthiris in my tyme].*

159. 2A. . . . As to the misconduct of Mary of Gueldres, Ferrerius . . . with Major, Buchanan, and Pitscottie. Major is a good

authority, both from his character and as, coming from the neighbourhood of North Berwick, he had opportunities of knowing at least the bruit of the country about Hepburn of Hailes, the ancestor of Bothwell. W. Wyrcestre (Annals, anno 1462) charges her with an intrigue with the Duke of Somerset. Pitscottie undoubtedly aims at Mary Stuart. What weight is to be given to Pitscottie's emphatic expression of his own belief in the guilt of Mary Stuart is elsewhere considered. In his low opinion of the morals of her sex he shared the view of Knox and Buchanan, as is shown by other additions in MS. I (p. 158, ll. 11-23). It was a fixed idea of these writers that a queen could scarcely be virtuous, and that the immorality of a queen was a greater danger to the State than the immorality of a king. This was partly the survival of a priestly view of married women, and partly because of the character of most of the queens of the Reformation period, who, in addition to other faults, were enemies of the Reformation.

159. 2-17. This passage from MS. I as to the expedition of Clarence, Warwick, and others in favour of Henry VI., which forced Edward IV. to quit the country, should be dated 1470, not 1472 (Ramsay, p. 356). The struggle for the English crown during the Wars of the Roses gave Scotland comparative peace.

159. 18. *In the zeir of god I^m iiij^e lxxvj zeiris Bischope James Kennidie depairtit out of this present lyfe* (MS. A). MS. I has 1460, but the true date was probably between 2nd and 18th July 1465 (Lord Treasurer's Accounts, vol. i. p. xl note; and Excheq. Rolls, vol. vii. p. lvi). It must have been before November 1465 when Patrick Graham was elected Bishop of St Andrews. Pitscottie was badly informed about this period, and omits the whole incidents relating to the rise and fall of the Boyds, as to which see Tytler, vol. ii. p. 195, and the bond between Sir Alexander Boyd of Duchal, Robert, Lord Fleming, and Gilbert, Lord Kennedy, to which Graham the Bishop was a party, entered into at Stirling on 10th February 1466, printed in Tytler's Illustrations O. The whole parties connected with it, with the exception of the Earl of Crawford, were men of the west of Scotland, which may partly account for Pitscottie, who knew the east of Scotland much better, passing it over in silence and narrating as the next event worthy of notice the marriage of the king to Margaret of Denmark, which caused the fall of the Boyds and their faction, as James now took the government into his own hands.

161. 3. *Farder in the zeir of our Lord I^m iiij^e lxxj zeiris, James the thrid beand of the age of nynteine zeiris the counsall thocht it expedient that he sould haue ane wyff and for quhilk caus send ambassadouris to Denmark.* Immediately after it is said (l. 15) that the contract, according to Pitscottie, was made "at Elsoniure the xx day of Julij the zeir of god I^m four hundreith thrie scoir xiiij zeiris," and the marriage was celebrated at Edinburgh in 1473. Pitscottie or his

transcriber has made a mistake here. The embassy was sent by the Parliament of 12th June 1468 (Act. Parl., vol. ii. p. 90). The treaty was made at Copenhagen 8th September 1468 (Torfæus, 'Orcades,' p. 197, and copy in Register House). The marriage was celebrated in Edinburgh 10th or 13th July 1469 (Lord Treasurer's Accounts, vol. i. p. xlv), and the Boyds were forfeited 22nd November 1469 (Act. Parl., vol. ii. p. 186).

CHAPTER II.

162. 16 *et seq.* The descriptions of Albany and Mar are good portraits, and look as if drawn by a contemporary. The character of James is one which recurred with variations in Henry VI. and Louis XI. and other medieval monarchs about the period of the Renaissance. A king appears whose tastes are æsthetic and not martial, takes as favourites clever men of low rank who can gratify such tastes, and quarrels with the feudal nobles. Such a king might be in advance of his age, but did not understand the times and country in which he reigned.

164. 14. *The samin seir the quene bure ane sone that efter was callit James the fourt.* It is not clear which year Pitscottie means, probably 1473, which is right. The date of the birth of James IV. was 17th March 1473 (Lord Treasurer's Accounts, i. p. xlv note), and this, perhaps, accounts for his post-dating the marriage. It deserves notice that the dowry of Queen Margaret was not finally settled till the Parliament of 1471.

CHAPTER III.

166. 9. *This Couchrane . . . caussit ane witche to come.* This story, whether true or false, is a curious specimen of the kind of half-belief in witchcraft both in the time of James III. and of Pitscottie. The witch is suborned by Cochrane; her prophecy is believed, but misunderstood, and yet, after all, it comes true when James is slain fighting against his own son at Sauchie. James, like his son, was tempted, as men and women even in the nineteenth century are, by the arts and artifices of impostors, to pry into the secrets of the future; and historians, though doubting, could not yet divest themselves of the superstitions of their age.

CHAPTER IV.

168. 4. *Bot the Duik adwertissit of his comming fled out of his said castell [i.e., Dunbar] and left men to keipt it and past him self to*

Berwick and remanit thair quhill he hard farther tedingis. This is a mistake. Pitscottie has transposed the events in Albany's life which occurred in 1479 with those in 1483. It was in 1479 that Albany escaped from the Castle of Edinburgh to France, and in 1483 that he went to his Castle of Dunbar, and thence by Berwick to England. See further as to this transposition, note to p. 185, and Lord Treasurer's Accounts, i. lxiii.

169. 7. *Couchren gaif the king lairge sowmes of money quhair throw he obtenit the Earledome of Mar.* Cochrane's earldom does not appear on record. Buchanan suggests that Cochrane may only have had the estates but not the title of Mar. In the Exchequer Rolls the accounts of the earldom of Mar are missing from 1479 to Martinmas 1483 (Excheq. Rolls, ix. p. xliii).

169. 19. *And quhen the wyffis wald refuse the said cunzie quhilke was callit ane Couchrinis plak and said to him that it wald be cryit doun.* There were repeated Acts of Parliament about this period against the debasing of the coinage (1471, c. 8; 1474, c. 4; 1475, c. 6, 7, 9, and 10; 1478, c. 3; 1483, c. 10; 1485, c. 16; and 1486, c. 1), and "the crying doun of the new plakkis" (1487, c. 11), which show that the evil custom did not cease with the fall of Cochrane, but that his name was connected with it is not doubtful.

CHAPTER V.

176. 3. *This correction and punishment foresaid was done at lather (Lauder) the year of God ane thousand four hundredth four score and ane years.* The description of the fate of Cochrane is one of the most graphic passages of Pitscottie. I see no reason why it should not be true in substance and even in most of its details. The true date was July 1482, when James had advanced to meet Albany and Gloucester, who invaded Scotland in June 1482 (Excheq. Rolls, vol. ix. p. xl).

176. 16. *Nane eskipit that was in his companie I meane his secreit servandis or cubecularis bot war hangit, saif ane young man callit Schir Johne Ramsay.* The names of the royal favourites are well known, and it is curious Pitscottie has not given them, for it would have added some touches to his story. William Rogers, a musician; James Hommyll, a tailor; Torphichen and Leonard, probably gentlemen, whose occupations are not stated, although Leonard is called "a shoemaker" by Ferrerius, but all of mean birth or foreign extraction, with whom two of the smaller barons were joined—Reston, the father-in-law of Cochrane, and Sir John Ramsay of Balmain, afterwards Lord Bothwell, who became Master of the Household and Chief Minister at the close of the reign. He was forfeited for treason in 1489. Hommyll, as well as Ramsay, it seems, escaped—at least,

a man of the same name appears after 1479 in the Exchequer Rolls (vol. ix. Pref. p. lxiii, note 1).

177. 18. *Sum that was secreit freindis cam to him and gaif him consall to speik witht the Earle of Douglas quho was captiue in the castell of Edinburgh at that tyme.* James was kept in more or less strict ward in Edinburgh Castle by his uncles Athole and Buchan after the rebellion at Lauder, but there is no corroboration of Pitscottie's statement that Douglas was a captive at that time. Douglas appears to have remained in the south of Scotland and in England till he took part in Albany's invasion of 1484.

CHAPTER VI.

180. 23. *And incontinent thir nobill men come in Scottland the xx day of the moneth of August in the seir of god I^m iiij^e lxxxij zeiris, and plantit thair pallseouns upoun the borrow mure of Edinburgh.* This statement as to the expedition of Albany and Gloucester, with its result, the temporary reconciliation of Albany with the king and the release of the king from captivity in the castle (p. 182), are substantially in accord with other authorities and the Acts of the Parliament of 2nd December 1482, in which Albany was made Lieutenant-General of the kingdom. Modern historians assume, no doubt correctly, that this Parliament was dominated by Albany.

CHAPTER VII.

183. 16. *Quho [i.e., Albany] sone efter marieit the Earle of Orknayis douchter.* This is wrong. The marriage had taken place in 1475, and his second marriage, to Anne de la Tour d'Auvergne, Duchess of Boulogne, was celebrated on 10th February 1480 (Michel, 'Les Ecosais en France,' p. 264).

184. 18 *et seq.* *All his goode service was forgeit be thair flatterie and seir that the king tuik of him be naratioun off wickit persouns quho causit the king to sumond the Duik of Albanie his brother befoir the consall for sic poyntis of tressounne as efter followis, That is to say, for randering of the toune of Bervick in the Inglischmenis handis.* The trial of Albany for treason began on 27th June 1483, and after various continuations concluded by the sentence of condemnation to death and forfeiture on 8th July 1483 (Act. Parl., vol. ii. pp. 147-151). The rendering of Berwick is not specially mentioned in the charges, but the bringing of the English into Scotland, the treasonable communications carried on with the English king through Sir James Liddal, and the English invasion, as well as what is called the treasonable "destruction" of the king, and finally Albany's passing

to England without the Royal licence, are set forth. There is no doubt of the truth of the charges, and it is singular that Pitscottie takes Albany's side, probably because when he wrote English influence was no longer dreaded but welcomed by the party to which he belonged.

184. 32. *Thairfor the lordis of consall for the tyme convickit the Duik of Albanie and send him to the castell to remaine in pressone.* This is a mistake. Albany had gone by way of Dunbar to England, and the whole proceedings in the process for treason were conducted in his absence. The summons was published at the market-cross of Dunbar, and the sentence was proclaimed there by the Rothesay Herald both after he had left Scotland and gone to Berwick (Act. Parl., vol. ii. pp. 147-151).

CHAPTER VIII.

185. Contents. *Hou the king of france send support to the duik of Albanie. . . . Hou the duik of Albanie fled and went to France.* It follows from the last note that the whole of the story of Albany's escape from the castle at this time, 1483, in the French ship to France is erroneous. Albany does not appear to have gone to France in 1483, but after the defeat of the raid by him and Douglas on 22nd July 1484 at Lochmaben (Excheq. Rolls, ix. p. lv; Anselm, 'Histoire Genealogique,' vol. iv. p. 529, cited by Tytler, vol. ii. p. 228). Pitscottie omits all reference to this. But the escape from Edinburgh Castle probably did occur in 1479, when James had seized and imprisoned his two brothers; and the French authorities state that Albany came to France in that year, was hospitably received by Louis XI., and married, 10th February 1480, Anne de la Tour d'Auvergne, having divorced his first wife, the daughter of the Earl of Orkney, whom he had married about 1475, in the Court of the Official of Lothian in 1478. The dissolution of the marriage was confirmed by Parliament on 13th November 1516, to secure the legitimacy of his son John, Duke of Albany, by his second wife Anne. He went to England before May 1482, took part in Gloucester's expedition, and became reconciled to his brother the king in the end of that year. When the revolution occurred in the spring of 1483, which drove him from Scotland, he went to England, and after his defeat at Lochmaben, 22nd July 1484, returned to France, where he died from an accident at a tournament in 1485, and was buried in the Church of the Celestines at Paris (Michel, 'Les Ecosais en France,' vol. i. pp. 263, 264, and works there cited. See also Leslie's 'History of Scotland,' p. 43; 'Histoire de Louis XI.,' vol. ii. p. 308, cited by Tytler, vol. ii. p. 215).

Pitscottie wrongly states (p. 168), as to this earlier flight of Albany,

that Albany then went to Dunbar and from Dunbar to Berwick, where he remained till "he hard farther tedingis." This was what Albany did in 1483, and Pitscottie has transposed the circumstances of the two fights.

185. 24. *Sevyle the newhaven.* "Our Lady's Port of Grace" was called Newhaven after James IV. made it the royal dock in 1506. So Havre de Grace was called the New Haven near Dieppe.

190. 3. The concluding passage of this chapter, and chapter ix. to p. 196, l. 27, is from MS. L and in no other known MS. It is the longest addition to Pitscottie in this edition except the narrative of the concluding years from 1565 to 1575. The reason of its omission from the other MSS. probably is that it is a digression into English history, the only connection with Scotland being the description of the part taken in the battle of Bosworth Field by Sir Alexander Bruce of Earlsall and other Scotsmen. As Sir William Bruce of Earlsall is named by Pitscottie in his Preface as one of his authors (see Introduction), it is almost certain that Pitscottie got this narrative from the Earlsall MS. It is of some value to English as well as Scotch history, for the English Chronicles have omitted all reference to the part taken by the Scots at Bosworth Field. The singular story of the theft by a Highlander of the crown of England (see note to p. 196, l. 12) may be deemed incredible, but there is no reason to discredit the other parts of the narrative. The dates and events of this period—the death of Edward IV. and the invasion of Richard III. in 1483, the landing at Milford Haven, called here the Port of Millburne (p. 192, l. 5), the defection of Lord Stanley, the advance of Henry to the place of battle (though the name is singularly not given) in 1485 (p. 200, l. 18)—are correctly stated.

196. 12. *The bischops of Dunkell who happnit to be thair for the tyme in dressin of his maister the king of scotlandis bissienes.* An embassy of which a bishop was to be a member was decided by the Parliament of 21st May 1485 to be sent to Richard III. (Act. Parl., vol. iii. p. 170).

196. On margin. *Macgregour hielandman stawe away the crown of ingland.* By most readers this amusing story will be ascribed to Pitscottie's imaginative powers. Yet it is curious that more than one story, though not this, about the crown is told by the English chroniclers, who inform us that Richard insisted in fighting with the crown on his head, and that it was found after his death on a hawthorn bush, which was commemorated in the badge assumed by Henry VII. (Annals of England, p. 271). The speeches of Macgregor (pp. 197, 198) are satires on the Highland cattle-lifters still known in Pitscottie's own day, and may safely be credited to Pitscottie or his informant, Bruce of Earlsall.

200. 5. *He foundit ane colledge witht in the said castell callit the chapell ryall and also he bigit the great hall of Stirling.* These may have been works of Cochrane, and certainly were the fruit of the

king's taste for architecture. A college or collegiate church was a fashionable form of foundation in this century, to which belong the chapel of Roslin (1450) and Crichton's collegiate church, as well as many others in Scotland, and of Windsor and King's College in England. It was one of the pieces of ill-fortune of James III. that his pious act led to his downfall through his attempt to annex the benefice of Coldingham to the Chapel Royal, which alienated the Humes and Hepburns, who had at the date of Lauder Bridge supported the king and Cochrane, but now joined the party of the old lords (p. 200, l. 30).

200. 22. *Quho had money steilings of Colldinghame into his handis for the tyme, beleifand for to gett the same in few efterwart.* This was a common form of appropriating Church lands.

CHAPTER X.

201. 13. *And maid ane callit schaw Laird of Sauhie captane of the said castell and delyuerit him James his eldest sone in keeping.* Ferrerius, without naming Shaw or Stirling, says the guardians to whom James had seven years before given his son, "not only for education but also for custody," betrayed him to the king's enemies (Boece, Appendix, p. 399).

201. 24. *And pat his wholl pose of gold and sillwer in the said castell of Edinburgh.* The inventory of the king's pose (treasure), or at least such of it as was found after the battle of Sauchie, has been preserved and is printed (Tytler, vol. ii. pp. 390-393). Some of it was found in the castle of Edinburgh, other parts of it in Scone, where it had been brought from "the field" of Sauchie. The whole value of the coin acknowledged as received by Sir William Knollis, Lord St John of Jerusalem, on 24th February 1491, was £xxiv^mv^cxvii (*ib.*, p. 394). Amongst the articles found were 4 masaris (drinking-cups) and a serk or shirt of Robert the Bruce, and a "covering of variand purpir tarter (tartan) browdin with thrissillis and a unicorn"—one of the first references to tartan and to the thistle as a part of the Scottish Royal Arms. This and other parts of the pose may have been got when the king was pursued to Leith but escaped to Captain Wood's ship (p. 202, l. 12).

202. 3 and 16. *He was to ryde to the norland amangis his lordis. . . . Bot the king caussit the said Captane Wode to land him in Fyfe and ryde throcht the same to the norland lordis.* As afterwards expressly stated in the account of the battle of Sauchie, the northern (including Fife and Angus) and western lords stood by the king and "all the burrowis and commons of Scotland," while his opponents were the men of Lothian and the Borders (p. 207). At this period the division of parties was almost always territorial, and here it was between the North and South—roughly speaking, the Highlands and

Lowlands. The Celtic chiefs were usually more loyal to the Crown, but the *Lowlanders* were more inclined to England, though there were some exceptions to this rule. The fact that "all the boroughs" sided with the king is, if true, as it may be, noteworthy. The policy of James, as of his predecessors and successors, was to favour the boroughs against the nobles. It must be kept in view that Pitscottie, like his ancestor Lord Lyndsay of the Byres, naturally inclined to the loyal or legitimist party, and only abandoned it unwillingly. This renders his censure of the character of James, that he was "a feeble" king and "a tyrant," addicted to "sensual pleasure" and "witchcraft," and "covetous," all the more emphatic.

The account of the king's flight and death (pp. 208, 209), except as to the manner of his slaughter by the pretended priest, which is in Pitscottie only, is not very different from the other historians—Ferrerius, Leslie, Buchanan. Perhaps the story of the miller and his wife and the pretended priest, which is evidently taken from local tradition, is not so untrustworthy as has been sometimes supposed.

208. 9. *Ane woman seand ane mane runnand fast wpon ane horse, scho standand in ane slake bringand watter scho ran fast away and left the king behind hir.* There is a curious variation in the MSS. of this passage. The above is from A. The MSS. Freebairn and Dalyell followed have "and left the pig [*i.e.*, pitcher] behind hir"; while I reads, "scho ran fast away and lute to the flake zett [gate] behind hir." On the whole, I prefer the last. To this day the places for watering horses and cattle, and also springs in fields, are often enclosed with flakes or palings. This one appears to have been opposite the mill door, and the king's horse, frightened by the gate closing, leapt the gate while the king fell off at the door. But "slake" means a gap or narrow passage, and here might mean a gap between palings; so that the version of A also gives sense. The confusion between "flake" and "slake" is due to that constant source of confusion in MSS.—the likeness of *f* to the long *s*. There is still shown in a house at Milton, near the mill and the burn of Bannock, the room where the king is said to have died. This cannot be the actual house, for it has dates on its two gables, 1667 and 1661, but there are some hewn ashlar stones on one of the gables which may have belonged to an older house. The position of the mill-race must have been altered, for it does not run by this house; but the miller's house may, of course, have been separate from the mill.

211. *Ane exclamatioun of King James the thrid.* The whole of this short poem is from Sir David Lyndsay's "Complaynt of the Papingo." It shows that Pitscottie took the same view of James III.'s character and reign as his kinsman the Lyon Herald had done. But as Pitscottie or his transcriber has made no addition to the verses, they are much less detailed than those on James II. It is worth notice that the line—

"He flimed [*i.e.*, flamed or exiled] the duik and pat the erle to deid"—

seems to imply that Albany was banished at the same time as Mar was killed. Pitscottie has been blamed by Tytler for accusing James of his brother's death, but he shares the blame with Sir David Lyndsay. It was undoubtedly a current belief. The same apparent contradiction that made Kirkcaldy of Grange and others who to some extent had believed in Mary's guilt, yet sympathise with her, occurs in this reign. Both contemporaries and historians thought James weak, capricious, sensual, governed by minions, and even a fratricide; yet they felt for his fatal, and, as some thought, fated end.

J A M E S IV.

CHAPTER I.

213. 7, and 215. 2 *et seq.* *Allis soun as the prence saw the said captane . . . he beleiffit suirlye that it had bene his father.* There was nothing improbable in James III. taking refuge in Captain Wood's ships. He had very lately fled in one of them to Fife, and Wood was a faithful servant who might be trusted after defeat. Nor is it unlikely that a rumour should have risen after the battle of Sauchie that he had done so. But it seems strange that the Prince should not have known his own father, for he was now a youth over fifteen. Still Pitscottie no doubt got this and other stories connected with Sir Andrew Wood from the Wood family traditions, and it is possible that the estrangement and separation between the king and his son had lasted so long that he might have forgotten his father's features. This is one of several tales of Pitscottie, difficult to believe, but almost equally difficult to believe invented. James III. had placed him some years before in the charge of Shaw of Sauchie, who had delivered him to the rebel Lords shortly before the battle of Sauchie.

CHAPTER II.

216. 14. *Ane Captane Bartane ansuerit.* John Barton, the skipper under Captain Wood of the Great Michael, commanded at this time the Yellow Carvel; Wood himself commanded The Flower. As to the services and families of the Woods and Bartons, the hereditary sailors who created the Scotch navy in the Forth, see Exchequer Rolls, vol. xiii. pp. clxxix-clxxxv, and Index "Scotch Ships."

217. 19. James Shaw of Sauchie had been Governor of Stirling in the reign of James III. (Lord Treasurer's Accounts, p. lxvii; Excheq. Rolls, vol. x. p. 103) in 1489. He appears to have been succeeded by

Lord Hume in 1490 or 1491 (vol. x. p. 195-263) and Patrick Hume (p. 402, 511-553) down to 1496, when Sir John Lindsay succeeded him (p. 567). So the note, p. 217, requires to be corrected.

CHAPTER III.

218. 27. *Cause gart mak ane belt of irone and wore it dailie.* This was a known form of penance.

219. 25. *At Banaburne—i.e., Bannockburn.* The battle was fought near the two burns of the Sauchie and the Bannock, and James was killed at Beaton's Mill on the latter. The Sauchie, which now feeds the fish-ponds of Sir A. Gibson Maitland's hatchery, falls into the Bannock, so probably this battlefield was somewhat higher up the hillside, and about a mile from the Borestone. It is called in the Acts of Parliament "The Field of Stirling," but most commonly in history the battle of Sauchie, to distinguish it from the earlier battle of Bannockburn.

219. 28. *The first lord that ewer was speciffieit in the sowmondis was lord Dawid Lyndsay of the Byiris.* The records of the Parliament of 6th October 1488, the first extant record of the reign of James IV., does not contain the name of Lord Lyndsay of the Byres amongst the persons charged with treason. Those named are the Earl of Buchan, the uncle of James III., Sir John Ramsay, Lord Bothwell, his favourite, Sir John the Ross of Montgrenan, the first King's Advocate, and Cuthbert Murray of Cokpule (Act. Parl., vol. ii. pp. 201-206). But the record of this Parliament is imperfect, and there is no reason to suppose the Summons contains the names of all who were charged.

220. 12. *And to the effect gaif him ane goode suord and ane goode horse to fortiefie him.* The king's sword was found on the field (Excheq. Rolls, vol. x. p. xxxix). His riderless horse was perhaps the cause of his discovery (Hume Brown, 'History of Scotland,' vol. i. p. 287).

221. 16. *The chancellor and the rest of the lordis.* The Chancellor who took Lord Lindsay's part was the Earl of Argyle (Crawford's 'Officers of State,' p. 47).

221. 23. *Lord Dawid Lyndsay is a mane of the auld world.* That is, of the generation before James IV. A generation born before the Act 1496, c. 3, which required the children of all barons to study arts and law, knew little and cared less for law and its formalities. It was the same spirit which made Archibald Bell-the-Cat utter in Scott's lines the sentiment—

"Thanks to Saint Bothan, son of mine
Save Gawain, ne'er could pen a line."

But in fact his sons could write, though they were not all authors.

222. 3. *Bot ane Mr Patrick Lindsay brother germane to lord David Lyndsay.* This passage, where the spelling varies within two lines,

shows how indifferent even in Pitscottie's time members of the family were to the spelling of their name. Patrick afterwards became Lord Lyndsay of the Byres, and was grandfather of Pitscottie (see Introduction), who did not think it worth while to note a fact well known when he wrote, but forgotten later, so completely, that neither of his former Editors apparently knew it. In judging of the whole story of this trial, which has been doubted, it cannot be left out of sight that it was a very recent family tradition, and though Pitscottie gave it dramatic form, the substance of it can hardly be false. It contains indeed internal marks of its reality. The removal of the king from the judgment-seat may appear improbable, yet was not unlikely at a time when the old feudal law, under which the feudal lord was often judge and party in his own court, was beginning to yield to equity; the flaw in the indictment by which Patrick Lyndsay succeeded in getting it thrown out was just such an objection as might be taken by a criminal lawyer with success from the precision which at that date was required in summonses for crimes. This indeed was required by the feudal law itself.

CHAPTER IV.

225. 25. *Thinkand that all ewill was guid of frist* (i.e., delay). This is evidently the proper reading, and sounds like a proverb or phrase—"Evil is the better of delay," as we now say "To put off the evil day."

225. 30. *Ze haue fyne poyit wordis*. The meaning of this is uncertain. Of the two interpretations suggested in the footnote I prefer "poyatt"=magpie or chattering words, to "pied"=coloured words, because of the punning reference probably intended to Pyotstoun, the estate of Patrick Lindsay, of which the Mains of Kirkforther, his brother gave him as a fee, formed part.

226. 6. *This parliament was haldin at Edinburgh the tent day of May the zeir of god 1^m iiij^e lxxxix zeiris*. There is no extant record of a parliament of this date, but the records at this period are not so complete as to make this an argument of weight against the truth of Pitscottie's story, nor on the other hand is his accuracy in the matter of dates such as to make it unlikely he might have misdated it. Certainly it would be more probable that the trial took place in the Parliament of 6th October 1488, when the other trials for treason were held.

CHAPTER V.

226. *et seq.* The two naval battles in which Wood defeated the English with The Flower and Yellow Carvel are told by Pitscottie alone of our early historians, but they are indirectly confirmed by the grants of Largo and other lands to Wood and by the well-known ballad. Pitscottie probably got his information from the son of Sir Andrew. The second fight with Stephen Bull, at the back of the

May, is told in his best and rarest style, which has some sparks of poetic feeling, as "Be this the sone begane to ryse and schynnit bright wpoun the saillis," p. 229, l. 19. "The captane was blytht and gart peirse the wyne (wine-casks), and drank about to all his skipperis and captans that was wnder him." The nautical incidents must have been derived from a seaman, and though not so detailed, are worthy of comparison with the account of naval warfare in 'The Complaynt of Scotland,' J. A. H. Murray's ed., English Text Soc., p. 40.

229. 10. *Thairfoir sett zour sellffis in order everie man to his awin rowme, lat the gounnaris chairge thair artaillze and the croce bowis and make thame redy, with thair lyme pottis and fyre ballis in zour toppis and tua handit suordis in zour for-rowmes.* With this compare "Boitis man bayre stanis and lyme pottis ful of lyme in the craklene pokis to the top and pavis, veil the top witht pavisis and mantillis"—i.e., "shields" used to protect seamen as well as soldiers. (See Meyrick, 'Ancient Armour,' vol. ii. p. 244, and Glossary, "Pavis." "Mantillis" (Fr. *mantelets*) were large shields fixed on ships to protect the artillery—'Complaynt of Scotland,' Glossary.)

The lime and fireballs were thrown from the tops with the contents of the "craklene pokis," or explosives, upon the enemy's vessel. The men with the two-handed swords were to defend the "for-rowmes" (forecastle) from an attempt to board their own vessel.

230. 13. *This battell was struckkin . . . the zeir of god I^m four hundreith fourscoir ten zeiris one the tent day of August.* Buchanan (vol. i. p. 99) has the same date. The first battle, off Dunbar, had been fought in 1489, but the second, off St Abb's Head, was in the following year, 1490.

CHAPTER VI.

232. margin and l. 20. *How the king wssit mikill iusting.* This is confirmed by all the accounts of the reign of James IV., who was strongly contrasted with his father by his love of tournaments and martial exercises (Dunbar's Poems, Sc. Text. Soc. ed., Introduction, p. cxxxix *et seq.*)

CHAPTER VII.

233. 2. *Ane bairne was borne, raknit to be ane man chylde bot frome the waist wepe was tuo fair persouns witht all memberis and pro-tratouris pertainand to tua bodyis.* Buchanan also describes this monster (vol. ii. p. 100) and says: "I am the more confident in relating this story because there are many honest and credible persons yet alive who saw this prodigy with their own eyes." As it lived till about 1518 any one alive in that year may have done so. Such monstrous births are well authenticated and have been studied by anatomists. The Siamese twins, who lived from 1811 to 1858, and

died within two and a half hours of each other, are the best known modern example. "Two otherwise complete bodies may be attached by an external bond like the Siamese twins, or the one may be wholly or partially enclosed in the tissues of the other" (Chambers's Encyclopædia, under "Monstrosity"). Pitscottie's case was of the latter kind. Their gift of language (l. 20) is no doubt an exaggeration, and is very similar to the list of languages credited to James IV. himself by Dom Pedro d'Ayala. The mention of such monstrosities by a historian was characteristic of Pitscottie and his age, when works on medical science were not yet written in Scotland.

234. 12. *Sune thair efter come ane Dutche knyght in Scotland callit Schir John Clokbus and desyrit fighting and iusting in Scotland.* "Dutche" here, as generally in Pitscottie, means German. As to the duel between the knight and Sir Patrick Hamilton, see Neilson, 'Trial by Combat,' p. 284; Excheq. Rolls, vol. xi. Pref. lxviii, p. 231, 259, where he is called "John Coupans, armiger Regis Francie." The identification of Coupans with Clockbuis would not be clear, for Coupans is always called a Frenchman, but an instrument by the Earl of Erroll with reference to the wood used in the barras or lists on the occasion of the duel of Patrick Hamilton, dated 30th July 1501, describes his antagonist as "John Coupants Gallicus" (Spalding Misc., vol. ii. p. 212). So Pitscottie has apparently made a mistake both as to his name and nationality. The lists of Edinburgh where they fought were on the flat ground below the south side of the Castle Rock, near the king's stables, to which it would be quite possible for the king to throw his hat from the Castle window (p. 235, l. 8).

235. 16. *James the fourt was weill leirnit in the art of mediceein and also ane cuning sorugenar.* James ratified, on 12th October 1506, a grant to the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh by the town in 1505 (printed in Colston, 'Incorporated Trades of Edinburgh'). As to the rise of the two professions reference may be made to Henryson's and Dunbar's poems and Exchequer Rolls, vol. xii. p. 206, vol. xiii. p. 75, 79, 86, 110, and Pref. to vol. xiv. p. cv *et seq.* and p. cxiv. The first notice of an army surgeon is in 1542 (Lord Treasurer's Accounts, 16th August 1542). It was necessary for a warlike king who delighted in justing to have some knowledge of the art of surgery. Buchanan expressly says: "He greedily imbibed an ancient custom of the nobility, for he was skilful in curing wounds, for in old times that kind of knowledge was common to all the nobility as men continually accustomed to arms."

CHAPTER VIII.

235. 20 to 237. 9. The threatened English raid into Scotland which was stopped by the floods, and the retaliating Scottish raid here

mentioned in the addition from MS. I, have been generally overlooked by historians. The latter was probably the same as Tytler (vol. ii. p. 260) refers to as occurring in 1493, which, he says in a note, "is mentioned nowhere but in the Records of Justiciary, November 1493." See Pitcairn's 'Criminal Trials,' vol. i. pp. 16-18.

237. 10. *In this meane tyme the Drummondis brunt the kirk of Miniarde quhair in was sex scoir of Murrayis witht thair wyffis and childerin.* MS. I has Monivaird, a church near Crieff, in Strathearn—a name still locally pronounced as Pitscottie spells it. The cause of the feud was the taking by George Murray, Abbot of Inchaffray, of teinds from the lands of the Drummonds. Both families were of Norman origin, not of Celtic blood; but their feuds were as fierce as those of the Celtic Highlanders. This one was in 1493 (Lord Treasurer's Accounts, cii; Excheq. Rolls, vol. x. p. 1).

237. 15. *And also the king gart tak ane dum woman and pat hir in Inchkeytht and gaif hir tua soung bairnes in companie.* This experiment on the origin of language shows the inquisitiveness into the secrets of nature which characterised James IV.; and the comment, "Sum sayis they spak goode hebrewe bot as to my self I knaw not bot be the authoris reherse," shows there were limits to Pitscottie's credulity. At this date few persons in Scotland knew Hebrew, still less what was good Hebrew.

CHAPTER IX.

238. 15, and 239. 29. *Thairfor directit and send away to ingland as ambassadouris witht commissioun to intreat mariage.*

The whole of this chapter, as to the marriage of James to Margaret Tudor, is much fuller in MS. I, from which the text is taken, than in any other MS. MS. A's brief notice is printed where it occurs in the MS. at p. 245, l. 23, to p. 246, l. 3, immediately after the death of Henry VII., where it is dated in 1504. So it has both got into a wrong place and is wrongly dated, as the marriage took place in August 1503, and Henry VII. did not die till 1509. The same mistake occurs in Freebairn and Dalrymple's editions. It is singular that the names of the ambassadors, both for the negotiations of the marriage in 1502 and to carry out the contract by proxy in 1503, are omitted in MS. I, which is otherwise so much more accurate. The ambassadors in the former year were the Earl of Bothwell, Sir Robert Lindsay the Treasurer, Blackadder, Archbishop of Glasgow, and Andrew Foreman, Apostolic Protonotary; and in the latter year the Archbishop of Glasgow, Bothwell, and Foreman, now elect-Bishop of Moray. Bothwell carried out the marriage by proxy at Richmond on 25th January 1503; and Margaret left Richmond on 27th June,

and, reaching Scotland on 1st August, was married at Holyrood on 8th August 1503.

240. 6. *Sic bankattin feirceis and playes that nevir siclykk was seine in the realme of scotland for the entres of na queine . . . and speciallie Edinburghe stiruilling Sanctandrois Dundie Sanct Johnestoun aberdeine glaskow linlythgow.* The Diary of Young, the Somerset Herald, printed in Leland's 'Collectanea' (vol. iv. p. 265 *et seq.*), describes the queen's reception in Edinburgh; and at least two of Dunbar's poems—"The Thistle and the Rose" and "The Welcome of Margaret as Queen of Scotland"—were then written. The farce of "The Droichis Part in the Play," I have conjectured elsewhere, was written for the occasion (Dunbar, Sc. Text Soc. ed., pp. 183, 279, 314, and Notes on these poems).

If Pitscottie is right in saying that the queen made a circuit to the principal towns at this time, he is the only authority for it. Her entrance to Aberdeen—on which Dunbar wrote another poem, "In Praise of Aberdeen" (p. 251)—appears to have been in 1511.

CHAPTER X.

241. 1. *In this meane tyme Barnard Stewart german brother to the Earle of Lennox and Monser Daubini in France, . . . passit to the realme of Napillis.* This was the famous General, afterwards Marshal, d'Aubigny, on whom Dunbar wrote a poem of welcome when he came to Scotland and an elegy when he died at Corstorphine on 8th June 1508. He was second son of Sir John Stewart of Aubigny, whose eldest son, Sir Alan, was father of John, Earl of Lennox, the father of Matthew, Earl of Lennox ('Stewart Genealogy,' p. 120 *et seq.*) His life and exploits have been traced in the Notes to Scottish Text Society's edition of Dunbar, and Introduction.

242. 4 *et seq.* This addition to our knowledge of the famous tournament, which probably was fought in 1505 as Pitscottie puts it (but see Excheq. Rolls, vol. xiii. p. lv and p. 123), confirms the conjecture made in the Notes to Dunbar's Poems that the Black Knight in the poem "Of Ane Blak-Moir," p. 201 and Notes, was King James himself, and explains why it was James played the practical joke of becoming the champion of the Black Lady "with the mekle lippis." The "white rose" might have been Lady Margaret Gordon, daughter of Huntly, who was so called for her beauty both in Scotland and England, but the dates do not allow of this. Margaret Gordon was married to Perkin Warbeck in January 1496. Warbeck was sent out of Scotland in July 1497, and his wife went with him (Lord Treasurer's Accounts, p. cliii, and Account of 31st October 1497), and as she married in England after Warbeck's death and never returned

to Scotland, the name of White Rose must have been given to some other lady.

243. 18. *The erle of arrane lord hamiltoun gat the degrie that day givin to him be the iudgeis and harrauldis of the best archer.* Degrees were then given in chivalry at tournaments as in arts and law at universities. From this comes the phrase, "to bear the grie."

244. 11. *Betuix everie servuice thair was ane phairs or ane play sum be speikin sum be craft of Igramancie* (necromancy), and at the third day of the banquet *thair come ane cludd out of the ruffe of the hall as ap-peirit to men and opnit and cleikkit up the blak lady.* This is a very curious account of the entertainments of the Court of James IV., and an addition to what Dunbar tells us of these in his poems, but quite in the same spirit. The word "phairs" (farce) had a wider meaning than now, and covered conjuring as well as acting. The ascription of the performance of conjurors to the Black Art was not unnatural, but we are surprised to find Bishop Andrew Foreman stage manager. He was no favourite with Pitscottie, who perhaps gave him a larger share in the performance than he actually took.

CHAPTER XI.

244. 24. *In the zeir of God I^m fywe hundreith nyne zeiris. . . . harie the sewint depairtit out of this present lyff vpon the settirday befor Sanct george day, . . . quhilk was the xxj day of appryle.* He died on 21st April, and St George's day was the 20th, so Pitscottie is here more accurate than usual in his dates in this part of his Chronicles.

245. 23 *et seq.* The passage here printed from MS. A has got out of place, and would have been perhaps omitted, as the account of James's marriage has been already given from MS. I in its proper place.

246. 11. *That he* (Henry VIII.) *neidit to dreid no bak heir of Scotland.* This reading of MS. A is probably a blunder. B's *backchakis* (back checks) and I's *bacfeir* (back fear) are both intelligible and pithy words now lost (see Glossary), and describe well the part Scotland played as the ally of France.

247. 1. *Syne passit fordwart to Rome quhair he was ressarwit be the pope and treattit thair as ane stranger.* This does not mean, as it now would, inhospitably but hospitably, as is shown by the narrative in the next two chapters.

CHAPTER XII.

247. The part Foreman is said to have taken in reconciling Louis XII. and the Pope is not in the French Chronicles, and we cannot be sure that it is true. Pitscottie, like other Scotch writers, was disposed to magnify the part played in public affairs by his countrymen.

CHAPTER XIII.

249. 1 *et seq.* The curious tale of Foreman's grace is amusing, but of doubtful credibility. Foreman would scarcely have admitted he was not a good clerk because he did not know the Italian pronunciation of Latin.

250. 10. *And gawe him thair for his rewaird the bischoperick of Burges of Barray.* Foreman was made Bishop of Bourges in Berry, and this rich see outweighed the English gift of the Priory of Cottingham, and made the mercenary prelate support France and become one of the chief promoters of the war of Scotland with England.

251. 3. *In the same seir the king of Scottland bigit ane great scheip callit the great Michell.* It was called after the patron saint of France, but I think I have erred in giving it the name of "St" Michael in some parts of the present work and in the Preface to vol. xiii. of the Exchequer Rolls. At least this is not done by the early Scotch historians. Pitscottie, from the information he got from Sir Andrew Wood, has much the fullest account of the vessel, the largest built at that time in any country.

251. 7. *Scho waistit all the wodis in Fyfe except Falkland wode, by (besides) all the tymmer that was gottin out of Noraway.* Mr John Scott writes me : "I come of an ancient Scottish shipbuilding stock, and our family tradition, no doubt derived from Pitscottie, runs thus, 'She wasted a' the woods of Scotland to big her, and danged a' the men in Scotland to launch her.'"

Her length, "xij scoir of futtis," 240 feet (p. 251, l. 14), was enormous for that day, but has now been trebled. In Chambers's Encyclopædia, article "Shipbuilding," there are useful diagrams of wooden and iron vessels, which have now attained the length of upwards of 700 feet, and an interesting account of the history of the art. In the article "Navy" there is a woodcut of the Great Harry, the English rival of the Michael, built by Henry VII., and the first ship of the Royal Navy of England. The interest taken by James in building the Michael is shown by many passages in the Exchequer Rolls.

251. 15. *Scho was ten fute thik in the waill, cuttit jeastis of ask witht hir wallis and burdis on ewerie syde sa stark and thik that na canon could gang throw hir.* Mr John Scott furnishes me with the following note : "The word wyles (wallis) or walls is a shipwright's technical term—in modern English meaning the heavy planking which in wood ships was placed in the vicinity of the water-line, and generally at the end of the beams" (Pitscottie's "cuttit jeastis"). The buirds or boards are now technically called the "ceiling."

CHAPTER XIV.

252. 12. *Schir Andrew Wode is my author, quho was quarter maister of hir, and Robene of Bartane quho was Maister skipper.* See, as to Wood and Barton, note above (p. 216) and Introduction.

253. 11 *et seq.* A full account of the dispute as to the claim by Queen Margaret on Henry VIII. for her brother Arthur's legacy will be found in the despatches of West ('Papers of Henry VIII.', 2nd series, vol. i. p. 489 *et seq.*; and Excheq. Rolls, vol. xiii, Preface, p. lxx).

CHAPTER XV.

255. 5. *He gat the priorie of Cowdibett.* Cottingham, in E. Riding of Yorkshire.

255. 25. *Maid the earle of Arran captane and great admerall and maid the lorde Fleming wice admerall to sail in the Margarit and the lorde Rose hukit (of Hawkhead) in the James quhilk was the kingis great scheipis.* Buchanan also mentions James IV.'s "cost about ships, which was greatest of all, for he built three stately ones of a great bulk and many also of a middle rate; one of his great ones was in size, cost, and equipment the biggest that ever any man had seen sail. . . . One writer has given a description of it, which I pass over, and the measure of it is kept in some places." It might almost seem that Buchanan had read Pitscottie's account, but this is unlikely. He may perhaps refer to a MS. of Sir Andrew Wood's, which Pitscottie probably copied. Buchanan adds the criticism that "these ships were so big that they stood in the sea like immovable rocks unfit for any use." They were too large for the time, but a greater blunder was committing the command to nobles more used to the lists than the sea.

256. margin. *How the king of Scotlandis captans brak his command.* Arran's divagation to Carrickfergus instead of France, though designed probably as a diversion, was unsuccessful, and no doubt contributed to the defeat of Flodden. He might have intercepted Howard the Admiral, who fought at Flodden, and this had been intended as his part in the war.

256. 1 and 5. *The lorde Rose hukit in the James; . . . the earle of Arrane haueand charge to pase witht him. Him should probably be them.*

256. 25. *The quen of France wrait ane lufe letter to the king of Scotland.* That Anne of Brittany sent James a letter and a ring is likely enough. This would appeal to the chivalry of the royal knight-errant, who had been eager all his life to practice the game of war. But the expression "lufe letter" must not be overstrained. The fourteen thousand French crowns and supplies sent were a valuable

accompaniment of the other gifts. De la Motte, the French ambassador, also came, but no troops. A ring, supposed to be the one sent, found after Flodden, is now in the Herald's College, London.

CHAPTER XVI.

258. 11, margin, and 259. 8. *Ane mirakill sen. Thair come ane man clade in ane blew gowne in at the kirk doore.* The story of this apparition, immortalised in 'Marmion,' where it is taken almost literally from Pitscottie, will be doubted or disbelieved by most modern readers. Pitscottie gives it only on hearsay (p. 259, l. 8), but evidently accepted it as true. Buchanan, less open to the charge of credulity, says, "Amongst these [those present] there was David Lyndsay of the Mount, a man of approved honesty and of a learned education, who in the whole course of his life abhorred lying; and if I had not received this story from him as a certain truth, I had omitted it as a romance of the vulgar." Lyndsay was also one of Pitscottie's authors or sources.

On such evidence it would be rash to doubt the reality of the apparition. How it was produced is a different matter. It has been suggested by Tytler that Queen Margaret, who opposed the war, contrived it to dissuade her husband from invading England. Yet this is not quite consistent with the indignation Margaret expressed to West, the English ambassador, as to the withholding by Henry of Arthur's legacy, or her letter in which she stated that her husband was "ever the longer the better to us." Margaret was, however, inconsistent and fickle, and may, while indignant at her brother's conduct, have opposed the appeal to arms. When the incident at Linlithgow is taken in connection with the Summons of Plotcock at the Cross of Edinburgh, it looks as if both were devices to express the popular aversion to the English war, which, as was seen before Flodden, many of the Scottish nobles shared with the citizens, rather than a sign of Margaret's English patriotism.

259. 5. *Bot wanischit away as he had bene ane blink of the sone or ane quhipe of the whirle wind and could no more be seine.* Another example of Pitscottie's occasional rise from prosaic to poetic expression.

CHAPTER XVII.

259. 24, and 260. 2. *Cassin be Robert Borthik the maister gounar.* An account of the rise of the Scotch artillery and a note as to Robert Borthwick will be found in Excheq. Rolls, Pref. p. clxix *et seq.* His guns were inscribed—

"Machina sum Scoto Borthuik fabricata Roberto "

(Leslie's History, Sc. Text Soc. ed., p. 133).

He was the first great native cannon founder and artilleryman in Scotland, whose earlier cannon came, like Mons Meg, from abroad.

260. 9. *The sowmondis of Plotcok, quhilk desyrit all men to compeir . . . within the space of xl dayis befor his maister.* Plotcock is supposed to be a Scotch corruption or nickname for Pluto, or the devil—a survival of the heathen mythology which the writer of MS. I repudiates in his introductory verses. The devil is credited with a knowledge of Scotch law, in which forty days was the time allowed to answer a summons. Flodden was fought on the 9th September 1513, and James held his muster on the Burgh Muir on a day in August.

260. 15, and 261. 5. *Bot quhither thir sowmondis war proclameit be waine persouns night walkeris or dronkin men for thair pastyme, or gif it was bot one spreit as I haue schawin to sow befor, I came not tell trewlie.* Here again we come across a limit to Pitscottie's credulity, and he considers it necessary to vouch his authority (l. 29). "Werelie the author of this that caussit me to wryte the maner of the sowmondis was ane gentillmane landit, quho was at the tyme of twenty zeiris of aige and was in the toun the tyme of the sowmondis, and thairefter quhene the feild was strikin he swore to me thair was no maner of man that eskaipit that was callit in that sowmondis bot that on man allone quhilk maid his protestatioun." This is an important passage, showing that Pitscottie personally knew men of the younger generation who fought at Flodden. It corroborates the conjecture made in the Introduction as to the date of his own birth, which, if it was about 1532, gave ample time for this. It is evident that while he accepted the fact of the summons he did not believe it was a spirit, or he would not have suggested a drunk man as a possible alternative explanation.

261. 31. *Bot nevertheles nothing wald be hard bot "fordwart."* The cry of "*À Berlin*," in Paris, before the Franco-Prussian war, is a modern parallel.

262. 5. *All maner of men betuix sextie and sextene alswell spretuall as temporall.* "Spretuall" probably means the vassals of the Church and the great dignitaries who were feudal lords. The ordinary priest had by this time ceased to fight.

CHAPTER XVIII.

262. Contents. *Hou the king passit to the feild of floudane.* Pitscottie's, as usual, much too general account of military movements gives without dates the following as the steps of James's march:—

Borough Muir, muster.

Ersiltoun Tower, camp.

Wark Castle cast down.

Norham Castle cast down.

Ford Castle. Lady Ford asked leave to visit her friends and passed to Surrey's camp.

James surprised by Surrey's advance.

The counsel of the Scotch Lords.

James determines to fight in spite of their counsel.

James forbids Borthwick to fire on the English crossing the Till.

Mr Hodgkin argues that the English could not be seen at Twizel Bridge over the Till from the Scotch camp.

262. 19. *Sum sayis the lady of Furde was ane bewtiefull woman and that the king mellit witht hir.* Pitscottie evidently did not give implicit belief to the story, but only half credits it, because of the character of James in his relations with women (p. 263, l. 5, "I beleif," &c.)

The question whether an intrigue between James and the Lady Heron of Ford really affected the issue of Flodden has been keenly debated. Of the earlier Scotch historians, Pitscottie states it as a rumour, Buchanan as a fact, Leslie ignores it, Tytler follows Pitscottie, Hill Burton is sceptical, and Hume Brown, like Burton, qualifies the story by "it is said" ('History of Scotland,' vol. i. p. 335).

The arguments of Mr T. Hodgkin, D.C.L., in 'Archæologia Eliana,' 1891, certainly deserve serious consideration. Mr Hodgkin thinks the story may have originated from Lady Ford having made personal suit to James for the delivery of her husband, then a prisoner in Scotland, and for the abstaining from casting down his castle, after which she went to the camp of Surrey, to whom she gave information as to the Scotch army (Hall's Chronicles, p. 558). The argument may be pushed even further than he has done. Ford Castle was cast down, and her husband was not released. To crave his release was not the act of an adulteress. He also points out that the dates leave very little time for an intrigue which could have delayed the campaign, and that while James may have been at Ford Castle from 29th August till 5th September, a stay of twenty days at Ford is impossible, as he entered England only seventeen days before Flodden. Lady Ford cannot have gone to Surrey at York, as Pitscottie says, from Ford, for Surrey left York on 26th August, and she must have gone to him in any case some days before 5th September.

263. 5-29. *I beleif the stinkand adullterie and fornicatioun had ane greit pairt of thair ewill succes. . . . And hie againe as ane feminnat prince subdewit and intyssid be the allurment and fallis desait of this wickit woman.* Pitscottie's doubts here disappear, and he treats Lady Ford and James's intrigue as a fact. The opportunity of preaching a moral sermon was too strong for him to resist.

CHAPTER XIX.

265. 30. Dacre was called "Lord Dacre of the North," so I is probably right.

CHAPTER XX.

267. 13. *The lord Lyndsay being ryplie advyssit in this matter.* Patrick, Lord Lyndsay, was the brother of David, Lord Lyndsay, whose skilful defence when charged for treason after Sauchie has already been narrated (ch. iv. p. 224 *et seq.*) He was Pitscottie's grandfather, and the traditions of the family no doubt furnished Pitscottie with these anecdotes which he has described in so telling a manner. He may have inherited his skill in story-telling from Lord Lyndsay, who was celebrated for his pithy speeches.

CHAPTER XXI.

270. margin. *The ordour of the kingis airme.* Pitscottie states this thus as regards the Scots: the Earl of Huntly and Lord Hume led the vanguard, the king took the "great battell" or centre. Huntly and Hume were opposed by Lords Percy and Westmoreland, the king by Surrey, supported by his son Lord Thomas Howard. Huntly and Hume defeated their antagonists, the king defeated Surrey, but was hard pressed by Lord Thomas Howard, and Hume, when urged by Huntly, refused to come to his aid, and the king was defeated before Huntly came to engage. This is a very general description, and omits the part taken by Lennox and Argyle, who were on the other or right wing of the Scots, and were early in the battle defeated by Stanley. The most detailed and probably accurate account is given by Mr Hodgkin, after a careful study of the ground and the English sources. His plan of the battle ('Archæologia Eliana,' p. 28) agrees with that of Pinkerton, vol. i. p. 102.

CHAPTER XXII.

271. The defection of the Humes was currently believed in Scotland, but is not certain. The Scotch suggested various reasons for the defeat to explain it away. Polydore Vergil (ch. xxvi. p. 641), however, says that Alexander Hume, the Chamberlain, saw his countrymen perishing and did not move even a foot from where he was standing.

272. 8. *Swme sayis thair come foure men wpoun foure horse rydand to the feild witht foure speiris and ane wyspe wpoun ewerie speir heid to be ane signe and witter to thame that ewerie ane of them sould knawe ane wther.* The story that James escaped from the field was also currently believed, but the story of the four horsemen has the air of romance. There seems little reason to doubt the sword and dagger now at the Herald's College in London were the king's, or that his body was allowed to lie at Shenes unburied till the reign of Elizabeth, when it was buried at St Michael's by Lancelot Young, the Queen's glazier (Stow's 'Survey of London,' p. 539).

273. 17. *Tuo of his gaird the ane callit Alexander Makcullouck and the wther the Squyer of Clesche, quhilk was men of makdome baitht allyke to the king.* Squire Meldrum of Cleish, in Kinross-shire, served with the navy at this time (Lyndsay's 'Poems,' vol. i. p. 161); but there were other lands of Cleish, which belonged to the family of Colville (Great Seal Register, 1513-46, No. 1695), and Mr David Laing conjectured that a Colville was the person here referred to.

273. 26. *Bot seit we knaw suirlie they gat not the king because they had nocht the taikin of his irone belt to schaw to no Scottisman.* Perhaps this was a token the English were scarcely likely to show. Pittscottie's doubt does not go the length of thinking James was not killed, but only that they did not get his body.

CHAPTER XXIII.

274-276. Here MS. I adds a chapter relating, as some of its other additions do, to the part taken by Highlanders—*e.g.*, the tale of Macgregor, the Athole man, at Bosworth Field, and various references to the Lord of the Isles and other Highland chiefs.

274. 1. *Mackleine ane gret man of the Yleis of Scotland.* This was Maclean of Duart in Mull. According to Tytler (vol. ii. p. 294), Lachlan Maclean of Duart fought and was killed at Flodden, and Hector Maclean of Duart is said to have been killed, in a MS. History of the Family cited by Buchanan ('History of the Clans').

276. 6. *James the feird slaine . . . nocht be the manheid nor wisdome of Inglischemen bot be his awin willfull misgovernance.* Pittscottie again preaches from the same text the same moral. This phrase, "willfull misgovernance," had been caught up by him from Sir David Lyndsay's verses (p. 278, l. 10).

277. *Ane exclamatioun of James the fourt.* The whole of these verses are taken with verbal and unimportant variations from Sir David Lyndsay's "Complaynt of the Papingo." It may be noted that "wilfull misgovernance" (p. 278, l. 10) in the verses refers to the king not taking wise counsel, for Sir David does not allude to the alleged intrigue with Lady Ford.

J A M E S V.

CHAPTER I.

279. 5. *Quho gart cheis ane gaird to be about the king hir some for saif gaird of his body, to wit, the lord Ewindail and his bretherin.* This was the first regular Scots bodyguard, no doubt suggested

by the French bodyguard of Scots Archers, and prompted by the experience of former reigns as to the kidnapping of infant kings. Lord Evandale was Andrew Stewart, Lord Avandale (1500 to 1543), when he was created Lord Ochiltree. He died in 1548, and was succeeded by his son Andrew, second Lord Ochiltree, whose second daughter Margaret was the second wife of John Knox.

His brethren were Harry, afterwards Lord Methven, Queen Margaret's third husband, James, and William Stewart. In a letter from the queen to Wolsey, 13th September 1526, it is noted: "Mention is made that James Stewarde and William Stewarde, bredir to the Lord Evindale, be both slayne. They were speciall servantes to the Queenis grace and bredir to Harry Stewarde that attendit upon her said grace" (State Papers, Henry VIII., iv. p. 459).

280. 25. *And so scho tuik him* (the Earl of Angus) *to hir husband.* Margaret married Angus on 6th August, having given birth to the Duke of Ross, her posthumous son by James V., on 30th April 1514.

CHAPTER II.

283. 29. *This skirmische was callit be the commons of the cuntrie and toun of Edinburgh "clenze calsay" quhilk was strikin in the zeir of God I^m v^e and fyften zeiris in the moneth of May.* Pitscottie has gone wrong as to the date, which Buchanan and Leslie (*Historie, Bannatyne Club*, p. 115) correctly place on 29th or 30th April 1520. He is the only authority for the meeting between James Beaton, the Archbishop of Glasgow, and Gavin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld, and for Douglas's discovery of the armour under the rochet of Beaton, which led to the saying, "I persae, me lord, zour conscience be not goode for I heir thame clatter." "Thame" refers to the "plaittis of his jake clattering," and not, as sometimes supposed, to his conscience. Tytler (ii. p. 316) probably took the story in the form, "Zour conscience is not a good one, for I hear it clatter," from Freebairn and Dalyell's editions, but MS. A's reading seems preferable (*Excheq. Rolls*, vol. xiv. p. xlvii-xlix).

Pitscottie's mistake as to the date dislocates the whole order of events at this period of James V.'s reign.

284. 30. *The lordis . . . caussit the chancelar to ansuer the lord Home.* The Chancellor, who at first opposed Albany's appointment as Regent, but afterwards consented to it, was Archbishop Beaton.

CHAPTER III.

286. 3. *And derectit thair commissioun thairwpon to ane ambassadour to wit Schir Androw Wode of Largo, . . . to France to the*

Duke of Albany requesting him to come in Scotland to rescue the government. Pitscottie has wrongly placed Albany's coming to Scotland after the skirmish of "clenze the calsay." Albany came to Scotland on 16th May 1515, and returned to France on 7th June 1517. He came back for the second time 19th November 1521 (Leslie, p. 116), and returned to France 28th October 1522. Pitscottie here refers to the first visit, which he may have confounded with the second in 1521.

286. 12. *Bischope Androw Forman bischope of Murray.* Foreman's life is traced in Lord Treasurer's Accounts, p. clviii, and Exchequer Rolls, vol. xiii. p. clii, vol. xiv. p. lxxxii, but further incidents illustrating his character, as Pitscottie represents it, will be found in the present chronicles. He was born before 1476, and died in March 1521. Buchanan contrasts John Hepburn and Andrew Foreman. "John was as profoundly covetous as Andrew was careless of money and profuse in his expenditure" (Hist., vol. ii. p. 267).

286. 19. *Pryor Johnne Hepburne was at that time wicar generall of the bischoperick of Sanctandrois.* The quarrel between the Humes and the Hepburns, formerly kinsmen and allies, appears to have arisen through this conflict for the Archbishopric of St Andrews, which Prior John Hepburn aimed at. He was a grandson on the mother's side of Alexander, first Lord Home; but Andrew Foreman, Bishop of Moray, a Merse man, whose family were vassals of the Homes, was supported by Alexander, third Lord Home, for whom he obtained the restoration of the Priory of Coldingham, which was given to David Home, his youngest brother. Although the dispute as to the Archbishopric was compromised by Foreman, who obtained it, allowing Hepburn to retain the rents he had collected as vicar-general and other preferments, he continued the bitter opponent of the Homes. Buchanan is very hostile to the Prior, and does not allow him credit for the part he took in the foundation of St Leonard's College, or for his benefactions to the Priory of St Andrews. There is no doubt he was, like many other Churchmen of the time, greedy for promotion in the Church, and he was jealous of Foreman.

288. 23. *Sa he come haistielie in Scotland and landit the tent day of in the zeir of God I^m v^e and xvi zeiris.* It was on 16th or 17th May 1515 (Leslie, p. 102) that Albany landed at Ayr. Dalyell's edition says wrongly "at Leith," for it is proved by entries in the Exchequer Rolls (vol. xiv. Pref. lxvii and p. 163) that he landed in the West. His first Parliament was held on 12th July 1515 (Act. Parl., ii. p. 282), so Pitscottie errs as to the year. Buchanan is right as to the year, but says "20th May," which probably refers to his landing at Dumbarton, though the exact date of his arrival there seems to have been 18th May 1515 (Excheq. Rolls, vol. xiv. p. xlii).

289. 9. The month of the Parliament is rightly put by MS. I in July, but in the wrong year 1516.

CHAPTER IV.

290. 8. *Pryour Johne Hepburne . . . schew the Duike, . . . of all the secreittis and demireittis of the lorde Home and his father and brother fre the feild of Bannaburne into the feild of Flowdown, . . . witht all wther secreittis and inuentiouns that he could inwent contrair lord Home and his brother.* The story of the Homes refusing to aid James IV. at Flodden may have been one of these inventions.

CHAPTER V.

294. 29. *In this meane tyme the Earle of Angus was stowin quyitlie out of his ludging and had to the schipis and convoyit quyitlie to France.* There is no corroboration of the statement that Angus went to France in 1515 or 1516. His retreat to that country was in March 1522.

CHAPTER VI.

296. 3. *And thairefter straik the heidis from thame [at Edinburgh the zeir of god I^m v^x xvij zeiris].* The execution of Lord Home and his brother was in 1516. This, contrary to most of Pitscottie's mistakes as to dates, is in advance of the true date, and is probably only a transcriber's blunder—xvii for xvi. The authorities differ as to the day. The Diurnal of Occurrents has 8th and 9th October, Leslie has 8th October, and Buchanan 11th and 12th October 1516 (Hist., vol. ii. p. 138), 9th October (Dunbar, 'Scottish Kings,' p. 226). Major refers to it as a proof of the danger of allowing noble families to become too powerful. He writes as a contemporary, who had been born and brought up in the Merse, the country of the Homes.

CHAPTER VII.

296. 11. *Thairfoir he (Angus) conwoyit himself quyitlie out of France to Ingland.* Angus was not at this period in France. He accompanied Queen Margaret across the Borders in the autumn of 1515 (Buchanan, vol. ii. p. 136), but when she lay ill at Morpeth, after the birth of Margaret Douglas at Harbottle, deserted her, and returning to Scotland, made terms with Albany, and was one of the Council of Regency appointed by him when he returned to France in June 1517. The Queen came back to Scotland later in that year, and was attended by her husband from Lamberton Kirk; "but they lived not together so lovingly as before."

297. 12. *Scho was deliuerit of ane dochter callit and nameit lady Margarit quho remainit still thair (i.e., in England) to this day weill intertenit intending tyttill to the croune be hir or hir successioun.* This is an important passage for the date of Pitscottie's *Chronicles*. Lady Margaret Douglas was born at Harbottle on 8th October 1516, and marrying Matthew, Earl of Lennox, in 1544, became the mother of Darnley. She never returned to Scotland, but, remaining in England, attended to the interests of her husband and son at the English Court. She died on 7th March 1578 new style, so this part and probably the whole of Pitscottie's *History* must have been written before that date. This confirms and renders more precise the conjecture made on independent grounds that the *Chronicles* were written about this date (Introduction, I.)

297. 20. *The Duik of Albanie heirand the requist of king harie was werie glad and accepit and grantit all thingis that the quen wald desyre in king Harieis name and in spetiall ffor ressait and intertinement of hir husband.*

298. 1. *In the maij heireftir in the zeir of god I^m v^c and xviij zeiris the quein and hir husband returned out of ingland and come in scotland quhair scho was weill resaut be the duik of albanie.* The same mistake is repeated here. Margaret did not return to Scotland till after Albany left in June 1517 (Tytler, ii. p. 310).

298. 18. *The Duik of Albanie obedient to the king of France desyir, pat the realme in order and left Monser Dilabaty Regent in his place to his returning out of France.* A memoir, by the present writer, of this gallant French knight and just governor, who won the praise even of the Scots opposed to the French alliance and fell a victim to his administration of justice, will be found in 'Blackwood's Magazine,' July 1893, p. 132. His name has been tortured by the Scotch writers even more than usual. Buchanan calls him "Anthony D'Arcy," Sir David Lyndsay and Leslie "Darsie" and "Delabaute"; and here in two pages Pitscottie or his transcriber has "Dilabaty," "Dilabatie," and "Tilebatie." He is called "Bautius" in the 'History of the Family of Home of Wedderburn,' where the fullest account of his murder by David Home is given (pp. 30-33). His proper name was "Sir Antony d'Arces de la Bastie sur Melan."

CHAPTER VIII.

299. 6. *William Meldrum laird of Binnis.* Many particulars as to Meldrum will be found in Sir David Lyndsay's poem, "The Historie of Squyer Meldrum," and Laing's *Notes*, vol. i. p. 303. He was born about 1493, and died, according to Laing, 1533 or 1534 (p. 330). As to Pitscottie's statement that he survived the assault by Stirling of Keir in 1516 or 1517 for fifty years, Mr Laing justly

remarks, "As Lyndsay (who died before 18th April 1555) survived the Squyer for several years, the statement of Pitscottie that the latter lived for fifty years after escaping the murderous attack on his life in 1517 is manifestly erroneous. If fifteen years were substituted for fifty, a near approach would be made to the probable date of Squyer Meldrum's death." He is last mentioned on record on 15th May 1532.

299. 8. *The Lady Glennagieis quho was dochter to Mr Richart Lawsonsone provest of Edinburgh.* The Lady Gleneagles was probably a daughter of the Richard Lawson who, according to Pitscottie, protested against the Summons of Plotcock and escaped from Flodden. He was Justice-Clerk from 1491 to 1505, and Provost of Edinburgh in 1504. The Lawsons were a rich burgher family, who had a town house in Lauriston, and the Provost acquired an estate near the Burgh Loch and the barony of Brighall. Lady Lawson's Wynd preserves their name, and their town house was only demolished in 1877 (Grant's 'Old and New Edinburgh,' vol. i. p. 194; vol. ii. pp. 223-356).

299. 21. *Sett on him beneth the Rude chapell witht fyftie airmett men.* The Rood Chapel was half-way between Edinburgh and Leith, near Bonnington, on the old road between Edinburgh and Leith (Grant, p. 151).

299. 31. *Be the mightie powar of God he eskaipit the deid and all his men that was witht him and leifit fyftie zeir thairefter.* This is in all the MSS. of Pitscottie, but "fyftie" must be a mistake (see Note to p. 299, l. 6).

301. 11. *It was said his hair was lang lyke wemens and plat in ane heid lace, the quhilk David Home of Wadderburne knitt on his saidill beir.* The hair was kept in the family of Wedderburn till 1810, when it was burnt by Miss Jean Home (Scott's 'Tales of a Grandfather').

CHAPTER IX.

302. 26. *The Duik of Albanie . . . come to Scotland and landit the sext day in the moneth of . . . in the zeir of God I^m x^c [xix] zeiris.* MS. I inserts xix; but the true date of Albany's second visit to Scotland was 19th November 1521, when he landed at Gareloch. Buchanan (vol. ii. p. 143) says October 30, 1521. He received his salary from 3rd December 1521 to 31st May 1522 (Excheq. Rolls, Pref. lxxiv).

303. 9. *And heirefter the next zeir passit to Wark and seigit it.* This would be, according to Pitscottie's date (MS. I, p. 302, l. 29), the year 1520, or, according to the corrected date of Albany's landing (p. 302, n. 2), 1522; but although Albany invaded the English borders in the

latter year, there is no authority for a siege of Wark either in 1519 or 1522. The siege of Wark took place during Albany's third and last visit in 1523. Buchanan served in the siege, so cannot be wrong as to its date (Buchanan, vol. ii. p. 287). Pitscottie appears to have slumped together the second and the third visit, of which he makes no specific mention.

303. 25. *In this meane tyme the Maister of Haillis and the laird of Neisbett . . . and ane Haittlie throw consall of the Hepburnes . . . betraissit and murderst ane zoung innocent man pryour of Coldinghame.* This was David Home, brother of Lord Home ('History of the Family of Home of Wedderburn,' p. 29).

CHAPTER X.

304. 18. *Captane Morise.* Morice de Nogent succeeded Captain de St Jacques (Jakkis), who held the post of Captain of Dunbar after the death of De la Bastie; but the chief French officer was Gonzolles, Albany's treasurer, who is probably the same person called by Pitscottie (p. 304, l. 22) Monsieur "Lusence" (A) or "Lufevce" (I), one of the regents. He is generally called Groselles by Scotch contemporary writers. Groselles held Dunbar till 1536 (see Excheq. Rolls, vol. xiii. p. 351; Index to State Papers, Henry VIII.)

305. 2. *Sa the Duik of Albanie tuike his leif at king and consall and passit in France. Sa all the tyme that the Duik of Albanie was in Scotland first and last was fyue zeiris and ane half.* The chronology of this passage is impossible to reconcile with the facts. Albany was in Scotland from 16th May 1515 to 6th or 7th June 1517, 19th November 1521 to 28th October 1522, 24th September 1523 to 20th May 1524, or in all about three years and seven months. Pitscottie probably reached his period of "five years and a half" by antedating the commencement of the second visit to 1519.

305. 19. *The king heirand word of this preheminance was gladlie contentit to leif. correctioun at the scollis.* With this compare Sir David Lyndsay, "The Complaynt to the King," vol. i. p. 48—

" The Kyng was bot twelf yeris of age
 Quhen new rewlaris come, in thair raige
 For Commonweill makand no cair
 Bot for thair profiteit singulair
 Imprudentlie, lyk wytyles fuilis
 Thay tuke that young prince frome the scuilis."

305. 27. *Chaingit all his auld offiecearis and pat new in thair steid.* MS. I adds, "This was done in the zeir of God I^m 5^o xxi zeiris"; but it was certainly not till after Albany left for France on 20th May 1524, which appears to be the proper date of the close of the Regency.

James was born in 1512, so attained the age of twelve in 1524, which (though two years before the ordinary age of puberty) gave an excuse for his being recognised as king and for putting an end to his tutory under Albany and the Council of Regency he left behind. The new Regents, according to Pitscottie, were James Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow, the Earl of Lennox, and a Frenchman called Lusence (MS. A) or Lufevise (MS. I); but, according to Leslie, James Beaton, Gavin Dunbar, Bishop of Aberdeen, and the Earls of Huntly and Argyle, to whom he added Gonzolles (Leslie, vol. ii. p. 123; Tytler, vol. ii. p. 223). This appears to identify "Lusence" or "Lufevise" with "Gonzollis." But the discrepancy in the list of the Scotch Regents is difficult to explain.

Gonzolles is probably the same person called Grosselles in the Exchequer Rolls (vol. xiv. p. cxliv, and vol. xv. p. xli, where the references are given). The editor of the 'State Papers of Henry VIII.' accepts the identification of Gonzolles with Grosellis (see Index under these names).

305. 28. *That is to say, Thesawrar, comptrollar, secretar, Mr Messer, Mr Houshald, copper, carver, Mr Stablar, Mr Hunter, Mr Fallcuner and Mr Portar and a fooll callit Johnne Makcserie.* This list of officers is curious, both in itself and in the order they are arranged, which, beginning with Treasurer and ending with the royal fool, appears to follow the order of rank. The most important office of all, that of chancellor, which had been held by James Beaton, is omitted, and Beaton, though he resigned on 1st August 1524 (*Acta Dominorum Concilii*), seems to have been reinstated, for he is chancellor again in 1525 (Crawford, 'Lives of the Officers of State'). The treasurer and controller also resigned. They were important officers, as they had the charge of the Accounts of Exchequer; and Henry Stewart, brother of Lord Avandale, and the queen's favourite, got the former, John Campbell of Lundy the latter office. In 1526, when Angus acquired supreme power, they were dismissed, and Archibald Douglas of Kilspindy, his uncle, became Treasurer, while Sir James Colville, who had been Controller since 1525, was continued in that office. Mr Patrick Hepburn became Secretary in 1524 (*Excheq. Rolls*, vol. xvi. p. xxxviii), for whom Erskine of Hatton was substituted in 1526. It is difficult to understand how Mr Messer or Macer appears next to the Secretary. Mr Maitland Thomson, Historical Curator of the Register House, suggests that this word may be a corruption for usher (*admissarius*) or for almeser (*almoner*). The Master of the Household in the early part of the reign of James V. was the Earl of Argyle (*Excheq. Rolls*, vol. xiv. p. 317), who was succeeded by Sir George Douglas of Pittendreich, brother of Angus, during his domination, as he was after the fall of Angus by Sir William Learmonth of Dairsie. The remaining offices mentioned as changed in August 1524 were subordinate offices in the royal household. From the Privy Seal Register it appears

that Lord Avandale was made master usher, Henry Stewart, his brother, carver, and John Inglis, porter.

John Mackcrerie the fool is mentioned by Sir David Lyndsay in his "Complaynt to the King," vol. i. p. 33—

"Also Johne Mackrery, the kingis fule,
Gat doubill garmentis again the Yule."

CHAPTER XI.

306. 1. *Fforther thair was foure lordis chossin to be tutouris and governouris to the king, that all cassuallietie and benefices sould be disponit bot be thame, and that thai sould remaine still witht the king.* There is much confusion as to the Regency at this period. The revolution of 1524 had been carried through by the queen and Arran, and their supporters no doubt got the principal offices, and induced the Parliament of that year to declare Albany's Regency at an end. In it Beaton, who had been only for a brief period deprived, Dunbar, then Bishop of Aberdeen, Arran, and Argyle, were nominated as members of the Privy Council, "with the queen's grace to direct all matters, and that nothing be done without their advice" (Act. Parl., vol. ii. p. 285 *b*). Those might appear to be the four lords Pitscottie refers to, but from what follows he means Angus, Arran, Lennox, and Archbishop Beaton. Now Angus did not return to Scotland till towards the end of 1524, and did not get a place on the Council till the Parliament of the year 1525. That year a quite different arrangement of the Regency was made, and though the persons nominated do not appear to have received the name of Regents, they practically held the Regency in commission. The Parliament of 15th February 1525 appointed a committee of the Privy Council, consisting of the Archbishops of St Andrews and Glasgow and the Bishop of Aberdeen to represent the spiritual estate, while the temporal estate was represented by Angus and Lennox as well as Arran and Argyle, the queen "being principal and odd person, to put forth the king's authority in all matters relating to his person, the common weal, and matters with other kingdoms."

In the Parliament of July 1525, under the appearance of a compromise between Beaton, Arran, and Angus, the real power passed to Angus. The custody of the king was to be held during the four quarters of the year by different persons. During the first by Angus, James Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow, with some other half-spiritual half-temporal lords; during the second, Arran and the Bishop of Aberdeen with four others; during the third, Beaton and the Earl of Argyle with four others; and during the fourth, the Earl of Lennox and the Bishop of Dunblane with four others (Act. Parl., ii. pp. 294 *b*,

295 a). The queen is entirely left out, and by securing the first quarter Angus got possession of the king's person, which he did not allow to pass into any other hands till his fall in 1528.

Buchanan's statement that "the adverse party (to the queen) had a great meeting of the nobles, when they chose three of her own party to be guardians of the king and kingdom—Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus, John Stewart, Earl of Lennox, and Colin Campbell, Earl of Argyle," is not in other histories, nor is it supported by the Acts of Parliament, but may be an incorrect account of the above arrangement, in which each of these three nobles was to be the principal person during their respective quarters. Arran, though included in the compromise, is left out of account, and he had really lost all power.

In the Parliament of the following year, 1526, the king having reached his fourteenth year, it was declared that the royal authority was in his own hands, but Angus, still retaining the custody of his person, governed in his name (Act. Parl., 1526, c. 2 and 9). Tytler notes "there was not an office of trust or emolument which was not filled by a Douglas or by a creature of that house" (see Note, p. 307. l. 41).

307. 9 *This [i.e., Thus] the Earle of Angus gydit all haill king and court as he pleissit and maid his came Archebald Douglas thesaurer of Scotland, and George his brother maister houshold to the king, and him self maister to the king throw all Scotland.* These changes were not made till summer or autumn 1525. Archibald Douglas the Treasurer was Douglas of Kilspindy, an uncle of Angus, often mentioned in the records. The post of Master of the Household, which the Douglas George got, corresponded to the Mayor of the Palace in England, and, though never so important in Scotland, was nevertheless a powerful office, as he regulated the expenses and provided for the maintenance of the king.

307. 18 *... the king geit the spirit of him and pairtit with him, and he left the maister of the Stewart brother to my lord of Anner...* A word is here to be "Famdale," as it is in MS. I. The date of the entry, when Angus was 11th March 1527 (Wigton Papers, vol. 1, p. 100) and she married Marie Stewart, made Lord Methven, Angus's son, 1528 (Dacre to Wolsey, 2nd April 1528, State Papers, vol. 1, p. 111. No. 1000).

307. 28 *... the king geit the spirit of him and pairtit with him, and he left the maister of the Stewart brother to my lord of Anner...* It became usual to call all the Douglas Douglas's, but properly they are only those who were in the Douglas domination. It was perhaps so called because it was when Archibald Douglas was Treasurer. See Burns, *Scottish Douglas's*, p. 241.

CHAPTER XII.

With this chapter, which treats of the trial and execution of Patrick Hamilton, the narrative in Fox's 'Book of Martyrs,' iv. p. 501, and in Knox's 'History of the Reformation,' chapter i., should be compared. Patrick Hamilton, titular Abbot of Ferne, was a son of Sir Patrick Hamilton, and brother of the Earl of Arran, who was killed at "clenze the calsay," and of a sister of Albany the Regent. Born about 1504, he was educated at Linlithgow school and the Universities of Paris and Marburg, where he imbibed Lutheran doctrine. Returning to Scotland, he was admitted *ad eundem* to the College of St Leonard's on 3rd October 1524. He visited Wittenburg, where he became acquainted with Luther and Melancthon, in 1527, and on his return to Scotland was burnt at St Andrews, 29th February 1528 (Dunbar, 'Scottish Kings,' p. 230). The Diurnal and Leslie agree; Pitscottie's date, September 1525 (MS. A.), October 1526 (MS. I), is wrong.

CHAPTER XIII.

313. 11. The king *wrait ane guyit and secreit wrytting wilht his awin hand and send it to the Lard off Ballcleuch*. The first attempt to rescue the king from the custody of Angus was probably due to Lennox. Pitscottie (MS. I, p. 315, note 2) wrongly dates it 1523, while the true date was 1526—probably a miscopy of iii for vi. Buchanan still further misdates it 22nd July 1521.

CHAPTER XIV.

316. 3. *The king heirand thir wordis send for the Earle of Lennox*. The second attempt to deliver the king was certainly made by Lennox, at the request of James himself.

CHAPTER XV.

319. The death of Lennox at the hands of Sir James Hamilton of Finnart, after he was taken prisoner, by a thrust "throche the chaftis (cheeks) with ane sword quhilk was callit efterhend the merciles mark of schir James Hammiltoun" (MS. I), is a characteristic touch of Pitscottie's which the printed editions and MS. A omit. Sir James Hamilton, on account of his enmity to the Reformers, is specially disliked by Pitscottie. He was an illegitimate brother of Arran, the "bastard smaike" (p. 283, l. 4) of "clenze the calsay," and the judge

chosen by the clergy to try cases of heresy (p. 388, l. 6). His rise to the position of chief favourite of the king and sudden fall are told by Pitscottie (pp. 388-399).

320. 24. *This cruell and unhappie feild was strikin in the zeir of god I^m v^e xx zeiris and in the moneth of September.* MS. A and "1522" in MS. I are both mistakes as to date. It was really fought 4th September 1526. The Diurnal and Leslie agree in the date.

CHAPTER XVI.

321. 18. *Bot zeit I can not find that never the Erle of Angus nor nane of the Douglasses faillzeit to the king in ony pairt thocht they war covetous and gredy, and oppressouris of thair nichtbouris.* An example of the use of the double or more emphatic negative, and a curiously inconsistent historical verdict. That Angus, who in his later life showed singular ability in carrying out his aims and bravery in war, though in the end he failed, was following the traditional policy of the Douglasses to supplant the Stewarts is not open to doubt. But Pitscottie, while he can have hardly failed to see this, seems to have been influenced by his party favouring the English connection, which Angus also supported. He was, indeed, all along in secret or open communication with the English king.

CHAPTER XVII.

323. This chapter describes in minute detail the king's escape from the custody of Angus and his kin out of Falkland to Stirling Castle. Doubts have been expressed as to the accuracy of Pitscottie's narrative because of its inconsistency with some entries in the Exchequer Rolls (vol. xv. Pref. p. liv). It must be kept in view that Pitscottie was himself a Fife man, probably born about the time of the escape, and got information for his History from Andrew Fernie of that ilk, forester of Falkland, who aided in the escape, so he had special opportunities for learning the incidents. Ferme in some MSS. is a mistake for Fernie, which is in MS. I; and though Fernie may not have been Chamberlain of Fife he was Forester of Falkland. About the main facts, that the escape was effected in the absence of Angus through the negligence of George Douglas his brother and Archibald Douglas of Kilspindie, the Treasurer, his uncle, and with the assistance of the Queen-mother, who held Stirling Castle as part of her dower, there is also no doubt. The date was in the beginning of July 1528, and the Douglasses were forfeited in the Parliament of September of that year.

323. 20. *To gett his tak performitt and endit at his handis lyke as he*

had promist him befoir. George Douglas had no doubt a tack of ecclesiastical lands which he got renewed.

325. 21. *We will lat him sleip in his bede and returne to George Douglas* (MS. A). MS. I reads "Archibaldy thesawrar." It is noticeable that in these two MSS. the parts played by the two Douglasses are reversed. Both Freebairn and Dalyell follow in this MS. A. The words at the close of the chapter, p. 326, l. 17: "Be that, Archebald Douglas came out of Dundie," which is in both MSS., show that MS. A is right.

326. 9. *Sum said he* (the king) *was passit to Banbreich to ane gentill woman.* Dalyell has "Bambreif" and Freebairn "Bambright." But Ballinbreich, locally called Bambreich, in the north of Fife, is no doubt meant. Rothes, if he came from his house at Leslie, would pass the road to it, and it belonged to his family ('Fife,' by A. H. Millar, vol. ii. p. 323).

CHAPTER XVIII.

326. 21. *The king . . . send ane harrott of armes to the mercatt crose, and thair be sound of trumpit commandit the Earle of Angus, George Douglas, Archebald Douglas thesawrar witht all the rest of thair kin and freindis allayis, that nocht ane of thame sould come neir the kingis grace withtin the space of sex myleis under the paine of treassone.* This is confirmed by the Summons of Treason and the Protestation of the Douglasses (Act. Parl., vol. ii. pp. 322, 324), both of which refer to the citation at the market-cross of Dunbar.

327. 22. *And convenitt thir saidis lordis at Stirling to ane consall the second day of Julij anno I^m v^o xxiiij zeiris* (MS. A). MS. I has August 1525. Dalyell reads June 1527. But the true date of the Council was July 1528.

328. 17. *The day the earle compeirit nocht nor nane for him.* The Records of Parliament show that John Ballentyne, his secretary, appeared and gave in an elaborate protest, of which the first article was that he could get no advocate to appear for him, the second that no legal trial could take place in vacation. The other charges were met by denial. The two first or dilatory pleas show that if no lawyer would appear Angus had at least legal advice. Buchanan mentions "There was only one man found in the assembly, by name John Bannatyne, a vassal of the Douglasses, who was so bold as to make a public protestation" (vol. ii. p. 161).

328. 22. The "Urison"—i.e., Orison or Prayer—is characteristic of Pitscottie, who uses it on various occasions, and generally on the same theme, the fickleness of fortune. It is here much shortened by Dalyell, though Freebairn gives it in full. It is in both MSS. A and I

CHAPTER XIX.

330. 15. *Gart send to the castell of Dunbar to Captane Morise and thair borrowit sum artaillze and layit great pledgis for the samin, because the castell was then in the Duik of Albanieis handis and the artaillze thairof his awin.* See note, p. 304, l. 18.

331. 3. *Tua greit battartis and tua myans and tuo doubill fallcons and foure quarter fallcons.* This was a time of many inventions in artillery, as the names of so many kinds of guns show. They are explained in the Glossary.

331. 25. *The said captane callit Simon Penango.* This captain, who betrayed Tantallon, was an old retainer of the Douglasses. He is mentioned under the name of Simon Penning by Buchanan, after the siege of Wark, as having been sent (vol. ii. p. 219) by Angus, as a man on whom he could depend, to procure a safe-conduct for him from the King of England (vol. ii. p. 289), and frequently reappears as a go-between for Angus with the English envoys or commanders who did not trust him (Hamilton Papers, p. 619). Hume, 'History of the Douglasses,' says he died before 1542, but he had a son of the same name.

332. 28. *All [bygane] bagage* in MS. A is corrupt. I omits "bygane." Dalzell's emendation, "bag or baggage," is ingenious and probably right.

CHAPTER XX.

333. 6. *The king gart garnische the Castell of Tantalloun . . . and pat in ane new captane, to wit Oliepheir Sincklar.* The king's favourite, whose bad generalship led to the rout of Solway Moss.

333. 26, 334. 1. *Ane parliement at Edinburgh . . . in the zeir of god I^m & xxvij zeiris.* I reads 1526. Pitscottie is still more than a year out in his dates. The Parliament at which the Douglasses were forfeited met 2nd September 1528 (Act. Parl., vol. ii. p. 321).

334. 5. *The king past to Stirling and . . . changit money of his offeceris that is to say, thesawrar, comptrollar, secretar, and Maister houshold witht mony wther offeceris.* The new Treasurer was Sir Robert Cameron, Provost of Corstorphine (Act. Parl., vol. ii. p. 328 a). The Comptroller appears to have been Colville of East Wemyss (Act. Parl., vol. ii. p. 343 a), who had served in that office since 1525, and though in 1529 he was dismissed for favouring the Douglasses (Buchanan, vol. ii. p. 263), he was apparently restored and acted till 1538 (Excheq. Rolls, vol. xvi. p. xxxviii, vol. xvii. p. xlv). The Secretary was Sir Thomas Erskine of Haltoun (Act. Parl., vol. ii. p. 320 b, 340 b). The Master of the Household was Sir William Learmonth of Dairsie.

334. 29. *The king passit out of Edinburgh to Meggatland to the hunting with money of the nobillis and gentillmen of Scotland wiht him to the number of xij M men.* The royal hunts often had political objects, and this one was to curb the Border thieves. The number stated by Pitscottie is probably an exaggeration, but it was a formidable expedition.

335. 1. *That is to say Cranmat, the Paiplaw, Sanct Marie Lewis, Callenrick chapell, Ewsdoris and Langoupe.* "Cranmat" is "Cranmalt," which appears to have been the chief residence of the king during his hunting on the Borders. It is mentioned in the 'Liber Domicilii,' Bannatyne Club, Appendix, p. 21: "Die [June xxviii] Junii Vigilia Sancti Petri (1529) Venationes apud Cranmald et Megatland"; but on 1st July, "Rex equitavit de Peblis versus Edinburgh."

On 20th June 1529 wine had been sent to Peebles, and "Versus venationes in Cranmald in lez Roubbouris" (Liber Domicilii, p. 194). From the Stable Accounts (p. 209) the king appears to have been in Haddington, Jedburgh, and Peebles during June, but to have returned to Edinburgh in the beginning of July. These Accounts (pp. 226, 227, Appendix, p. 31), however, show that in the following year, 1530, James returned to the same hunting quarters in July, and was at Peebles 3rd July; went by the old drove road to Douglas Water, 3rd; thence to Carlenrig in Teviotdale, 5th, and after five days' stay, to Heusdale (Ewesdale), 10th; Peebles, 13th; Cranmald, 15th July; and Peebles, 18th July 1530, from which he rode to Linlithgow. It must have been on the second of these expeditions that Johnny Armstrong was hung. The places mentioned all lie near each other. The Paiplaw is the hill called Pappert Law (Paper Hill), near the south end of Loch of the Lowes. St Mary Lewis is the smaller loch at the head of St Mary's Loch, and now called Loch of the Lowes. Callenrick Chapel is the chapel at Carlenrig in Teviotdale, about 9 miles above Hawick, on the road to Langholm. Johnny Armstrong lived near it at Gilnockie. Ewsdoris is probably a hamlet in Ewesdale, and Langoupe is the old name for Langholm.

335. 4. *Efter this huntting he hangit Johnne Armestrang and his compleces to the number of xxxvj persouns of the quhilk thair was werie mony sorrowfull bath in Inghland and Scotland.* Armstrong, like Robin Hood, Rob Roy, and other freebooters of history or fiction, was a popular favourite who spoiled the rich and probably helped the poor. It is singular that neither of the best MSS., A and I, has the fuller account of Johnie Armstrong which both Freebairn and Dalrymple give. "For he was the most redoubted chiftain that had been for a long time on the borders either of Scotland or England" (Freebairn's ed.) This account is quite in the manner of Pitscottie, and its omission in some and insertion in other MSS. show what liberties the copyists allowed themselves. Leslie says

forty-eight were hanged "on the growand trees," and calls them by a curious phrase, "the maist nobill thievis." He accuses George Armstrong, the brother of Gilnockie, with betraying them.

CHAPTER XXI.

335. 12. *Syne the nixt sommer passit to the hieland to hunt in Atholl and tuik witht him his mother Margarit quen of Scotland and ane ambassadour of the paipis.* The date of the Athole hunt is placed by Pitscottie in 1528 (I, p. 338, note) or 1529 (A) or, according to the corrected date, 1530. Tytler dates it some years later (vol. ii. p. 353). The true date appears to have been 1531. Pitscottie's full and interesting account may have been got through the Bishop of Caithness from the traditions of the house of Athole (p. 335, l. 21, "for I hard say"), or it may have been inserted along with the description of the later hunt of 1564 in honour of Queen Mary, in order to gratify the earl, who was one of Pitscottie's patrons. Both appear to have been held in the neighbourhood of Loch Lochy in Blair Athole, where there is a hillock, "Tom nam Ban Righ," named, according to tradition, from the Queen's station for viewing the hunt; and there is also a road from Blair to Glen Lochy round the south end of Ben à Glo called "Rathad nam Ban Righ," "The Queen's Road," and a hill called Cairn Righ, but whether this refers to Queen Mary is doubtful ('Chronicles of Athole,' by the seventh Duke of Athole, vol. i. p. 38).

338. 16. *In the boundis of Atholl and Stretherne, that is to say Benglow, Benewrne and Bencrwine.* Benglow is of course Ben à Glo; Benewrne probably Ben Iutharn in Blair Athole; Bencrwine has not been identified, but may possibly be Bencrombie, a local name for the Forest of Athole, called "Meal Chrombaig" in Ordnance maps.

CHAPTER XXII.

339. 7. *The Michallmas perdoun.* The Sunday before Michaelmas. The Perdoun or Pardon was the octave, and specially the Sunday in the octave preceding the day of the patron saint. The name Pardon is used in Brittany, and is a corruption of Padron, as in Ireland Pattern is of Patron.

339. 11. *And foundit ane fair palice in the Abbay of Hallierud-hous and ane greit towre to him self to rest into quhene he pleissit.* James IV. commenced the building of the palace. There is a later grant, 10th September 1504, to Maister Leonard "for his guide and thankful service done and to be done to the kingis majestie, and specially for his diligent labour in the building of the palace beside the Abbey of the Holy Croce, . . . of the some of 40 pounds."

The year before he had welcomed his bride there, as is described in the narrative of Young, the Somerset herald, and Dunbar's poem, "The Thistle and the Rose." The two towers of the north wing were built in 1515 by James V. (Lord Treasurer's Accounts). On the northmost of these there was till 1820 an inscription, "Jacobus Rex Scotorum," in large gilt Roman letters (Grant, 'Edinburgh,' vol. ii. p. 63). It was in these towers Queen Mary had her apartments.

339. 19. *And ffarder he translatit the palice of Lythgow and bigit ane prettie palice in the castell of Stirling.* James III. had commenced the palace at Stirling, and both he and James IV. frequently lived there. It was the dower-house of Queen Margaret, but she ceded it to her son when he escaped from the custody of Angus, who had kept him at Falkland. He continued the building of the palace which his grandfather began.

340. 1. *Ane ambassadour out of Ingland nameit Lord Williame witht ane bischope.* The ambassadors were Lord William Howard and William Barlow, Henry VIII.'s chaplain, Prior of Bisham, elect of St David's, and afterwards of St Asaph, who came to Scotland in October 1525, and again in the beginning of 1536, along with Howard. The object of their mission was to convert James V. to Protestantism (State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. ix. p. 172. See Pitscottie, p. 384, n. 3).

340. 15. *At prickis, reveris, or at buttis.* This archery match is interesting for its notice of the archery of the time, and shows the Scots had made progress in an exercise in which they formerly were deficient. "Prickis" or "prickwands" were marks to shoot at. To hit the pricke was to hit the centre of the target; so shooting at prickis seems to have been shooting at targets (see Ascham, 'Toxophilus,' ed. 1788, by Walters).

"Reveris" was shooting at a long distance, when the bow was held slant, and the arrows discharged at an angle were called "rovers" (Roberts' 'English Bowmen,' quoted in Balfour Paul's 'History of Royal Company of Archers,' p. 51).

"Butts" is the name still used for shooting straight at a short distance at butts=Fr. *bouts* or *buts*=i.e., ends.

Pitscottie may have got his information of the match from the family of Wemyss, one of the Scotch champions, who lived not far from him in Fife. Baillie the Pyper, who shot "felloun neir," probably was at the "butts," and the rest of the Scotch archers who shot "far and wight" (=strong) were at the "reveris" competition.

340. 16. *The king heirand this of his mother was contentit of hir bonspell.* Bonspell or speil is still used for a match at curling. Its origin is not clear. See Glossary.

342. 1. *The king devydit the haill realme of Scottland in foure pairtis and caussit ewerie ane of thame to keip thair quarteris quhilk contenitt the space of ane zeir quhilk was callit efterwart be the common pepill the quarter-raid.* This division continued to be used for musters

in the reign of Mary and James VI., and appears in the account of the siege of Edinburgh Castle (vol. ii. p. 68. "And this was the first quarter-raid"). But a division of the united kingdom into four was natural, and of much older date. The Norland men were chiefly the Celtic Highlanders; the Westland men the natives of what had been the old Strathclyde kingdom; the Eastern division included Fife and the lowland part of Perthshire; and the Southern were the Lowlanders from the Forth to the Border.

342. 6. *Ane ambassadour to Ingland nameit the bischope of Aberdene.* William Stewart "was sent along with Sir Adam Otterburn, the king's advocate, on an embassy to England in 1533-34" (Keith, 'Scotch Bishops,' p. 71).

342. 10. The long insertion in MS. I with reference to James having gone to meet Henry's ambassadors on the Borders, and the trick he played by riding away when Lord William Howard did not appear at the time and place appointed, is not to be found elsewhere. The place of meeting was perhaps the Kirk of Steel (Ladykirk), but is blank in the MS. Pitscottie may have got his account from Andrew Fernie of that ilk, or Sir William Scott of Balwerie, whom he names as two of his authors in his Preface, for MS. I names "Andrew Fernie" of that ilk and "Michael Scott, young laird of Balwerie," as two of the ambassadors sent to England with the Bishop of Aberdeen.

345. 1. *The ambassadouris past to Ingland at the kingis commandement and thair was weill resawit be King Harrie at Loundoun.* There is some confusion as to the date of this embassy. MS. I places it in 1542; MS. A, followed in the text, dates it before the marriage of James with Madeleine of France on 1st June 1537. The true date seems proved by the Bishop of Aberdeen being the chief ambassador, who went in 1533, and returned to Scotland in the end of May 1534 (State Papers of Henry VIII., vol. iv. p. 670).

346. 22. *Thairfor schaw him, I nor hie nor nane wther king may be raknitt be (i.e., without) our consall to do ony gode act or to govern our realme.* It is singular to find Henry VIII. giving a lecture on constitutional law. He was skilful in making constitutional doctrines cover despotic or arbitrary acts.

CHAPTER XXIII.

347. The contents of this chapter, the mysterious plot of the Master of Forbes and Lady Glamis, and their cruel fate on 17th July 1537 (Pitcairn's 'Criminal Trials,' vol. i. pp. 187-199; Diurnal, p. 227), and the burning of Thomas Forrest, vicar of Dollar, for heresy, which took place in February 1539, are here misdated and put before instead of after James's marriages to Madeleine of France and Mary of Guise.

347. 8. *The lady Glames quho was accussit at that tyme for crymes of leismaiestie, was convic thairof and brunt wpoun the castell hill.*

Pitscottie's reference to this is very brief, and throws no new light on the mystery, which is fully discussed by Tytler, vol. ii. note 3. (See also Pitcairn's 'Criminal Trials,' vol. i. p. 187 *et seq.*) A letter by Sir Thomas Clifford to Henry VIII. gives 14th July 1537 as the date of the trial and execution of the Master of Forbes, and 17th July as that of Lady Glamis (State Papers of Henry VIII., vol. v. p. 94).

347. 10. *And in that meane tyme the maister of Forbes was convict for the same treassoun and iustiefieit.* The dates of both executions being in July 1537, show that Tytler, p. 407, is right, that both trials were for participation in the same treason, and Pitscottie expressly says so. Lady Glamis was sister and Forbes brother-in-law of Angus, so there is little doubt their crimes were connected with the Douglas conspiracy. Buchanan (vol. ii. p. 175) ascribes their condemnation to false accusations, and the truth of the matter is not yet ascertained. In the case of Forbes there had been a challenge by Forbes to a duel, in an Appeal for Treason, which the Earl of Huntly accepted (Pitcairn's 'Criminal Trials,' vol. i. p. 285; Neilson's 'Trial by Combat,' p. 293).

347. 17. *Sone efter this thair was ane combatt of singular battell betuix the laird of Drumlanrick and the laird of Hempsfeild* (Amisfield). The Diurnal dates it 17th May 1532. (See as to duels in Appeals of Treason Neilson's 'Trial by Combat,' *passim*, and as to this duel, p. 290).

348. 4. *And in lyk wyse thair was money southland men that appeillit wther in barras to fight in singular battell to the deid for certane crymes of leismaistie.* The Southland men were probably Douglasses or their supporters. The Laird of Drumlanrick, Sir James Douglas, is the only one Pitscottie names. Their deeds point to a widespread conspiracy of the Douglasses against the king, and Angus, we know, was at that time in the pay of Henry VIII., who was to promote his restoration at the price of the independence of Scotland. The "barras" was the French name for lists. Those in Edinburgh, where the duels were fought, lay near the King's Stables, under the south side of the castle. They are referred to in a deed of 1829, when they were sold to the City Improvement Commissioners as "The yards of Orchardfield, commonly called Livingstone's yards, comprehending that piece of ground called the Barras" (Wilson's 'Old Edinburgh,' p. 136). The addition in Dalrymple's edition that in the duel between Douglas and Charteris the king was on the castle wall is probably accurate. The space was somewhat limited, and the kings seem to have watched the duels from the castle.

348. 12. The burning of the Vicar of Dollar *the zeir of God I^m v^e and xx zeiris.* The dates are more than usually wrong here, for the Vicar was burnt in February 1539, and Gourlay and Stratton on 26th August 1534 (Diurnal, p. 18). Knox, in his 'History of the Reformation,' gives the dates and a fuller account, according to which Stratton had resisted the payment of fish teinds.

349. 5. *The kow and the wmost cloth.* Wmost is uppermost or best cloth. The exaction of the best cow (or aucht) and the best cloth by the parish priest was felt as specially severe by the poor. It was an exaction similar to the heriot of the feudal lord and the caupes of the Celtic chief which the Church had imitated—the death duty of ancient times, more oppressive to the poor than the rich, and applied to the personal benefit of the exactor, not to public purposes.

350. 34. *They condemnitt Dawid Strattoun because he wald noch abiure and burne his faggat.* This was the symbol of recantation of heresy. When the heretic was burned he bore or carried his faggot, and when he recanted apparently he burned it and sometimes also his bill or heretical writing. In the Diurnal, p. 18, mention is made of "sindrie utheris bath men and women who brynt their faggotes with their opinions" on 26th August 1534.

351. 9. *Mr Normond Galloway was condemnit and brunt, I know no cause quhairfor bot because he was in the eistland and cam hame and marieit ane wyfe contrair to our actis, because he was ane preist.* Gourley, not Galloway, was his name. Knox calls him a gentleman, not a priest, and says "he was unable to read" (History of the Reformation, vol. i. pp. 58-60, and vol. vi. p. 66). At this time several of the Reformers escaped to Germany and Scandinavia (Eistland), and did not return, of whom the most famous were Alexander Alane (Alesius) and John Machabaeus, who went to Denmark and spread the principles of the Reformation there (Knox, 'History of the Reformation,' vol. i. p. 55, and vol. vi. p. 664).

CHAPTER XXIV.

351. 16. *This being done the king passit to the Iillis.* The visit of James to the Isles was in 1539. A narrative of his voyage was published by Nicholas D'Arville, cosmographer of Henry II. of France (Gregory, 'Western Highlands,' pp. 145-149).

351. 18. *And also he caussit the great men to schaw thair haldingis.* I reads "deniwassellis" = "duniwassels," the Gaelic word for nobleman or gentleman (*duin* = man, *wassel* = noble). "Showing of holdings" was the form of process by which the owner of land was compelled to show his titles on the pain of forfeiture if he failed to produce a valid charter. As many of the Highlanders had no written charter, forfeiture frequently ensued.

352. 1. *And efterward annexit thame to the croune.* The Lordship of the Isles, with North and South Kintyre, were annexed in December 1540 (Act. Parl., vol. ii. p. 404).

353. 15. *The king . . . had ten thowsand scheip gangand into Ettrick forrest all in keiping be ane Androw Bell, quho maid the king goode compt of thame as thay had gaine in the boundis of Fyfe.* A characteristic note of Pitscottie's as a Fife farmer, and significant

of the greater security of property in Fife than in the Borders. In Sadler's Instructions for his second embassy in 1539, he was directed to remonstrate with James for keeping sheep—a mean employment for a king—instead of reforming the monasteries, the chief business at that time of Henry VIII., and, as Henry hints, much more profitable than sheep-farming. On his making this remonstrance James denied that he kept sheep, it may be feared falsely (Sadler's 'State Papers,' vol. i. pp. 7, 29). The Exchequer Rolls contain many references to the king's sheep (vol. xvii. p. liv).

353. 34. *He appeirandlie plenischit the contrie witht all kynd of craftismen out of wither countries, sic as Frenchemen Spanzardis, Dutchemen and Inglishmen, . . . sum was gunnaris, cuning wryghtis and carweris, paintaris, messouns, smythis, harneis makeris, tepestaris, broudinstaris, taillzouris, cunning surugenaris, pottingaris.* With this the list of trades in the reign of James IV. by Dunbar may be compared—

" Cunzouris, carvouris, and carpentaris,
Beildaris of barkis, and ballingaris;
Masounis, lyand vpon the land,
And schip-wrichtis hewand vpone the strand;
Glasing wrichtis, goldsmythis, and lapidaris,
Pryntouris, payntouris, and pottingaris."

—Dunbar's "Remonstrance to the King,"

Sc. Text Soc. ed., vol. ii. p. 220.

354. margin. *How the king send his ambassadouris for marieage to the empreour.*

How the king send ambassadouris to the Duik of Wandown (Vendome). Sir David Lyndsay went on both embassies, and from his narrative, either directly or indirectly, Pitscottie probably got the account he gives of them. His letter describing the embassy to the emperor at Antwerp—unfortunately the only one under his hand—is given in facsimile by Mr David Laing (Memoir prefixed to his works, vol. i. p. xxi).

355. 5. *The king . . . draist him haistalie and bunde to France in the moneth of [August 1535].* *I.e.*, the king prepared himself hastily to go to France. The date 1535, omitted by A and added by I, is wrong. James sailed for France on 24th July 1536, and, having been forced back by a storm, re-embarked on 1st September 1536 and landed at Dieppe on the 10th of that month. He visited the Duke of Vendome before the end of September, and, disappointed with his daughter, went to the French Court and married Madeleine of France on 1st January 1537, returning with his bride to Leith on 19th May. Madeleine died on 7th July 1537. The whole of these events have been inserted in Pitscottie's narrative, as before noted, out of their proper order, and should have been told before the trial of Lady Glamis, the martyrdom of the Vicar of Dollar, and the expedition to the Isles.

CHAPTER XXV.

357. 7. *The king . . . passit to Pittinweem and thair inbarkit himself and his nobillis the xx day of the moneth of [September 1^m v^e xxxvi]* (I). I has Kirkcaldy instead of Pittenweem. The date should be, as has been seen, 1st September.

357. 31. *Quhill at last the norvellis past to the empreour that the king of Scotland was landit at the new herin beryde Depe [Dieppe] witht ane great airme to the number of xx M men and to support the king of France contrair the empreour.* It is scarcely necessary to note James brought with him no such army, but there may have been such a rumour.

358. 8. *The king of Scotland landit himself and his nobillis and thairefter tuk the post to Paries quhair he remanit schort quhill, quhill he passit to the Duike of Wandome to his place quhair he was remanand for the tyme.* James may have taken Paris on his way to the Duke of Vendome, who was then at St Quentin in Picardy (Bapst, 'Les Mariages de Jacques V.,' p. 273 note). This was in the middle of September 1536. The "Tractatus Matrimonii inter Jacobum Scotorum Regem et Mariam ducis Vendomiæ filiam," dated 29th March 1536, is printed by Teulet, vol. i. p. 94 *et seq.*, and shows the marriage had been settled several months before.

CHAPTER XXVI.

300 19 *Thairfor the king . . . past quhair the king of France lay at that tyme.* He went to Tarascon, where the Dauphin met him, and thence to Lyons and Blois, where he found Francis I. and Madeleine. (Bapst, 'Les Mariages de Jacques V.')

301 10. *I for ane littill befor the Duike of Orlience his eldest sone, quha was Poliphin at that tyme was fussonit in the chapell be ane Itallone.* I reads "cachpull" for "chapell," which is probably right. "Cachpull" is a corruption of catchball, a game similar to fives or tennis (Lord Treasurer's Accounts, p. 275).

"Ane headless man I saw but dreid
In *catchpule* fast playing"—

("Woman's Troth," Bannatyne MS.) The Dauphin Francis, eldest son of Francis I., a feeble youth, died suddenly at Tournon after drinking feed water when heated by a game of ball on 10th August 1536, and there were the suspicions of poison usual in that age (Sismondi, 'Histoire des Français,' vol. xvi. p. 527).

CHAPTER XXVII.

364. 7. *Ane hunder thousand crowns of the sone.* "Crowns of the sone" were a French gold coin on which a figure of the sun was engraved above the crown. It was minted in the reign of Louis XI. and Charles VIII. (Littré, 'Dictionnaire Française Ecus de Soleil').

"Adieu, mes écus au Soleil,"

is a line in a seventeenth-century poem—"L'Adieu du Plaideur à son argent."

364. 18. *Thir lettres war writtin be the king of Scotland at Pareis the xvj day of the moneth in the zeir of god I^m 2^e xx (A).* I reads 1526. Freebairn and Dalyell give no date. The marriage took place on 1st January 1537, so these letters must have been written towards the end of 1536. This is one of the most extraordinary of the wrong dates of Pitscottie or his transcribers. The real date of the visit of James to France and his marriage to Madeleine must surely have been known forty years later when Pitscottie wrote. Buchanan gives the correct date. The only explanation of the mistake I can offer, and not with confidence, is that Pitscottie's original MS. was left blank as to the date and afterwards filled up by ignorant transcribers.

365. 8. *The mariage was solemnizett at Paries in Noterdames kirk at the hour of ten.* The order of the solemn entry of James into Paris on Sunday, 31st December 1536, is printed by Teulet, from an official paper of the Parliament of Paris, drawn by the first President (Teulet, vol. i. p. 107), which closes with the statement that the marriage took place on the first day of the year 1537 at Notre Dame.

366. 7-18. The insertion by MS. I of this passage in praise of the Duke of Lennox and his brother, Lord Darnley, deserves notice as confirming the view that the text of I is the genuine Pitscottie, who always favours the Lennoxes, as the family of his patron, the Bishop of Caithness.

367. 9. *Tuo schipis to witt the ane was callit the Salamander and the wther callit the Morsewer.* Freebairn reads "Merisher," and Dalyell "Morischer," instead of "Morsewer" (the Sea-horse, from Fr. *morse*?). Probably these are the two vessels taken at Leith in 1544 by Hertford, which he calls the Salamon and the Unicorn (Hamilton Papers, vol. i. p. 363). The first of the Scotch ships is called by Freebairn and Dalyell, as it is in MS. I, "Mariewillebie"—i.e., Mary Willoughby. The reading of A, "Mariegull," is a mistake. This ship, which probably had been captured from the English, is often mentioned in the letters of this period.

369. 20. *That same day [xiii dayis] that scho landit.* A is blank as to the number of days. I inserts xiii. Freebairn has 40, and Dalyell

prints the text as if Pitscottie had said she died the same day she landed. In fact Queen Madeleine landed on 19th May, and died on 7th July, 1537.

CHAPTER XXIX.

370. The Deploration, except the last stanza, is taken almost verbatim from Sir David Lyndsay's poem (Laing's ed., vol. i. p. 117). There was also a Deploration written in French. "Lamentation" or "Deploration" was a common name for an elegy on a death with the poets of this period.

376. 25. The last stanza is quite in the manner of Pitscottie, and may have been written by him.

CHAPTER XXX.

377. 9. *The Duches of Loren, quho was the Duike of Guise douchter.* Mary, daughter of Claude of Lorraine, first Duke of Guise, and widow of Louis of Orleans, Duke of Longueville. The articles of the marriage contract are printed in Teulet, vol. i. p. 115.

Henry VIII. competed with James V. for the hand of this lady (Bapst, 'Les Mariages de Jacques V.'). It is a curious speculation what might have been the result if the Guises had got their hands into the politics of England instead of Scotland.

378. 24. *The quen landit in Scotland the viij day of Juin the zeir of god I^m v^e [xxvii] in ane place callit Fywisnes besyde Ballcome.* I inserts the erroneous year xxvii. The true date was 1538. The month is correct, but the day appears to have been 10th June. The error in the year is almost certainly due to the transcriber. Fifeness is the name for the eastern promontory of Fife. Whether she landed at Fifeness or Balcomie, where there is a creek or haven, or at Crail, the nearest harbour, is perhaps not quite certain, but the former is the statement of contemporary authors.

379. 3. *The New Abbay zeit* (gate) and the *New Innes* or lodgings were recent additions made by Prior Hepburn to the buildings of the abbey.

379. 4. *Ane triumphant frais be Schir Dawid Lyndsay.* The word "farce" has as many different spellings as meanings. I have "pheirs," and "phrassis" is used p. 379, l. 30. We should call Lyndsay's farce on these occasions a "pageant" or a "triumph."

379. 29. *Schallmes draught trumpattis and weir trumpatis.* "Schallmes," or schalms, an instrument like a clarionet. "Draught trumpattis"—i.e., trumpets drawn in and out. MS. I has "wind" or "win" trumpattis—i.e., bugles. instead of weir.

380. 1 *et seq.* The description of the churches and colleges of

St Andrews is fuller in MSS. A and I than in Freebairn and Dalryell. The churches were those of the Franciscans, the Dominicans, the Parish or Trinity Church, and the church of "St Mary on the Heuch," originally that of the Culdees. The colleges were St Salvator's, founded by Kennedy; St Leonard's, by Prior Hepburn; and St Mary's, or the New College, recently founded by James Beaton in 1537.

CHAPTER XXXI.

381. 23. *At the quhilk tyme the Erle of Arroll was mareit with the Erle of Lennox eldest sistir.* "William, Earl of Errol, who was of the Privy Council of James V. and his special favourite. He married Helen, daughter of John, Earl of Lennox" (Crawford's 'Peerage,' p. 139).

382. 15. *Ane parliament at Edinburgh one the thrid day of December . . . I^m v^e and xl zeiris.* Here MS. I has got right in its dates (Act. Parl., vol. ii. p. 364).

382. 27. *He tuk the banes o' Robert leslie and foirfaultit him for certaine crymes of leismaiestieis.* Leslie was charged with participation in the treasonable acts of the Douglasses in 1528; but doubts had been expressed as to forfeiting a man for treason after his death, and although the Parliament of 1540 passed an Act declaring such forfeiture legal, the summons was continued several times in the reign of James V. (Act. Parl., vol. ii. pp. 314, 367, 369, 383, 384), and finally in the Parliament of Queen Mary in 1542 decree of absolvitor or acquittal was pronounced (Act. Parl., vol. ii. pp. 383, 384).

CHAPTER XXXII.

384. 6. *The king of Ingland came to Zork to the king of Scotland in the zeir of god I^m v^e ffourtie zeiris.* MS. I reads 1541, and Henry VIII. in fact came north in the autumn of that year, and James promised to meet him at York on 15th January 1542 in terms of an Agreement by Bishops of Aberdeen and Orkney, December 1541. The English ambassador at the time appears to have been Ralph Sadler. Lord William Howard, and Barlow, now Bishop of St David's, had come in 1536, four years before.

386. 26. *They delaittit be the grayfreiris and gais fourtht ane bill to the kingis grace of the number of xxxvj scoir of earleis, lordis, burrouns and gentillmen and honest burgessis.* "Delaittit be" = "through the agency of." Knox calls this "the king's bloody scroll," and says as to it: "The Cardinal and the priests, . . . finding the king wholly addict to their devotion, delivered to him a scroll containing the names of such as they or their Inquisitors had

convict for heretics. . . . The same scroll had the Cardinal and Prelates once before presented to the king what time he returned from the navigation about the Isles. But then it was refused by the prudent and stout council of the Lord of Grange, James Kirkcaldy, the High Treasurer.² This was the father of William Kirkcaldy, the champion of Queen Mary. Pitscottie here therefore corroborates a statement made by Sadler on the authority of Arran, and affirmed by Knox. (See further as to this note to vol. ii. p. 3, l. 14.)

CHAPTER XXXIII.

388. Contents. *Hou the bischoppis cheissied Schir James hamiltoun to be thair judge—i.e.,* chose him to be the judge for the trial of heretics. This appointment of Hamilton's, sometimes called of Finnart and sometimes of Dreffane, with its consequences, is told more fully by Pitscottie than by any other author.

389. 5-7. The second "ffor" at l. 7 is repeated by mistake. This is the only place in which Sir James Hamilton is called "Lord Evandale," but he had received a grant of the Lordship of Evandale which was forfeited after his death (see p. 395, l. 13; Act. Parl., vol. ii. p. 405).

389. 17. *James Hamiltoun, shereff of Linlithgow*, was brother of Patrick Hamilton the martyr. There was, naturally enough, a standing feud between the legitimate and illegitimate branch of the Hamilton family. The illegitimate issue of this period, with their chances of legitimization and of blotting out the stain of bastardy, by their bravery as soldiers or ability as priests, were a standing menace to the legitimate, of which the rivalry of Mary and Murray is one of the most conspicuous instances. Perhaps it is still more noteworthy that legitimate and illegitimate sometimes acted and were treated as members of one family.

389. 27. *Thair sail pass to the chakerhouse.* The Exchequer Court was held in the house of Sir Adam Crichton (Excheq. Rolls, vol. xii. p. 113), but was removed to the Dominican Convent, for which a rent was paid (xiii. p. 113). The Secretary was Sir Thomas Erskine of Balfour, the Master of Household Sir W. Learmonth of Dairsie (see the Divisioner Sir James Kirkcaldy of the Grange).

389. 10. *Sir James Hamiltoun of Dreffan—i.e.,* Drafane in the MSS.

389. 11. *Thair gowd and silver bounes bound to slay the king—i.e.,* on the way were prepared to slay, see Glossary, "boun." The principal charge was that along with Archibald Douglas of Kilspindie, Robert Leslie, and James Douglas of Parkhead, he had taken part in a plot to kill the king in 1558 by breaking into the royal bedchamber (Buchanan, vol. i. p. 185). This is referred to in the Summons for Treason (Act. Parl. vol. ii. p. 324).

CHAPTER XXXIV.

391. 16. *Schir James wald quitt thame [ane] common.* This frequent phrase in Pitscottie means "would requite them" or "do them an evil turn" for their labours against him. See "common" in Glossary.

CHAPTER XXXV.

393. Contents. *The king of Scotlandis visiouns and dremes.* The visions of the appearance of Sir James Hamilton after death, though not easily credited in the nineteenth century, were quite natural in the sixteenth, and might have occurred in any age to a mind disordered as that of James V. became towards the end of his life. They do not detract from the truth of the strange story of Hamilton's rise and fall. Knox declines to discuss the question whether the charge against Hamilton was true or false (History of the Reformation, vol. i. p. 67).

394. 30. *He sett ane parliament at Edinburgh to be haldin the tent day of Juin in the zeir of god abone writtin [1540].* There is no record extant of a Parliament of this date, but in one of December 1540 James confirms the revocation of all grants made in his minority at Rouen (Act. Parl., vol. ii. p. 357.)

CHAPTER XXXVI.

396 *et seq.* Pitscottie gives a fuller account of the defeat of the English under Sir Robert Bowes by Huntly at Haddenrig than Buchanan (vol. ii. p. 179) or Leslie. There is an independent account in the Hamilton Papers, vol. i. Knox gives as the date St Bartholomew's day, 24th August 1542, and calls it "the First Warden Raid."

399. 12. *The bischope of Aberdene,* sent as ambassador in 1542 with Sir James Learmonth of Dairsie in Fife, a neighbour of Pitscottie, was William Stewart, who had been sent before, probably in 1533. Keith gives 1545 as the date of his death (Scotch Bishops, p. 72).

CHAPTER XXXVII.

401. 3. *Barlye haugh a lyttill frome the kirk of Lauder.* It is perhaps worth notice that Lauder is now spelt as at present, the older form Lather, which answers to the vernacular pronunciation, being dropped.

402. 16. *Ffor thair was sum witht thame that consulted and said he*

was one better preistis king now he was thairis. A section of the nobility was already English and Protestant, or at least anti-clerical at heart, and would neither invade England nor fight against the English unless attacked.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

403. 23. *And maid Oliepheir Sincklar one of his fameliear serwandis lufelennent over the said airmie.* The appointment of Sinclair instead of Huntly, or one of the greater nobles, to the command further alienated the royal vassals, but probably James had no alternative unless he had taken the command himself. The account of Pitscottie does not differ much from that in the Hamilton Papers. The date of the Raid of Fala and battle of Solway Moss was, according to Knox, 24th November 1542.

405. 27. *And thairin lairit and mischieful thair horse.* Knox uses the same expression, "lairit and tint thair horse," but this is too slight a coincidence to prove that Pitscottie had seen Knox's History; and while Knox represents the English as not more than 400 men against 10,000 Scots, Pitscottie, who reckons the Scots as 15,000, merely says the English force was small in proportion.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

407. 12. *Adew, fair weill, it come witht ane lase, it will pase witht ane lase.* This seems a better version of the famous deathbed saying of James than that of Knox, "It came from a woman and will end with a woman." The Stewarts came to the Crown by the marriage of their ancestor Walter the Steward with Mary the daughter of Bruce and mother of Robert II. They, however, cannot be said to have lost it by the accession of Queen Mary, whose descendants held it.

407. 17. *David Bettoun cardienall of Scotland standing in presentis of the king, seing him begin to faill of his strength and naturall speiche held ane through of papir to his grace and caussit him subscriue the samin quhair the cardenall wrait that plessit him.* This fraud of Beaton's has been doubted. But Buchanan also states, "By the hired assistance of Henry Balfour, a mercenary priest, he suborned a false will of the king's where he himself was nominated to the supreme authority with those of the most potent of the nobility." See Historical MSS. Report, No. xi. App. vi., Hamilton, pp. 205, 219, for the writ in question, and as it is dated 14th December it shows that the king was alive that day, as the 'Liber Emptorum' implies.

408. 4. *This nobill king depairtit, . . . at Falkland . . . the xx day of the moneth of December in the zeir of god I^m & xliij zeiris.* The

14th is the correct date. MS. 'Liber Emptorum,' vol. viii. fol. 38 b, General Register House, has, under "Falkland Dies Jovis," xiiij December 1542—"Hodie Dñs n̄ Illustrissimus Rex apud Falkland clausus est extremum." Knox gives 13th December as the date. Dunbar, 'Scottish Kings,' p. 237, after traversing all the authorities, gives his opinion that he died at a point before midnight between the 13th and 14th December 1542.

408. 7. Amongst those present at the king's death mentioned in the addition from MS. I were Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount and Andrew Wood of Largo, two of the authorities named in Pitscottie's Preface.

408. 15. Pitscottie substantially agrees with the character of James V. in Buchanan (vol. ii. p. 181). It is now printed for the first time in full. Both of the former editions have abbreviated it. MS. I specially mentions that "this prince left meikill riches behynd him . . . quhilk nevir come to compt to any of his awin,"—probably a reflection on Cardinal Beaton. Knox makes a similar insinuation as to the meeting of James and Beaton at Edinburgh on 25th November, when "the king made inventory of all his pose."

411. *Ane deploration of King James the fyft.* The verses are taken from Sir David Lyndsay's "Testament and Complaynt of the Papingo," and though somewhat altered, as shown in the footnotes, none of the alterations are material. The two last stanzas, however, are not in Lyndsay's poem, and are quite in Pitscottie's manner of preaching from historical texts sermons to those in authority in his own time. It is possible that Pitscottie had access to some other text of Lyndsay than is now known, but more probable that he made the variations himself.

NOTES TO VOLUME II.

References to page and line.

QUEEN MARY.

CHAPTER I.

2. 16. *And spetiall of him that was pertenant to the autorietie and gowernour.* The Earl of Arran, of whom Pitscottie says (p. 3, l. 12), that he was "richteous to use the samin"—i.e., "the authority"—meaning that he claimed to be next heir to the crown after Mary Stuart.

3. 14. *This cardenall . . . schawand thame the kingis commissioun and latter will quhilk he had gotten and obtenit be his grace ffor to be reullar of Scotland and tuttar to his douchter induring hir les aige.* "Les aige" is Scotch for "minority." The statement that Beaton forged a will of James V. has been doubted. But besides the statement by Arran to Sadler, reported in the latter's letter to Henry VIII. (Sadler's 'State Papers,' vol. i. p. 138), "For he did counterfeit," quoth he, "the late king's testament, and when the king was almost dead," quoth he, "he took his hand in his, and so caused him to subscribe a blank paper," and the assertion to that effect by Knox and Buchanan, as well as Pitscottie, there has been found by the Historical MSS. Commission, a contemporary instrument signed "Henricus Balfour, notarius," in which the fact of James having appointed Beaton the Cardinal, James, Earl of Moray, George, Earl of Huntly, and Archibald, Earl of Argyle, as tutors to the young queen, and "governors of the kingdom," is set forth (xi. Report, App. vi. pp. 205, 219, 220. See also 'Hamilton Papers,' vol. i. pp. 348, 356). Buchanan (ii. p. 325) calls Henry Balfour "a mercenary priest," and he is charged by more than one contemporary with having aided Beaton in forging the will. In the 'Herries Memoirs,' p. 2, it is stated that the commission to Beaton was at the time "mightily impugned, and that it was alleged that the Cardinal had onelie caused the king subscribe that paper blank amongst others, and that he had filled it up by himself, or at least one Henrie Balfour had done it at his direction."

5. 5. *The quhilk conventioun convenit at Edinburgh the tent day of the month forsaid.* The last reference to the month at p. 4, l. 19, is blank; but it appears from Act. Parl., vol. ii. pp. 409-411, that Arran was confirmed Regent, 13th March 1543.

6. 11. *And send in his taill one ambassadour callit Mr Saidlar.* Ralph Sadler, the well-known English ambassador to Scotland, where he was sent in 1537, January 1540, 16th December 1542—the present mission, in 1543, 6th July 1560, and in 1587. The ‘Herries Memoirs’ say Sadler was sent to the Parliament which met in March 1543.

6. 15. *As the use of ambassadouris is in all contrieis to remaine allis lang as they haue peace betuix the two realmeis.* The custom of permanent ambassadors as distinct from special envoys was now beginning, but the general use of permanent ambassadors dates from the peace of Westphalia in 1648.

9. 11. *For quhan he had maid buttis to schoot at in Edinburgh and had put king haries armes thairupone for his pleasour and the honour of his maister seit certane wickit personis cuist downe the buttis and fylit the armes.* This incident in the narrative of MS. I is new. The other MSS. merely state that “he was werie evil intertenit, be the bischoppis scornit and mokit, and be the tounie of Edinburgh in lyke maner.” His own account is, “never was so noble a prince’s servant as I am so evil intertenit as I am among these unreasonable people. . . . I think never man had to do with so rude so inconsistent and beastly a nation as this.”

10. 26. *Thair admirall and lustennand was Schir raff warren the king of inglandis m^r and my lord Clintowne weis admirall.*

11. 28. *This act [the burning of Edinburgh] was done in the seir of God I^m v^r xliij seiris and in the moneth of maij.* The true date is 7th May 1544 (‘Hamilton Papers,’ vol. ii. p. 360; although the Diurnal and Birrel’s Diary put it on 4th and 5th May). Pitscottie does not name the Earl of Hertford, afterwards the Protector Somerset, who really commanded, but Sir Ralph Warren and Lord Clinton who were, according to him, the admirals of the navy. A full account of Hertford’s expedition will be found in his own letters (‘Hamilton Papers,’ vol. ii. pp. 360–375). The despatches to Henry VIII. do not mention Warren or Clinton, but are written by the Earl of Hertford, who describes himself by his own title, and Sir John Dudley, Lord Lisle, who is styled lord admiral, having been recently promoted to that office. Edward Fiennes de Clinton, afterwards Earl of Lincoln, served under him as vice-admiral. Pitscottie is mistaken in calling Warren the admiral.

12. 10. *And to that effectt thocht it expedient to fech hame the erle of Lennox.* Matthew Stewart, son of John, Earl of Lennox, and father of Darnley, landed at Dumbarton, 3rd March 1543, and had an interview with Arran in April; but afterwards quarrelling with him, tried in July to deliver the Queen-Dowager and her daughter from his custody, and succeeded in bringing them to Stirling (‘Diurnal,’ p. 28). Beaton caused the Queen-Dowager to put him “in hope of marriage,” as is here described, but finding he “got nothing from her but words” (‘Hamilton Papers,’ vol. ii. p. 56), he transferred his services to the

English, and became, as Sadler says in one of his despatches, "as good an Englishman as he had been a good Frenchman." Sailing from Dumbarton to Chester, where he arrived on 1st June, he was on 10th July 1544 married to Henry's niece, the Lady Margaret Douglas, in accordance with an agreement made on 17th March, by which he was to deliver Dumbarton and other Scotch fortresses to the English king ('State Papers,' Scot., vol. i. p. 45).

14. 4. *Schir william hamniltoun of machlin.* This is probably Sir William Hamilton mentioned by Leslie (Scottish Text Soc. Ed. bk. ii. p. 26), as having been sent on an embassy to England from which he returned in August 1543. But as the conference at Kirkliston was held in the month of July, he must have returned before July. Pitscottie gives here a fuller list of those who took part in it than is to be found elsewhere.

14. 9. *The governour was contentit that the zounge quein sould be delyuerit to four lordis newtrall . . . to wit The lord lyndesay of the byres The lord askyne The lord grahame The lord lewingstoune.* The 'Diurnal,' p. 28, substitutes "Lord St. John" for "Lord Lyndsay" of the "Byres." But the 'Herries Memoirs' agree with the list here given by Pitscottie, p. 5. These were the persons who finally got the Queen's custody. The Parliament of 15th March had made a longer list. 'The Earls Marshall (Keith), and Montrose (Grahame), Lords Erskine, Methven, Livingston, Lindsay, Seton, and the Laird of Calder' (Ap. ii. p. 414).

CHAPTER IV.

15. 5. *Schone eftir this the lordis convenit at Stiruiling the xx day of August in the zeir of god I^m v^e xliij zeiris.* Mary was crowned at Stirling on Sunday, 9th September 1543 ('Hamilton Papers,' ii. p. 33), "with such solemnity as they use in this country," says Sadler, "which is not verie costelie." Pitscottie does not mention the coronation in his text, only in the contents of this chapter; but no doubt the text implies that the date was 20th August 1543, which is expressly stated in Freebairn's and Dalzell's editions. There is no record of it in the Acts of Parliament, which do not mention either the Council at Stirling on 20th, or the Parliament at Edinburgh on 28th August. Nor are any of these events in the Diurnal, but Leslie states the coronation was in September 1543. The 'Herries Memoirs' (p. 5) give the date as 19th August. Dunbar ('Scottish Kings,' 248, and note 8), decides for the 9th September upon grounds less conclusive than usual in his careful work. The coronation was certainly the year before Hertford's expedition, which landed in Leith 4th May 1544. So Pitscottie has transposed the order of events.

15. 22. *For hir court was than lyk wenus and cupido in the tyme of*

fresche maij. Another of the lapses of Pitscottie into poetical expression, and an allusion to classical mythology, which is rare. It is only in MS. I.

17. 15. The contrast between Lennox and Bothwell is a good specimen of Pitscottie's historical portraiture.

CHAPTER V.

18. 15. *Captane James Stewart of Cardonack came out of France fre the king.* Leslie (p. 175, Bannatyne Club Ed.), states that he came in company with the Patriarch of Venice as the Pope's Legate (Marco Grimani, Patriarch of Aquileia), and La Brosse and Mesnaige, two French envoys, and that Stewart brought 60,000 crowns from the French king. The 'Herries Memoirs,' p. 6, say that "Lennox divydit a part [of 30,000 crowns] amang his friends sends a small sum to the queen mother and with the rest he wagit soldiers."

19. 5. *Bot quhene the earle knew thair promisse of na effect bot ane offputting of tyme, thairfor he grew displessit and promissit that he suld haue ane sufficient mense of the quene and cardinall or he sould leif Scotland.* The account of Lennox's proceedings in this chapter substantially agrees with the narrative in the 'Herries Memoirs,' p. 6, and in Leslie's 'History,' though MS. I supplies a few additional particulars, as the anecdote of Alexander Hare (p. 24), and the sending of the Earl's brother the Bishop of Caithness, and his kinsman the Earl of Glencairn to Henry VIII. before he went himself to England (p. 25). The fullest account of his negotiations with Henry VIII., and the part his desire to marry Lady Margaret played in them will be found in Sadler's 'State Papers,' and the 'Hamilton Papers,' vol. i. pp. 529-656; vol. ii. p. 56.

For the meaning of *mense*, see Glossary.

20. 14. *All the haill surname of the stewartis quha wald faine haue fochin with the hammiltownis for auld feid of the feild of linythgow.* The battle in which the father of Lennox was killed on 4th September 1526.

21. 2. *The erle of lennox . . . with the erle of glencairne . . . come to the feild daylie and offerrit to fecht with the governour ana cardinall xij for xij or sax for sax or man for man That is to say the erle of lennox aganis the governour the erle of glencarne aganes the cardinall bot the governour and cardinall refusit and wald nocht fecht at that tyme.* As to the form of challenge, compare the similar challenge given by Lord Lyndsay to Bothwell at Carberry. This passage is curious as showing that an ecclesiastic was still deemed open to a challenge to fight.

21. 20. *And in spetiall he solistit the earle of angus witht his brother George Douglas together with the earle of Glencairne and all*

the Cunninghames, the laird of Tilliebairne witht the haill Murrayis, witht the haill surname of Stewartis that wold do for him, and also the haill name of Douglassis witht mony wther wastland men and clans of the southland. This passage shows that the clan system, or something practically similar prevailed over all Scotland, and was not confined to the Highlands. It was a powerful bond, but not without broken links, for there were Stewarts who would not fight for Lennox.

"Do for him" means at this time "fight for him," without further explanation. Now the same phrase might mean either "to support him" or "to kill him."

22. 5. *For he wald in nowayis consent to gif him battell nor fight witht him at that tyme because they knew that thay war mair pairtie nor they might be haistalie.* There is something obscure here, through the use of the word "thay" for both parties. But the meaning is that the governor, the cardinal, and their party would not fight Lennox, because they knew Lennox's party was more numerous.

23. 1. *Thairfor he tuik the said money be the way and applyit it to his awin use.* This was the charge afterwards made by Beaton against Lennox before the French king from which Lorges de Montgomery appears to have defended him (see Note, p. 47, l. 4, and Note, p. 18, l. 15), but there seems no doubt Lennox, who was already negotiating with Henry VIII., used the most of the French king's money for his own purposes, on the pretext that his expenses in coming from France and living at the Scotch Court had never been paid by the Queen-Dowager and the Cardinal.

25. 23. *The said erle send his brother lord Robert Stewart bischope of Caitnes and with him the erle of glencairne his tender freind and kinisman to ingland to speik with king harie and to schaw of his cuming.* This is the first of several references to facts relating to the Bishop of Caithness, which Pitscottie may have got from the Bishop himself.

CHAPTER VI.

26. 19. *The erle of glencairne and makfarlane met him [Arran] with the nommer of aucht hundreith men and thair gave him battell.* Macfarlane was Walter Macfarlane of Tarbet, a vassal of Lennox. The 'Diurnal,' p. 321, says 500 men, and gives the date of the battle or field of Glasgow 24th May 1544. John Hamilton of Cambuskeith, the Master of Arran's household, and "twelve small men" were killed, but Glencairn lost, according to the 'Diurnal,' his son Andrew and many others, and Arran held the field. The account of this conflict is differently told by Mr Gregory in his 'History of the Western Highlands,' p. 165, where he makes Lennox himself fight with Arran, and charges Glencairn with taking part in a plot against Lennox,

but he apparently relies on Dr Patrick Anderson's MS. History, which is not so good an authority as Pitscottie or the 'Diurnal.'

27. 26. *He gave his castell of Dumbartane in keiping to ane callit the laird of quha sellit it onvorthilie to the governour.* The Captain of Dumbarton who betrayed it was Stirling of Glorat (Leslie, 'Hist. Bannatyne Club,' p. 186; Gregory's 'Western Highlands,' p. 165). Leslie gives a different account of its surrender to Arran, in which he implicates the Bishop of Caithness, who, he says, was restored to his bishopric "quhilk had been taken from him for assisting the Earl his brother, and swo he remained still in Scotland and wald never return in Ingland agane" (p. 190). But this appears to be an error, for the Bishop did not return to Scotland till after 1544.

28. 7. *The governour and cardinall sune heirefter sett ane parliament.* The 'Diurnal,' p. 34, says the Parliament was to have met on the last of July 1544, but was stayed because there was a rumour that the Queen-Dowager was coming to it, and "because thai yet being in hir company was full of dissait."

On 6th November 1544, the Governor held a Parliament in Edinburgh (Act Parl., vol. ii. p. 445), at which summonses of treason were raised against the Earl of Angus and George Douglas (p. 450-1). The summonses against the Earl of Lennox and the Bishop of Caithness are not mentioned in the Record of this Parliament, but first appear in that of 2nd September 1545 when they were continued, and decree of forfeiture was pronounced against Lennox on 1st October 1545, and the Bishop being repledged by the Bishop of St. Andrews [the Cardinal] as his Ordinary, the summons against him was deserted. (Act Parl., vol. ii. p. 456-7).

CHAPTER VII.

29. 20. *The Inglischemen grew so proud and dantined so the Scottis that they war all faine to be sewerat and to tak on the reid crose.* See Note, p. 42, l. 22.

30. 26. "*The raid of Coldinghame,*" was on 30th November 1544 ('Diurnal,' p. 40). It does not mention that Angus brought the Queen's artillery to Dunbar.

CHAPTER VIII.

34. 1. *And bad thame pase in Scotland and tak ceassing [sasine] upoun his expenssis.* This shows how similar the law of England and Scotland was as to acquiring land by sasine, as the proof of right by symbolic taking possession which was deemed necessary even after conquest.

CHAPTER IX.

37. 7. *Thair came certane gentillmen out of Fyfe that had ridin all the nyght to the governour and mett him at Gattounsye.* This is evidently from special Fife information Pitscottie had, and is not in other histories, except 'Herries Memoirs,' p. 12, which mentions that "Norman Leslie (he that afterwards killed the Cardinal) came from Fife with 300 gentlemen, all volunteers." Pitscottie, p. 41, mentions that after Ancrum the Governor thanked Leslie, the Laird of Lochleven, for their services. The account (p. 38 *et seq.*) of the victory of Ancrum Muir at which Sir Brian Layton, the English Warden, and Sir Ralph Eure were killed is so circumstantial that it must have been got from eye-witnesses, probably one of the gentlemen of Fife. Pitscottie gives 7th March as the date, but the correct date is 27th February 1545 (Birrel's Diary and 'Diurnal,' p. 38). 'Herries Memoirs,' p. 12, gives 7th February as the date. Dunbar ('Scottish Kings,' p. 248) accepts 27th February.

41. 1. *At Ancrum besyde Ludgartis crose.* MS. I reads "ligert cros." Both Freebairn and Dalzell omit any reference to the cross, and say merely "in Teviotdale."

A well-known tradition ascribes this monument to a Scotch maiden Lilliard, who fought to avenge her lover's death fighting the English. Another name is Lilliard's Edge, but Mr Bain suggests that Lilliard is a corruption for Lyliot (Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland, vol. iv. p. xx.). Liliot or Lyliotcross was a frequent place of meeting between the English and Scottish wardens to arrange border affairs. It is referred to in 1372, 1377, and 1380 ('Robertson's Index of Charters,' p. 109. *Rotuli Scotiae*, ii. pp. 3, 22).

CHAPTER X.

42. 22. *Constranit . . . to be severit and tak on the reid crose.* I reads "suirit." The reference is to the oath of assurance which gave to the English party among the Scotch Lowlanders the name of "the Assured."

The Acts of Queen Mary's Parliament, 1551, c. 3, 4, 5, were directed against them, and gave right of action for their spoliation of Scotchmen who were not assured.

44. 18. *At this tyme thair was ane combat betuix the lord lousit and the clanranald.* This was the battle of Blair-nan-leine (July 1544), the Battle of the Shirts, fought at Kinloch Lochy ('Diurnal,' p. 34; Leslie, 'History,' p. 184; 'Herries Memoirs,' p. 13). The 'Diurnal' says only four of the Clan Fraser survived, Leslie says none, and only two of the Clan Ranald. A tradition, which seems

doubtful, ran that eighty of the wives of the Frasers slain in the battle bore boys after it, and so continued the clan.

45. 27. *Monsieur Lorgie of Muntgomrie.* Le Sieur Lorges de Montgomery arrived in Scotland 3rd July 1545, according to De Thou ('*Historia sui temporis*,' p. 201), and Pitscottie gives 9th July as the date of his presenting himself at Stirling to the Queen and Governor, but he had come before the end of June (see 47. 4). De Thou praises Montgomery for defending Lennox against the calumnies of Beaton, and for procuring the release of his brother John Stuart of Darnley on his return to France in the following winter, although the Stewarts were his personal enemies. One of the English spies reported that Montgomery brought with him "3000 Frenchmen and 500 horsemen and 3000 crowns and 100 men to wait upon the governor at the French king's cost" ('*State Papers*,' Henry VIII., v., p. 459).

46. 20. *Birgem hauch forrent Wark.* Birgham or Brigham, in the parish of Eccles on the Scotch side of the Tweed, the site of the famous treaty of 1290 confirming the independence of Scotland.

CHAPTER XI.

47. 4. *The cardinall and Mons^r Lorgie being baitht present in Stirling befor the quene, fell in ressoning tuiching the earle of Lennox quhat was the cause of his banishment.* The Convention at Stirling was held on 26th June 1545, at which Montgomery's proposal for an offensive and defensive alliance between France and Scotland was accepted by the Cardinal and the Governor and the Scotch Lords (Act Parl. ii., p. 594 *et seq.*).

48. 3. *The cardinall ansuerit furieouslie againe and gif the lie and mante.* The point on which Montgomery and the Cardinal disputed appears to have been whether Lennox had appropriated to himself the money he brought from the French king to Scotland. Probably "mante" is "dementi" *cf.* Montaigne, '*Essais*' ii. ch. xviii. "Du Desmentir."

48. 22. *The laif of the Frinchemen that was witht Mons^r Lorgie, sic as Mons^r Candrie, Mons^r Gogie, Mons^r Herald, Mons^r Muilling.* I have not been able to identify these names, but they may perhaps be found in the lists of French and other officers in the catalogue of the library of the late M. de Courcelles, p. 14, who were at Dundee in 1546 and 7, referred to by F. Michel ('*Les Ecossais en France*,' i. p. 450).

49. 20. *The laird of stenous the captane of Dumbair and Mr Gavin hamiltoun . . . and the laird of blarne.* The laird of Stenhouse was James Hamilton, Captain of Edinburgh Castle, whose second wife, Lady Grizell Sempill, was the mistress of Archbishop Hamilton (Knox, '*Hist. of the Reformation*,' vol. i. p. 124, note 5). The captain

of Dunbar at this date was Robert Hamilton (p. 50, l. 30), and he was succeeded, before 1548, by Gavin Hamilton ('Hamilton Papers,' vol. ii. p. 619). The laird of Blanerne, in Berwickshire, was John Lumsden, a vassal of the Douglasses.

51. 32. *Ane principall counsell.*

I has "Provinciall." The meaning is the same, as the Provincial was the Principal Council of the Church in each kingdom as distinguished from a General Council of the whole Church.

This Council was held in January 1546, in the Black Friars' Convent, on the site of the old High School of Edinburgh, which was the usual place for such meetings. Cardinal Beaton's house at the foot of Black Friars' Wynd was close to the Convent.

53. 1. *This facell earle Bothwell for flattering the cardinall brak his promise maid to the said Mr George [Wishart] and deliuerit him in the cardinallis handis.* This was Patrick Hepburn, 3rd Earl of Bothwell, Sheriff of East Lothian, father of James Hepburn, Queen Mary's husband, described by Sadler as "the most vain and insolent man in the world full of folly." On 19th January 1545, he bound himself to deliver Wishart to the Governor ('Privy Council Reg.' vol. i. p. 20).

53. 16 margin. *The execution of the marteris at Sanct Johnnstoun.* The date of this was 25th January 1544 (Knox 'Hist. of Reformation,' vol. i. p. 117, 'Lord Treasurer's Accounts, Diurnal,' p. 30). Pitscottie has not here adhered to the order of time in stating events.

53. 28. "Quhill" should be "quho" or is perhaps a mistake for "quhilk."

CHAPTER XII.

54. 10. *The cardinall passit haistalie ower the watter to his awin castell of Sanctandrois and thair convenit all the clargie and cunning men of Scotland.* This general Provincial Council by which Wishart was tried was held at St. Andrews in March 1546 (Robertson's 'Concilia Scotiæ,' p. cxliv.).

54. 22. *Ane of the governouris awin kinsmen stude wpe.* MS. I adds "to wit the Laird of Preston." This was David Hamilton of Preston.

56. 28. *Dene Johnne Winram . . . maid the sermond that day.* Knox following Fox's Martyrs and Calderwood following Knox, do not give so favourable a report of Wynram's sermon as Pitscottie. The text was "Let both grow together till the harvest," Matthew xiii. 30. But Wynram afterwards became a Protestant, and it is probable that there may have been expressions in his sermon, which was against heresy, favourable to Wishart. The text admitted of different interpretations according to the view taken of what was heresy.

57. 21. *The Accusatioun of Mr George Wischart gentill man.* The whole proceedings in the trial of Wishart are in the Latin edition of

(Lyndsay's 'Works,' vol. i. p. 149). This passage is only in MS. I, another proof that it contains the genuine text of Pitscottie, who would be likely to quote his kinsman, with whose views he was in complete sympathy. Lyndsay's tragedy of the Cardinal was first printed in 1547 at the close of Daye's edition of the 'Book of Martyrs' by Fox on Wishart's martyrdom.

MS. I here introduces another passage specially relating to the Bishop of Caithness, which is new to history. He came, according to this account to Dumbarton Castle in 1546, but was betrayed to the Governor by the captain, and it seems implied that he went back to England, but the passage is not quite clear. I read it that the only charge against him was his going to England from Dumbarton at the request of Lennox. If he returned he certainly went back to England before long.

CHAPTER XIII.

86. 23. *Bot thir men that war in the said castell seand the gouvener reitir and skailit the seige, then they become so proud.* Knox has not so directly stated the misconduct of some of those in the castle of St. Andrews as Pitscottie does. But there is an allusion to it in the passage (vol. i. p. 204), "But Johne Knox was of ane other judgment for he ever said, 'That thair corrupt lyif could nott eschape punishment of God, and that was his continuall advertisement fra the time that he was called to preach.'" The 'Herries Memoirs,' p. 17, confirm Pitscottie, "They ravish women, give themselves over to whoredom, drinking and all sorts of licentiousness."

87. 1. *Sum godlie man was in the castell.* The addition of MS. I, "to wit Johne Knockis" is significant as to Pitscottie's relations with Knox, and affords another proof of MS. I being the authentic version, as the other MSS. do not name Knox.

88. 10-22, margin. *The clingin of the earle of Rothous of the cardinalis slaughter (clingin=cleansing or acquitting).* Pitscottie gives the account of this curious assize in the middle of a campaign on the Borders because Rothies was Sheriff of Fife and Lord Lyndsay one of the assize. It is also mentioned in 'Herries Memoirs,' p. 18. The documents relating to it in the Rothies Charter Chest are described in Hist. MSS. Commission, 4th Report, p. 504, and the trial is said to have been held at a field near the Water of Yarrow, 15th July 1547.

89. 3. *This captane of France callit the pryour of Cap.* Leon Strozzi, Knight of Malta, Prior of Capua, and Captain-General of the French Gallies, a kinsman of Catharine de Medici. Knox gives the terms of the capitulation of St. Andrews to Strozzi ('History,' vol. i. p. 205).

90. 19. *Ffor the new work.* Cardinal Beaton shortly before his death had been making repairs and additions to the castle, which are here called "the new work."

CHAPTER XVI.

101. 11. *This sorrowfull battell was strickin in September the viij day in the zeir of god i^m v^e xlvij zeiris.* Pitscottie's account of the battle of Pinkie is very minute, and probably derived from a combatant, one of the Fife gentlemen (p. 96, l. 18). The true date of the battle was 10th September 1547. The 'Herries Memoirs,' p. 20, *et seq.*, state the losses on both sides, and the correct date. Dunbar ('Scottish Kings,' p. 249, note 16) notes it was the last battle between the English and Scotch, but this means prior to the Union, and leaves the Cromwellian campaign out of account.

CHAPTER XVII.

102. 17. *Ffor oft tymes god makis scourgis to punische realmeis ffor thair inequetie at his plesour and sounne heirefles castis the scourge in the fyre.* Pitscottie again moralises, and the fate of Seymour was a sufficiently striking and recent instance of the fickleness of fortune to justify him.

103. 14. *And maid ane great fourt and strength besyde the said castell callit Bagillow law.* The castle of Broughty on the shore of the Tay near Broughty Ferry, the entrance of the Tay. Balgillow Law commands it, and was used as a site for a fort by Somerset from 1547 to 1550, and a camp by Monk in 1651.

103. 15. *The quhilk fortht maid all the contrie round about withtin sex myllis.* Something is wrong or missing here. Possibly "maid" = oppressed. The printed editions read, "So that within six mylles round about thame there was no land laboured but payed thame dewtie," which is probably an emendation, but a necessary one, for the sense. The writer of MS. A has repeated in l. 16 "maid" from l. 14.

There are other minor variations in this part of the Chronicles between Dalzell's Edition and MS. A, and it is difficult to say whether Dalzell altered the text or followed another MS.

104. 4. The insertion by MS. I of the name of Sir Alexander Bruce of Earlshall, in the list of the Fife lairds who defended the county, looks as if this part of his narrative may have been got from the Earlshall MS. 'History' referred to in the Preface.

CHAPTER XVIII.

105. 4. *They brunt the castell of Purie.* Powrie Castle, near Dundee.

105. 6. *Tuik the castle of hume and fastcastell.* Both castles of the Homes. Hume Castle, about five and a half miles north of Kelso, and Fast Castle, seven miles east of Coldingham.

105. 15, margin. *Ane prette devys how the castell of howm was win.* This was an old stratagem practised on the castle of Linlithgow in the time of Robert the Bruce ('Tales of a Grandfather,' ch. ix.).

106. 27. *And schipit at the wast sie in the moneth of [March] in the zeir of god i^m v^e xlvij.* Although Mary went to Dumbarton on the last day of February, she did not take ship for France till August (Dunbar's 'Scottish Kings,' p. 249, No. 17).

107. 13. *Ane callit Monsr Dosie, bot he did lyttill goode in Scotland and spendit the kingis money.* His true name was André de Montalembert, Seigneur d'Essé in Angoumois, and d'Espanvilliers in Poitou, a gallant soldier of whom Brantôme gives many anecdotes, and whose life, by Le Comte de Montalembert, is in the edition of the 'Histoire de la Guerre d'Ecosse, par Jean de Beaugué,' Bordeaux, 1862. Montalembert notes in his Preface, p. viii, that we cannot wonder at the confusion which exists in the Annalists of the sixteenth century as to obscure persons, when a man so well known as his ancestor, who became a Marshal of France, is described by a great variety of names. This also shows that the confusion as to French names in Pitscottie and other Scotch writers was not due solely to Scotch ignorance. Pitscottie's brief verdict on D'Essé's campaign is nearer the truth than the panegyric narrative of Beaugué, which, however, cannot conceal that D'Essé failed to take Haddington, the main object of his expedition. Though he made some gallant raids on the English border, he was recalled by the French king after serving little more than a year in Scotland.

107. 15. *Thair was captane to the Dutchmen ane callit Quhittin-graw.* He is commonly called the Rhingrave. Montalembert (Preface to Beaugué, p. xxxvi) describes this German soldier of fortune, who seems somewhat out of place amongst the French, as the head "De la grande maison de Salm aujourd'hui princière dont la branche aînée a toujours porté les titres de *Wild* et *Rheingraf*, c'est à dire *Comte Sauvage*, *Comte du Rhin* à cause de ses possessions situés entre la Moselle et le Rhin."

He is referred to in 'Beaugué' (pp. 79, 137, 162). He returned to France before D'Essé (p. 178), but left five companies of Germans behind under Captain Routouze or Retonze ('Holinshed,' p. 349).

There is a curious notice of him in a letter from Paris by Henry Knyvet to Henry VIII., 17th July 1546 ('State Papers,' Henry VIII., xi. p. 245). He afterwards served with two regiments of Lansquenets at the siege of Havre in 1563.

107. 26. *The governour and the frinchemen witht the haill rest of the airmie of Scotland came fordwart fast towartis Mussillburght to meit the Inglisch airmie.* Although Pitscottie represented the French as opposing Hertford's raid, they do not seem to have taken a prominent part in the battle of Pinkie.

109. 10. *I hard say thair was drownitt that day besond vj^r gentell-men and ane hunder taine.* This is the expression of a writer who had not been present (as Pitscottie might have been), but got his account from some one who had been.

CHAPTER XIX.

The contents of this chapter, "*How the Frenchmen slew the Provost of Edinburgh*," differs from the statement in the text that this was done by "the Scottismen" (p. 109, l. 20), which is evidently a mistake. The Provost who was killed was James Hamilton, Laird of Stanehouse. 'Beaugué,' ch. xxiii., slurs over the seriousness of this conflict, but there is a full account of it in a despatch of the Spanish Envoy; see also 'Holinshed,' p. 248.

110. 9. *Ane nobill man of weir callit Paull lord of Termes.* Le Sieur de Thermes, afterwards Marshal of France, was sent to replace D'Essé in June, and D'Essé left in July 1549. Dalzell calls him Deterius (p. 510).

111. 12. *The lord Simpill slew the lord Sanchar in the gowernouris challmer and no correctioun maid thairof because he was the bischopis goode father.* Grisel, daughter of Robert, third Lord Semple, married James Hamilton of Stanehouse, but became mistress of Archbishop Hamilton. So Semple is here ironically called the Bishop's good-father, i.e. father-in-law.

112. 3. *Ane auld barroun of the contrie callit the laird of Raith was taine be the bischope of Sanctandrois in Fyfe . . . and had to Edinburgh and iustifeit.* Sir John Melville of Raith, who was beheaded, as Pitscottie here says, "for sending a letter to an Englishman in favour of a captive, his friend." The real cause of his execution was, according to the Reformers, that "he favoured the truth and was a great friend to them that were in the Castle of St. Andrews" (Calderwood, 'History,' i. p. 263). He was executed on 13th December 1548.

112. 11. *The allmightie god mowit the quene nocht to stand witht thair proceedingis,* that is, the proceedings of Arran and the Hamiltons, who were more disliked by the Protestant party than even Mary of Guise. She went to France on 8th August 1550, and returned about 30th November 1551 (Dunbar's 'Scottish Kings,' p. 250).

113. 9. *Ffor the quhilk cause he maid the gowernour Duike of Chattellaroy.* Arran was created Duke of Chatelherault by Henri II. on 8th February 1548, but he did not resign the Regency till 12th April 1554.

113. 14. *He send ane ambassadour in Scottland quho was callit Monsieur Doyswall.* "D'Oysel" or "Cleutin," as he signed his name

had the full title of "Sieur d'Oysel de Ville Parisis." He landed in Scotland 18th June 1548. Teulet prints his despatch written on landing to the Duc d'Aumale (vol. i. p. 164). Pitscottie has here confused the date of Mary of Guise going to France, which was not till September 1550, two years after the arrival of D'Oysel.

114. 1. *Nocht lang efter the quene come hame in Scotland thair was ane parlieament proclammitt to be haldin at Edinburgh in the moneth of [Julij] in the zeir of god I^m v^e liii.* Mary of Guise returned to Scotland in November 1551, but the Parliament here referred to at which she was made Regent did not sit till 12th April 1554 (Act. Parl., vol. ii. pp. 600-3, and 'Diurnal,' p. 266).

115. 5. *Thocht I can nocht tell at this present nothing bot godis ire and wraith to fall wpoun that realme that wantis ane goode man and wittie to governe it and syne gif woman the gowernment.* This was a judgment after the event. At the time the deposition of Arran and appointment of Mary as Regent were regarded with some favour in Scotland. Even modern writers have taken a favourable view of the character of Mary of Guise. Her ability was undoubted, and she made some attempts to conciliate the Scotch Protestants. But Knox gauged her more accurately. She was at heart a devoted Roman Catholic, and politically could not separate herself from the designs of her brothers the Guises.

116. 6. *Scho maid ane Mr Rubie controllar.* De Rubay was an advocate of Paris. There is no doubt Mary of Guise laid the foundation of her unpopularity by appointing Frenchmen to high offices, but there is some discrepancy as to the offices. Leslie ('Historie Sc. Text Soc.,' ii. p. 354) says "Rubay was appointed Keeper of the King's Seal, Willemore (Vilemore) the Frenchman, gatherar of the King's Custom, and Bonot, a Frenchman, bailie of Orkney." D'Oysel (see Notes to p. 113, l. 14) was her chief adviser. 'The Herries Memoirs,' p. 29, make Rubay Chancellor and Leon Strozzi Keeper of the Seal.

116. 15-23. *The duik of Suthwoik . . . with his sones and his wyff . . . war arreisted . . . at Eamriche.* Suffolk was taken prisoner with his brother John at Astley Cooper in Warwickshire. Eamriche is an unknown place. MS. I is distinguished from the other MSS. by its frequent references to English affairs, but its statements are often inaccurate.

117. 6. *In this zeir the quein held ane parliament and desyred ane taxatioun viz. that evirie mark land sould pay four markis.* This taxation appears to have been imposed in the Parliament of 1554, though the record of it is not extant. In the Parliament of 1556 there is an "Ordour of the Lordis of the Artickles anent up-lifting the taxatioun" (Act Parl., vol. ii. p. 604) which probably refers to it.

CHAPTER XXI.

117. 9. *In the seir of god 1^m v^e luj seiris thair landit ane schip of Muscove at Aberdein.* Leslie's 'History,' (vol. ii. p. 367), tells an opposite story, that Mary of Guise received the captain and treated him well, and that the shipwrecked goods were restored.

117. 26. *Monseur Doiswell and Monseur decapis dewysed ane strang fort at haymouth.* D'Oysel and Strozzi erected a fort at Eyemouth, near Dunbar.

CHAPTER XXII.

119. 20. *The watter of tweid at hempfeildis furd.* Leslie (p. 372), tells the same story at more length. The Scotch army had crossed the Tweed and "the river namit fra Maxwell" (or according to another version Maxwell Haugh), at the urgent instance of Mary and her French advisers, but Chatelherault, Huntly, and the other Scotch nobles refused to invade England "for nae cause was quhy ane forraye suld be maid till inland."

121. 6. *Quein regent and the lordis set ane parliament at Edinburghe the and thair . . . chuisit sex lordis to pas in france to the quenis mariaige.* The date was 14th December 1557 (Act. Parl., vol. ii. p. 501). In this Parliament Acts were passed in favour of the ambassadors about to go to France to carry out the marriage of Mary with the Dauphin.

121. 15. *Thir lordis tuk the sea and inbarcat at Kirkcaldie in the moneth of* *In the seir of God 1^m v^e fyiftie sevin.* The ambassadors did not sail till the beginning of 1558 ('Leslie,' vol. ii. p. 378). It may be noted that about this period the dates in Pitscottie are often left blank.

122. 3. *Fernent the coist of Italie.* Italy is clearly a mistake. Leslie (vol. ii. p. 378) says the storm caught the ambassadors' ships before they left the Scotch coast, and one ship was lost off St. Abb's Head, the other "on the coast of Bolone," Boulogne. They landed at the "New heuin besyd deip." This Newhaven was afterwards called Havre de Grace.

123. 15, margin. *Mairiage of marie queine of scoittis on the dolphin of france.* The date of the marriage was 24th April 1558 (Dunbar, 'Scottish Kings,' p. 251).

123. 33. *The garmondis of the clathis [of] the ordour of the cockill.* This was the order of St. Michael, then the principal order of knight-hood in France, so called from the collar of the order being in the form of a chain of cockle-shells (Selden, 'Titles of Honour,' 3rd ed., p. 461).

The order was instituted by Louis XI. to defend Mont S. Michael against the English, and the cockle-shells which were worn by pilgrims to Mont S. Michael were taken as its badge.

126. 15. *Our crowne of Scotland is ane Imperiall crowne.* Imperial here means only independent and with no superior, or in Pitscottie's words "was nevir conquest nor subiect to na realme christnit nar hauldis of na king bot god." The same claim was made in the 'Regiam Majestatem.' When Mr Freeman argued in favour of the right of the early English kings to be called emperors, and when Mr Disraeli invented the title of Empress of India, no reference was made to the imperial crown of Scotland.

126. 36. *Thay gat ane Italiane posset.* It was not wonderful that the death of four of the Scotch ambassadors in France created rumours of poisoning, which since the time of the Borgias was deemed an Italian art. There is no sufficient evidence for accepting it as proved in this case. See Creighton's 'History of the Papacy,' vol. iv. p. 263, "The Poisonings attributed to the Borgias."

CHAPTER XXIII.

128. 7-17. *Thair was grantit be the quein and the lordis and the thrie estaitis . . . lyk febill fuillis and unworthie corrupted beistis . . . all the desyres foirsaid of the king of franceis letteris.* The chief of these was the demand that the Dauphin should receive the crown of Scotland and "be crownit thairwith and maid king of Scotland." But Pitscottie adds (l. 28) "bot quhiddir the crowne [passit] or nocht passit at that tyme I can nocht tell." In fact, though the Parliament of 1558 granted the Dauphin the crown matrimonial of Scotland, he was never crowned with it. The French were also to be treated as naturalised Scots and have privilege to buy land and trade. It must be remembered the French had granted similar privileges to the Scots. The strong language of Pitscottie, in which he characterises the lords of Parliament who granted it as "febill fuillis" and "corrupted beistis," is almost identical with that he uses as to Grange and Lethington when they held the castle of Edinburgh against the king, and shows the importance patriotic Scots attached to the question of the crown being granted to the husband of the queen.

128. 30. The Parliament here referred to as December 1558, so far as its records show, sat in Edinburgh and not in Dunblane.

129. 16. *Thir desyris and wther ma was proponit and desyrit in the said parlieament be Monsieur Dosie.* This should be D'Oysel—Dosie, or D'Essé, had left Scotland some years before.

130. 14. *In the zeir of god I^m v^o lviiij zeiris, the xx day of Appryle ane poore man callit Wallter Myle was taine.* Walter Myle, or Mill,
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priest of Lunan, the last Protestant martyr in Scotland, was burnt on 28th April 1548 (Knox, vol. i. p. 308 ; Buchanan, vol. ii. p. 242).

137. 6. *Efter this Paul Meffen come in Scotland and preichit in Dindie.* This is the version in A of the passage from I, printed p. 136, l. 23, *et seq.*

137. 16. *Bot he was so assistit witht temporall men be solistatioun thairof.* This was the turning of the tide against the persecution of heretics. The passage is somewhat corrupt ; "be solistatioun thairof" should perhaps read "The solistation," thairof, *i.e.*, the prosecution of the summons was continued until they saw further, or it may mean that the council would probably have condemned Methven if he had not been so assisted by laymen that "be solistatioun thairof," *i.e.*, their influence and solicitations, the council prudently continued the matter.

CHAPTER XXV.

138. 21. *Schir thomas Jamesoun of cowper in fyffe was summond for preaching aganes the mes in sanctandros bot the maister of lyndsay the laird of craighall the laird of lundy and Patrick Kynninmond of Calleinge . . . raid with him and brocht him perforce fra Sanctandros.* The reforming laity were specially strong in Fife, and those here named were Pitscottie's kin and neighbours.

139. 8. *Lord James with adwyce of the congregatioun brocht Johne Knox out of genavoe and Johne Willox out of Ingland quha war bayth scoittismen.* This passage is only in MS. I. The bringing of Knox from Geneva was the critical moment in the Scotch Reformation. It determined the constitution of the Scotch Church on the model of Geneva due to the constructive ability of Calvin.

139. 25. *Lorde Ewerse brother desyrit to fight witht Williame Kirkcaldie laird of Grange in singular battell on horsebak witht tuo scherp speiris.* Lord Ewers declined as Kirkcaldy was only a knight, but his brother Ralph took up the challenge. Holinshed, vol. v. 585, says, "Kirkcaldy challenged Lord Ewers for keeping his cousin too strictly when a prisoner in England." The same Chronicler intimates that Ralph Ewers was wounded through Kirkcaldy having an advantage in armour by a cuirass over his coat of plate.

140. 27. *Thairfor they convenit ane provintial [council] at Edinburgh the xxviiij day of December.* This council was held in March 1559, and before it dispersed appointed another to meet on 11th February 1560, but it never met (Robertson's 'Concilia Scotiae,' p. clxiii).

CHAPTER XXVI.

142. 18. *Wpon the sext day of februarj the bischopis and kirkmen causit certane captouris to be maid to that intent that quhatsumevir*

thay war that eat flesche in letrone. "Chaptouris" is "chapters," and so probably is "captouris," though an unusual form. There were at this time rules made for enforcing Fasting.

143, note 1. *And sealed thame throche the cuntrie for twa pennyes, i.e.,* sold them. The "twapenny faith," or Catechism, was an attempt to adopt the Roman doctrine to the popular taste and purse.

144. 28. *To witt, in Fyfe the Maister of Lyndsay the laird of Lundie sounger and elder, the laird of Craigie hall, the laird of Abeschaw, the lard of Newhall.* Pitscottie specially mentions the Fife lairds who took part in founding the Congregation. The laird of Lundie was Lundie of that Ilk, near Leven, who married a daughter of Lord Lyndsay; the laird of Craigiehall was probably a Kinninmont, then laird of Craigiehall, and the laird of Abeschaw, or Abbots hall, was Robert Scott of Pitgorno, a son of Scott of Balwerie.

CHAPTER XXVII.

145. 1. *Thair to they convennitt at Sanct Iohnnstoun in the zeir of god I^m v^e lx zeiris in the moneth of appryle.* The Convention of St. Johnston was in 1560 as MS. A has it, not in 1559 as in MS. I.

145. 18. *Bot the pryour thairof* (the Charterhouse at Perth). Pitscottie has here drawn the miserly prior with the single touch of the fare he gave his tenants, "saltt sallmond and thin drink."

146. 33. *And caist thame all done except the freiris of Tillielum quhilk the lord Ruthven saiffit be his moyane bot abolischit the freiris thairof.* Tillielum, a monastery, a little to the west of Perth, on the lands called Dovecotland, was a house of the Carmelites, the first of that order in Scotland, founded about 1260 in the reign of Alexander III. It may have helped to save it besides the interference of Lord Ruthven that Alexander Young, its last pre-Reformation Prior, became a Protestant. A very instructive account of its history is given in Fittis' 'Ecclesiastical Annals of Perth,' 1885. Young died in 1592, and his successor, appointed before Young's death, was Robert Ritchie, also a Protestant, and married.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

147, footnote. The reform of Cupar Kirk is a local note of Pitscottie's, and is only in MS. I.

CHAPTER XXIX.

151. 22. *First to Carraill and caist down the imagis and allter thairof, and brunt the rude quhilk was ane great idoll and abussit all men and wemen baitht wiht pillgramage. This they did the xvj day*

of Junij and on the morne heirefter come to Sanctandrois. The Holy Rood of Crail, a favourite object for pilgrimages, of which Sir David Lyndsay wrote—

" And sum in hope to get their hale
Rynnys to the Auld Rude of Kerrail."

The Rude was probably an old wooden crucifix inserted in the Cross at the Altar of the Holy Rood. Where this was situated in the Church is discussed in Mr Erskine Beveridge's learned monograph on "The Parish Church of Crail," where some entries are given (p. 25) from the Lord Treasurer's Accounts of considerable sums paid in October 1500, "for saton crammossie to be 'ane robe for the Rude in Craill.'" Probably the Rude was carried in procession on 14th September, "Rude Day," or the day of the Invention of the Cross. This passage, and others at this period are abbreviated in the printed editions, which merely say "they burnt the Rude," and give no date. Knox, in a letter to Mrs Anne Luke, dated St. Andrews, 23rd June, says the Reformation there began on 18th June (Knox, 'Works,' vol. i. p. 25), and his visit to Crail was before he went to St. Andrews.

155. 21. *Monsieur Dossie.* This should be D'Oysel. See note, p. 129, l. 16.

155. 24. *Than me lord Lyndsay callit togither the frinche captans, that is to say, Monsieur Dossie, Delachapell and Monsr Chairllis.* MS. I corrects "Dossie" of MS. A into the correct form of D'Oysel, the chief French adviser of Mary of Guise. The other two are well-known French captains of this period in Scotland. De la Chapelle is frequently mentioned in the correspondence of the time. MS. I gives the name of the third captain *Chairllis*. His real name was "Corbeyran de Cardailiac-Sarlabous. His life has been recently written 'Un Capitaine Gascon du xvi^m Siecle Cordeyran de Cardailiac Sarlabous, Maistre de Camp, Gouverneur de Dunbar et du Havre-de-Grace,' par Edouard Forestier, Lauréat de L'Institut." Paris, 1897.

159. 27. *Thair bretherin war heavelie oppressit in Sant Iohnnstoun and that be the laird of Killphans, captane thair of maid be the quene.* John Charteris of Kinfauns had been made Provost of Perth by Mary of Guise, in place of Lord Ruthven, who was a supporter of the Congregation.

CHAPTER XXX.

161. 6. *Christopher Goodeman quho had bene in Genewa, ane man of great leirning quho remanit ane lang tyme in Sanctandrois coledge.* Goodman was an associate and friend of Knox. He was Minister of the Tron Kirk, and Provost of the College of St. Leonards, which continued to be the College which favoured the Reformation most.

CHAPTER XXXI.

163. 23. "My lord Settoun," as in I is no doubt right, not "my lord Creichtone." Lord Seton was a strong Catholic and supporter of Queen Mary, in whose interest both he and his wife afterwards went to Flanders. One of his sisters, Mary Seton, was one of Mary's maids of honour.

CHAPTER XXXII.

164. 10. *Ane frinchemen callit La battie came fourtht.* This Frenchman may have been a son of Sir Anthony d'Arces de la Bastie, slain by Hume of Wedderburn in the reign of James V. F. Michel ('Les Ecossais en France,' i. p. 524) appears to think he was another de la Bastie, Oliver, who was an ambassador to England in 1514.

165. 6. *At this tyme money of the gentillmen of Fyfe tuik thair pairt, Wemes, Balumbe, Ballwerie, Bagoney, Durrie, Seifeild and the Abbot of Dumfermling.* These were Fife lairds of the eastern district, who are said to have taken the part of the Congregation, but see Note, p. 166, 28. George Durie, the Abbot of Dunfermline, was also the Archdeacon of St. Andrews. Knox and Calderwood represent him as an enemy to the Reformers, but perhaps at this time he may have shown some indication of favouring it along with his kinsman Durie of Durie, an estate close to Leven.

165. 9. *Wpoun the xxiiij day of Januarii the seir forsaid the Inglisch schipis come into the firth and the admerall of thame callit Mr Wintter, landit at Aberdour.* This was 24th January 1560, N. S.

165. 16. The description here is evidently by one who knew the ground well. The point, put briefly, was whether the French troops could go from Wemyss the nearest way to Cupar, and that being blocked by snow, they marched along the coast and reached the East Neuk at Kinraig, near St. Andrews, opposite Winter's ships.

166. 11. "Fottrick," or "Fothrik" Muir. Fothryff was the old name of the western district and Deanery of Fife. The muir probably was near, or perhaps a part of, the forest (Fothar) from which the name was derived (Liddell, 'Place-Names of Fife').

166. 15. *The Duik of Guyse come out of France to the sie witht viij schipis to haue supportit the quene aganis the protestantis bot god send ane tempest and brak all the schipis.* Buchanan is right in substituting the Marquis of Elbeuf, for the Duke did not leave France at this time. The printed edition by Freebairn reads, "*The Marquis d'Elbeuf, brother to the Duke of Guise,*" and the words in italics had probably been omitted by mistake in MS. A.

166. 28. *Nocht lang efter this the pryour of Sanctandris, the maister of Lyndsay, the laird of Grange past to the waste Wemes and tuk the laird thair of in thair will and siclyk the laird of Siefeld, Bamwto, Montquarie, Bagoney and had soume of thame to Sanctandris.* Notwithstanding what Pitscottie had said (pp. 165-6), it seems that Wemyss, Seafeld, Balmuto, and Balgonie, who are then said to have taken the side of the Congregation, were not trusted by its leaders, and some of them had to be taken forcibly to St. Andrews by the Lord James afterwards Regent Murray, the Master of Lindsay, and Kirkcaldy, then serving together as leaders of the Congregation.

169. 27. *The Inglisch quhyt cottis.* White coats seem to have been the usual uniform of the English soldiers. They are mentioned also in the account of the siege of Edinburgh Castle.

171. 8. *Wpoun the xiiij day of Iunii thair came tuo ambassadouris out of France to the congregatioun and to the Inglischmen.* Charles de la Rochefoucault, Seigneur de Randan, and John de Monluc, Bishop of Valence, were the French ambassadors at this date.

172. 6. *Beand xviiij zeiris in France and marieit.* This is a mistake, as Mary was only thirteen years in France, from 13th August 1548 to 14th August 1561. The mistake is due to the omission of the words "Beand of aige xviii zeiris and xii zeiris in France," which Freebairn has supplied, or perhaps found in some other MS. Pitscottie gives the correct date of Mary's landing at Leith, 19th August 1561.

172. (cf. 173, note 7) 14. *Monseur Domell Monseur Martis and the grand pryour.* Domell is Claude de Lorraine Duc d'Aumale, and the Grand Pryour is Francis de Lorraine. "Martis" must be a mistake for "Marquis d'Elbeuf," as all three are described as Mary's "moder broder," i.e. maternal uncles.

172. 21. *The quens grace maid hir entrese at Edinburgh . . . wpoun the second day of September.* This is the correct date ('Diurnal,' p. 67).

173. 11. *Bot god caussit thame to be put frome thair waine purpose and faine to skaill aff the tound of Edinburgh and the congregatioun, thankis be to god, prevaillit.* The reading of I is preferable to that of A, which has "and consall of the toune of Edinburgh."

173, note. The addition of MS. I, describing in detail the fare at the banquet for the marriage of the Abbot of Coldingham, Mary's bastard brother, to the Earl of Bothwell's sister, is characteristic of Pitscottie, who liked to dwell on the large scale of Scotch banquets, as in his description of the Athole Hunt. Dalzell wrongly thought these passages additions by a later hand.

173. 21. *Wpoun the 15 day of Februarij thair come ane ambassadour out of Swadin.* This was Peter Brahe, who was sent by Eric XIV. in March or April 1562, according to the Swedish historian Olaf Celsius, to Scotland with a proposal of marriage to Mary

Stuart, but as Eric was still carrying on negotiations with the same object with Queen Elizabeth, he was instructed not to present the proposal if Elizabeth showed any disposition to accede to his offer. The negotiations with Elizabeth had already gone on for more than two years, and there was little hope in that quarter, and she finally declined. He was equally unsuccessful in Scotland, where the influence of the Guises and Mary's own wishes were set against an alliance with a Protestant king. Two years before, Eric had sent two envoys to Scotland, and although he denied his having proposed to Mary at that time, it was suspected he desired to rouse the jealousy of Elizabeth ('Histoire d'Eric XIV.,' Paris, 1727).

174. 18. *The new hevyn in france.* This was Havre de Grace.

Captain Sarlabous, who had been Captain of Dunbar, having distinguished himself during the siege, received the command of this important fort on 1st August 1563. (See his Life, by Forestier, pp. 99-102.)

174. 20. *In the zeir of god I^m v^e lxix zeiris the xxij day of Marche the earle of Bothwell . . . come to Falkland to the quens palice and thocht to haue powsonitt the quene.* This is singular even for a rumour, for how was Bothwell to have got opportunity to administer poison? Poisoning was not his form of crime. MS. I's reading of "allegit" instead of "all aggreit" is no doubt right, and allegations or rumours of poisoning at this period were, no doubt, not limited to probable cases.

175. 20. *In the same zeir the 25 day of Apryle thair come to Sanct-androis, the kingis brother of Swadin to our quene desyrand marieage of hir to his brother, bot the ansuer thair of was defferit.* The king's brother of Sweden was John, brother of Eric XIV., who afterwards deposed him and reigned in his stead. He was sent to England on an embassy to Queen Elizabeth in 1560, when he returned on 26th April 1560 (Celsius, 'Histoire d'Eric XIV.,' vol. i. pp. 32, 37). But the present passage is the only reference to his coming to Scotland in 1560 I have observed.

175. 27. *My lorde Arrane and me lord Bothwell war convoyit to the castell be captane Steill at the command of the quens grace.* "Steill" probably should be "Stuart," as in MS. I. Both Arran and Bothwell had been in ward in the castle of St. Andrews. When examined there Arran was found to be out of his mind, and Bothwell was ordered to be removed in custody to Edinburgh Castle (Schiern, 'Life of Bothwell,' p. 31; Randolph to Cecil, 25th April 1562; 'State Papers, Scotland,' vol. i. p. 180).

175. 29. *The 5 day of May in the same zeir the toune of Rowane was beseiged be the king of France and the papists.* Rouen was not taken till 26th of October 1562, when the King of Navarre was killed ('Henault,' p. 494).

176. 2. *Wpoun the 14 day of May the quene come to Edinburgh*

and great treumph was maid be ressonne of the ambassadeur of Suedin . . . and the same day me lord Fleming was mariit witht great treumph maid, to wit, thair was maid wpon the locht of Airthour saitt gaillayis and ane castell maid . . . conforme to the fegour of the seige of Leytlt. This kind of mock battle seems to have been a favourite amusement, and the siege of the castle of Edinburgh was afterwards shown on the same loch. If John, the king's brother, was really at Edinburgh, it was natural to make a great display before him.

176. 15. *Ane seild at Drowes in Normandie.* Montaigne has an essay on this battle of Dreux, which took place on 19th December 1562. The Duke of Guise defeated the Huguenots under the Prince of Condé, who was taken prisoner.

177. 15. *In this moneth [August 1562] the earle Bothwell brak his waird and come out at ane wondow be ane tow and depairtit out of the castell of Edinburgh.* Knox gives the date, the 28th August (vol. ii. p. 347). He adds, "ane thing is certane to wit the Quene was litill offendit at his eschaipping." But there is no proof that Mary at this period, before her marriage to Darnley, encouraged Bothwell as Knox insinuates.

178. 21. *At ane place callit Bank-a-fair, witherwayis callit Cornchie.* Pitscottie's date for the battle of Corrichie, 28th October 1562, is supported by the 'Diurnal,' p. 73; and accepted by Dunbar ('Scottish Kings,' p. 254).

179. 8. It is not clear why Dalzell and Freebairn abbreviated after this point. Perhaps the writers of the MSS. they used had tired of copying.

179. 10. *W'poun the 24 day of November the lord Bothwell was chargit to enter in waird againe under the paine of treassone, zeit nochtwithtstanding he dissobeyit and w'poun the 5 day of December he was passand be sie to Flanderis and was taine in the Hallie eilland and had to Loundoun.* This is substantially correct. Bothwell was taken in Lindisfarne, the Holy Island off the coast of Northumberland; and was removed to London in January 1563. See letter by him of 7th January ('Calendar of Scottish State Papers,' vol. i. 187).

180. 1. *The 24 day of Februarij thair was ane frincheman heidit in Sanctandrois because he was found behinde the quens grace bede.* This of course refers to Chastelard. There is unfortunately no record of his trial, if there was a trial, and execution at St. Andrews on Monday, 22nd February 1563 ('Elizabeth Foreign Calendars,' pp. 132 and 166). Pitscottie's date, 24th February, is a mistake. The copyist has become careless at this place, for in line 4, by omitting the words, "the Quene remanit in Sanctandrois all the Lentrone," he has made it appear as if the trial of Chastelard occupied all Lent, whereas it was as summary as possible.

181, note 1. *In this zeir thair was ane gret controwersie about the schereffschip of fyffe betuix my lord lyndesay and my lord of rothus.* The Sheriffship of Fife had been a perpetual subject of dispute between

the Leslie, Earls of Rothes, and the Lyndsays of the Byres. The present dispute in 1563-4, was referred to arbitration, and from the decret arbitral, it appears that the Earls of Rothes had obtained the office as early as 1396; that John, second Lord Lyndsay of the Byres, had a tack of it from the Earl of Rothes prior to 1496, but that having fallen into the hands of the king, James V. in 1529, gave a new charter of it for the consideration of 1000 merks to George, Earl of Rothes, and his heirs. Patrick, sixth Lord Lyndsay, attempted to resist the charter, but a proposal of marriage between Andrew Leslie, Master of Rothes, and Isabella, daughter of Lord Lyndsay, was agreed to, on condition that Lord Lyndsay should renounce his claim. On these grounds the arbiters decided against him, and Queen Mary in 1565, confirmed the charter of James V. in favour of Andrew, Earl of Rothes (A. H. Miller's 'History of Fife,' vol. i. pp. 95-6). The future history of the dispute is given in a later note.

181. 3. *The quens grace past to Atholl.* The hunt was held near Loch Lochy, and probably over the same ground as that in the reign of James V.

181. 8. *Thair come ane Italieane in Scotland callit Senzour Dawid quho was ane wyse man and weill besene and was ane goode muse-cenar.* "Weill besene" is a phrase to which "in letters" is usually added, and this is probably here implied. Pitscottie's character of Rizzio is higher than that of other writers, who have perhaps allowed his musical talents, which no doubt first gained him the Queen's ear, to overshadow the other qualities which made him a good secretary for charge of foreign correspondence, and led to a familiarity between him and the Queen that roused the jealousy of Darnley.

182. 2. *Thair eftir in the zeir of god 1^m v^e lx zeiris the xiiij day of februarj my lord Darlie the erle of lennox sone come furth of Ingland to Scotland.* This is nearly the correct date. According to Bedford, Darnley came to Berwick on 10th, and left on 11th February, when he went to Dunbar ('Elizabeth Foreign Calendar,' vol. vii. p. 298).

182. 13. *For the erle of Murray was ane protestane and the erle bothwell ane papist.* Both Protestants and Papists would like to give Bothwell to their opponents. In fact, he was neither Protestant nor Papist. When in France he may have conformed to the Papal Church, but when he married Mary in Scotland it was with Protestant rites.

182. 26. *In this moneth of Junij the Erle of rothus witht sindrie vtheris gentiilmen come to parrat wall besyd downhill and thocht to haue tane my lord Darlie fra the quein hir grace cummand furth of Sanct Johnstoune to the quenis ferrie.* This is an important corroboration of one of the many side issues in the main issue of this part of Mary's history, viz., whether Murray, Rothes, Argyle, and other leaders of the Congregation plotted to seize Darnley, and separate

him from Mary as she rode from Perth to Edinburgh, and passed Kinross. The Ordnance Survey calls the place Parenwell. The date seems fixed to Sunday, 1st July ('Hay Fleming,' p. 500), and the contemporary authority is a letter by Randolph to Cecil, 4th July 1565, printed by Keith in his 'History' (vol. ii. p. 309, and see note p. 312). Although both Knox and Buchanan treat it as a mere rumour, and the modern partisans of Murray slur over the evidence, it seems proved.

183. 5. *And that samyn tyme thair come ane ambassadour furth of ingland . . . fra Elizabeth to our quein callit Maria.* This was in July 1565, and John Tamworth came in that month. The year 1570 in footnote is a misprint. It does not seem likely that there was "another ambassador" sent in the same month as here stated (l. 8). The phrase "callit Maria" is common in Pitscottie. If it had been confined to Mary Stuart it might be supposed to be a disparaging or contemptuous expression, as in French 'nommé,' but it is used of other persons. It is difficult to explain and is perhaps only a trick from the use of the Latin form 'Vocata Maria,' but why does he use the Latin form?

183. 16. *Vpone the xxviij day of Julij the quen is grace was maryed one the Duik of Roissay, i.e. Rothesay.* There seems no doubt the marriage was on the 29th, as it is entered in the Canongate Register. Dunbar ('Scottish Kings,' p. 254) examines the point with his usual care and accuracy.

184. 3. *Item in this moneth my lord lyndesay tuik possessionoun of the Schereffschip of fyffe and was maid schereff thair of at the marcat cros of Cowper to him and his airis. . . . And siclyk pat the erle of rothus to the horne.* Notwithstanding the decret arbitral and charter in favour of Rothes, Lyndsay of the Byres having the support of the Protestant party now dominant in Fife took possession of the Sheriffship, which he held till 1575.

185. 26. *Thair come ane Inglis schip into our firth (cf. 185, l. 27).* Here, as in other places, Pitscottie calls the Forth "our firth," which marks him as a native of the country on its shores, and perhaps, if this is not too conjectural, as frequently crossing it. I have sometimes thought, as he was clearly not a fighting man, yet is very familiar with little details relating to the war, and knew well both the Fife coast and Leith, that he might have been engaged in the commissariat or supply of the Fife soldiers who came to fight on the south side of the Forth under his cousin, Lord Lyndsay of the Byres. But there is no positive proof of this suggestion.

186. 19. *In the moneth of Januarj the same zeir thair come ane ambassadour fra the king of france witht ane commissioun to mak our king knicht of the cockill.* The ambassador was Monsieur Rambouillet, and his errand to give Darnley the highest honour the French king had in his gift, is important, as showing the French Court accepted the Darnley marriage. Probably it expected that the

Lennoxes, father and son, might still return to the Roman Catholic Church, and resume their old relations with France. In any case, as Queen Elizabeth now opposed the marriage, it almost was a necessary consequence that the French Court should support it.

187. 3. *The erle of huntlie was restoirit in parliament that samesellff day, and the rest of all matteris continewit quhill the xij day thaireftir.* The Earl restored on 12th March 1566 was George, fifth Earl of Huntly, the successor of George, fourth Earl, who had been forfeited on 28th May 1563 after his death at Corrichie, 28th October 1562. That all the MSS. of Pitscottie, except MS. 1, stop here is very singular. My conjecture is that the matter which follows, and fulfils the promise of the preface by bringing the history down to 1575, was deemed too dangerous for copying, a form of publication at this period, but that the MS. 1 which had copied it was by some fortunate accident preserved. What follows is, though not the most amusing, the most valuable part of the chronicles. It is certainly contemporary, and relates to the central crisis of Scottish history.

187. 13. *And tuik the said seinseour David and thoct to haue put him in presoun.* Pitscottie is the only author who states that the object of the conspirators was to put Rizzio in prison and not to murder him. None of the accounts of the actual scene suggest that he had even a chance of saving his life or was slain by servants. Pitscottie's statement that his death was due to his making "sic impediment that he cuild noch weill be taine" is a piece of special pleading in a writer usually candid and straightforward. He was probably biassed as both relatives and friends of his were concerned in the affair.

187, margin. *Seinseour dauidis slauchter on the ix of Marche 1566.* The writer of this marginal note uses the new style for New-Year's day. Pitscottie in the text, p. 186, l. 30, still keeps to the old New Year of 25th March. The date is confirmed by the 'Diurnal,' p. 89; Birrel, p. 5; and the records in Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. p. 478-496 (Dunbar, 'Scottish Kings,' 255).

188. 2. *Schortlie heireftir vpon the xiiij and xiiij day of marche the lords seand that the king and the quein had passit away to Dumbar thay passit to the tolbuith and tuik instrumentis that thay obeyit and compeired conforme to the proclamatoun of the parliament.* The records of this Parliament, which sat for a single day at this revolutionary epoch, have naturally not been preserved. The custom of protesting and taking instruments, of which there are other instances in these chronicles, was very common in Scotland, and perhaps especially in the time of the Protestant Reformation.

188. 16. *In the seir of god 1m v° lxvij seiris the xxij day of Marche the erle of huntlie was maid Chancelar in steid of the erle of Mortoun. . . . Schir James balfour was maid clerk of register and secreter to the quenis grace.* The Earl of Morton had been made Chancellor "after the death of George, fourth Earl of Huntly, and he held that

eminent dignity for two years, till in 1565 he was deprived of the office and forced to fly to England for being accessory to the murder of David Rizzio on the 8th of March 1566" (Crawford, 'Officers of State,' p. 95). Pitscottie in the text corrects the contradiction in Crawford's dates in the above passage. Morton was not deprived till after Rizzio's murder in 1566. The appointment of the younger George, fifth Earl of Huntly, as his successor, and of Sir James Balfour as secretary in succession to Rizzio, were significant of a complete change of the Government and of the Queen taking the reins into her own hands.

188. 31. *Thomas Scot schereff deput of Sanct Johnstoun . . . becaus he was my lord ruthvenis man.* Ruthven was the hereditary Sheriff-Principal. The ignorance of law of the great nobles who were then usually Sheriffs in Scotland led to their receiving leave to appoint deputies (1357, Act Parl., vol. i. p. 492; 1469, c. 2; 1540, c. 8).

189. 5. *Thair was sindrie gentilmen of fyff chairgit in waired becaus thay war in cumpanie of my lord lyndesay and keipit watch that nicht that seinzeour David was slaine.* The 'Diurnal,' p. 97, mentions David Lindsay of Pyetstoun as one of them, and as Pitscottie came "of the house of Pyetstoun" and did not possess the estate this was probably his elder brother, though he may have been a nephew. There are several references in the 'Privy Council Register' to David Lindsay of Pyetstoun (vol. i. pp. 315, 368, 437, 445, 630, 631), and from one of these it appears that he was one of a large number of persons charged with Rizzio's murder, 19th March 1575 (p. 437), and was on 5th April ordered to remain in Edinburgh, when Sir William Scott of Balwerie became security for him that he would enter into ward when required (*Ib.* p. 445), but no proceedings were taken against him.

189. 27. *My lord ruthven depairtit of this presentt lyff the xiiij day of this moneth of maij he beand in Ingland and at the horne for the slauchter of seinzeour David.* The date of Ruthven's death at Newcastle is usually stated as 13th June 1566. His 'Relation' of the death of Rizzio, in which he was a prominent actor, is printed in Keith's 'History' appendix, and often since.

190. 7. *Vpone the xix day of Junij the zeir of god 1^m v^e lxvij zeiris, our prince King James the Sext was borne.* This date and that of the christening on 17th December agree with all the other authorities which are collected by Dunbar ('Scottish Kings,' p. 288).

190. 26. *Monsieur lebriam for france . . . Monsieur la corik.* The French names as usual are misspelt. Monsieur du Croc was the ambassador already in Scotland, and the Comte de Brienne was a special envoy sent for the christening. Du Croc à Catherine de Médicis, 17th October 1566 ('Teulet,' vol. ii. p. 289).

191. 26. *For thair was nevir such ane crwell thing done for thay*

murdreist him with his awin bend . . . And this was done in the zeir of god I^m v^e lxvj zeiris. It appears certain that Darnley was "murdered in the early morning of 10th February 1567" (Dunbar, 'Scottish Kings,' p. 255, where the authorities are given). The reference by Dunbar to Pitscottie, p. 220, is to the addition printed by Freebairn and Dalzell and not to the genuine Pitscottie. MS. I, which alone gives the history after p. 187, l. 4, does not give the day of the month. Pitscottie accepts the theory that he was strangled, and adds "with his awin bend," or belt, to the other accounts. The house in Kirk of Field was blown up afterwards to hide the method of the crime, but failed to do so.

Pitscottie, like all writers who believed in Mary's foreknowledge of the murder, notes the choice of the Kirk of Field for Darnley's lodging, and the return of Mary to Holyrood from her visit to him shortly before the murder. He uses, as to the former, his common phrase, "for quhat intent God knawis," which implies with no good intent.

JAMES VI.

192. The heading to this concluding part of Pitscottie's Chronicles, which is only found in MS. I, is remarkable in more than one point. (1) Its full recognition of Darnley's title to the Scottish crown, *Here endis King Harie Stewart: king of Scotland*; (2) its absolute ignoring of Queen Mary; and (3) its description of "James VI. as 'his sone,'" i.e., son of Darnley, and so apparently succeeding him immediately after his death and before Mary's abdication.

This part of the work is no longer divided into chapters, so that it is more certain that we have it in the form the author wrote it, untouched by later copyists or editors.

192. 15. *Vpone the xxij day of this monethe the countas of lennowis callit Margret the kingis mother was lattin furth of the towre of Londoun.* "Towne" in the text is a miscopy. Lady Lennox had been committed to the Tower by Queen Elizabeth, 20th June 1566, after Darnley's marriage (Strickland's 'Queens of Scotland,' vol. ii. p. 402), but was released in February or March 1567, after Darnley's murder.

193. 18. *Vpone the xx day of Marche the castell of Edinburgh was tane fra my lord askyne and givin to my lord bothwell . . . that same nicht thair rais ane gret tempest of wind that it blew downe the taill of the weddercock of Sanct geillis kirk.* I have seen a notice of this elsewhere, but cannot find the reference. It was no doubt deemed an omen or portent of coming evils.

194. 13. *Vpone the xxj day of Maij the erle bothwell vas maid Duik of Orknay for quhat caus ze may judge quhilk ratified all the murthur that was done befor and now oppinlie declairit.* This, the strongest argument for the guilt of Mary Stewart, is here stated by a contemporary. But as the popular verdict was undoubtedly against Mary on this point, and Pitscottie belonged to the party of Murray and was specially associated with the Lennoxes, his own opinion probably adds little to the evidence.

195. 19. *That same day the lordis that war in Edinburgh causit proclame ane letter that the lordis of session sould sit and do justice and that thair cuming was nocht to stop thair session.* This was on 12th June 1567. The rule that the Court of Session did not sit during the sittings of Parliament seems to be due partly to the theory that the Court of Session was a Committee of Parliament, but also to a practical inconvenience, as they sat in the same place—the Tolbooth—and the Lords of Session were bound to attend Parliament. But dispensations from the rule were not uncommon, see A. S. 20th Feb. 1538.

196. 8. *The french ambassadour callit monsieur la croik quha laubourit betuix thame earnestlie.* As to Du Croc's negotiations with a view to reconcile the parties, see Teulet's 'Relations Politiques.'

196. 18. *The laird of graunge offerrit to fecht with him . . . bot he refusit him sayand that the laird of graunge nicht nocht be fallow nor peir to him seand he was bot ane small barroun.* Both the Captain of Inchkeith in his recital of the incidents at Carberry (Teulet, vol. ii. p. 300) and Du Croc in his despatch to the French king (*ib.*, p. 312) make the laird of Tullibardine and not Grange the acceptor of Bothwell's challenge. This is more probable, for it was to Grange Mary surrendered. Sir James Melville, however, states that both Grange and Tullibardine offered to fight, and Bothwell declined both as his inferiors in rank ('Memoirs,' p. 182). But he agrees with Pitscottie in making the final challenge proceed from Lord Lyndsay of the Byres.

196. 30. *The lord lyndesay ansuerit and said 'I will fecht witht him quhat way he pleisis on hors or on fute or doubilled alaine or in airmur or man for man or sax for sax or xij for xij.'* This is the fullest description of the form of Lord Lyndsay's challenge, and is interesting as showing the survival of both the single and the multiple combat, with equal numbers on both sides, as in the Battle of the Inch of Perth.

"Doubilled alaine" must mean in doublet only, from its being opposed to "in armour."

197. 7. *And weill willing to reweng the kingis murthur becaus he lowit him and was his freind and tender of bluid vnto him.* That Lord Lyndsay "loved" Darnley is a singular expression, yet, coming from Pitscottie, can scarcely be rejected. The relationship referred to was probably through Lyndsay's marriage to Euphemia Douglas,

one of the "Seven Porches of Lochleven." Darnley's mother was Lady Margaret Douglas, daughter of Angus and cousin of the Lochleven Douglasses. Lord Lyndsay traces the close friendship that existed between the house of Douglas and Lyndsay further back to the marriage of Beatrice de Lyndsay to Sir Archibald Douglas, brother of good Lord James, by whom she was mother of William, 1st Earl of Douglas ('Lives of the Lyndsays,' vol. i. p. 55).

197. 10. *The quein thairfoir wald nocht lat the erle bothwell cum fordward to fecht bot gave him hir purs and baid him depairt quhill he saw forder.* This giving of her purse to Bothwell is a new fact, if it can be relied on, in the incidents at Carberry, and is not stated in any other account. But the statement which follows, "and so the quein pat of the tyme quhill the Erle bothwell was convoyit agane to Dumbar," does not appear to be supported by the other narratives, which make her surrender to Grange immediately after Bothwell rode off the field.

197. 18. *Vpone the xvij day of this moneth [June 1567] the quein was had to Lochleven.* This was either the 16th or 17th (Dunbar 'Scottish Kings,' p. 197 n. 47).

197. 32. *And the captane [Blackadder] . . . witht ane vthir callit James Admistoun and Johne Blakiture witht sindrie vtheris* were hanged. Admistoun is a mistake for Ormiston. These executions were on 24th June (Pitcairn's 'Criminal Trials').

198. 14. *Bot the quein consentit thairto and resignit all richt that scho had to the crowne in favouris of hir sone the prince.* The deeds of abdication are dated on the 24th, and the coronation of James VI. was on the 29th July 1567 (Act Part., vol. iii. p. 11).

199. 1, margin. *Erle of Murray choisin regent.* He had been nominated in the deeds of abdication, accepted on 22nd August, and was confirmed as Regent by Parliament on 20th December 1567 (Dunbar's 'Scottish Kings,' p. 263).

199. 18. *Vpone the vij day of September Schir James Balfour of Pittindricht randerit the castell of Edinburgh to my lord regent.* Balfour was not trusted by Murray, but when he gave up the castle made it a condition that Grange should succeed him as captain, to which Murray agreed (Sir James Melville's 'Memoirs,' p. 198). Du Croc ('Teulet,' vol. ii. 326) calls Balfour "un vraie traître nommé Baffour."

200. 15. *Be dres of the lord lyndesay quha was laubourand betwine the laird of Wauchtoun quha gave it ovir bag and baggage frie for sex dayes.* Pitscottie as usual notes the part played by Lord Lyndsay, to whose skill he attributes the surrender of Dunbar. Sir James Melville does not mention this ('Memoirs,' p. 192). "Dres" = Address. "Bag and baggage frie for sex dayes" means to be removed within six days.

200. 30. *The fair of haik in liddisdail.* Probably Hawick, although

that town is properly in Terviotdale, but Liddisdale may have been used at this time for a wider extent of country than the proper dale of the Liddel. Hawick was formerly spelt "Havik," as on John Deinis' tombstone of 1546: "Heir lyis Ane Honest Man Johne Deinis quha was teneit Kyndle of Havik Myin." ('The Hawick Traditions of 1514' by Craig and Laing, 1898, p. 129.)

201. 8. *Upone the xiiij-xv dayes of november my lord Mortoun was made Chancellor and my lord huntlie depyryit.* Morton had been Chancellor before, but was deprived in 1565, for his share in Rizzio's murder, by Queen Mary, in favour of George, 5th Earl of Huntly Crawford's 'Offices of State,' p. 89). He was restored to the office by Regent Murray. The gift in his favour is extant in the Records of the Privy Seal, the date being 11th November 1567 ('Registrum Secreti Sigilli,' vol. xxxvii. f. 13 a.).

201. 11. *At this tyme the congregatioun of france rais and seigit parreys.* The battle of St. Denis, in which the Constable Anne de Montmorency was mortally wounded, was fought on 10th November 1567. The result, although not a great victory, went against the Huguenots, who retired from Paris. The name of Congregation was given to the French as to the Scotch Protestants. It was from France or Switzerland that many of the words of Calvinistic Protestantism were imported, as Assembly, Presbytery, Synod, Overture.

201. 13, margin. *Upone the xxiij day of november 1567, a combat betuix the Wemyss and bruiss on the caisay of Edinburgh.* Birrel's 'Diary' confirms Pitscottie: "The 24th day of November at 2 afternoon ye laird of Airth and ye laird of Weemis mett upon ye highget of Edinburgh." The laird of Airth in Stirlingshire was a Bruce, one of whose cadets acquired Earls-hall in Fife in 1496 ('Genealogy of Bruce of Earls-hall,' by S. . . . privately printed).

201. 17. *Upone the xv day of December [1567] a parliament was holdin in Edinburgh. . . . This parliament continewit xv dayes.* This is correct (Act Parl., vol. iii. pp. 3-34, and App. pp. 35-45).

201. 28. *Inchkeith lattin doune.* Inchkeith had been garrisoned by the French from 1549, when it was taken by D'Essé, till 1560, and by an Act or order of James VI.'s first Parliament on 26th December 1567, it was ordained that Dunbar and the Inch "be demolischit and cassin doune" (Act Parl., vol. iii. p. 44). The Inch is no doubt Inchkeith. Why the French called it L'Isle des Chêvaux has not been satisfactorily explained any more than the name of Lislebourg for Edinburgh, although many conjectures have been made. Montalembert conjectures in his preface to Beaugué it was so called because the pasture was good for horses, but it does not seem to have been better than any other. Mary of Guise after the French took it wished to change the name to the 'Isle de Dieu' but did not succeed.

201. 28. *In the moneth of Januar the laird of Neutoune callit Hepburne that fyrst the traine of poulder quhen the king was slaine*

and the sounge laird of tallow war hangit and quarterit beand at the kingis slauchter and thair bodyes war brunt in poulder in lyk maner. John Hepburn of Newton, commonly called of Bolton, and John Hay of Talla, both retainers of Bothwell, who took leading parts in Darnley's murder, were executed in January 1568 (see Pitcairn's 'Criminal Trials,' vol. i. p. 491, where their depositions are printed, p. 496-501). The burning of their bodies in powder is a late instance of the retributory mode of punishment, which made the criminal's punishment imitate that he had inflicted on his victim.

202, note 4. See Buchanan, ii. p. 359.

204. 4. *This battell of langsyd was struckkin in the zeir of god I^m vc lxxvij zeiris and the xiiij day of Maij.* Birrell's 'Diary,' p. 15, "on Thursday 13th May on Goner Muir besyde a hill called Langsyde."

204. 8. *My lord regent . . . cuist downe sindrie placeis.* This expedition of the Regent to the west, and the places he dismantled or cast down, are narrated in the 'Diurnal,' p. 133.

204. 20. *The laird of balwirrie was put in the fals castell in pre-sounne.* Fast Castle, where Sir William Scot of Balwearie in Fife was put in ward.

204. 22. *In the moneth of Junij the quein witht the lord herreis war takin in the towne of carneill.* "And the queines grace was transported frae Cairleil to Boltoun" ('Diurnal,' p. 134).

204. 24. *In the moneth of Junij and Julij thair come ane ambassadour fra the king of Denmark to Scotland and desyred men of weir.* This ambassador was Axellus Wessart, who on 8th September 1568 got a bond of caution from William Moncrieff, younger of that ilk, and Captain David Murray, that Captain David Murray would embark on the ship in which his company already was and serve the King of Denmark, and the Danish ambassador guaranteed he should be duly paid his wages ('Privy Council Reg.,' vol. i. p. 640). It is a noticeable point in the last part of Pitcottie that he always records the recruiting of Scotch mercenaries for foreign states. The pay, £6 a month (l. 28), no doubt tempted many, as little or no pay was given at home; but it was also an inducement that by foreign service they escaped the civil war in Scotland.

204. 29. *This weir [of the King of Denmark] was aganes the king of Swadden quhilk continewit fyve zeiris.* It began in 1563 and ended by the Peace of Stettin in 1570, and is commonly called by Scandinavian historians "the Seven Years' War." The ostensible occasion was the claim of both Eric XIV. of Sweden and Frederick of Denmark to put the crowns of the three Scandinavian kingdoms on their coat of arms, but the real cause was the desire of both to enlarge their dominions at the expense of the other.

205. 4. *In this moneth of Julij certane conspiratouris thocht to have slaine the regent at Stirviling.* This conspiracy is proved by the

letters in the English (State Paper now) Record Office cited by Tytler, vol. iii. p. 293.

205. 20. *Vpone the first lady day of this zeir* [1568]. This was 25th March, the festival of the Annunciation. "All the festivals of the Virgin are properly Lady Days, but this falling in Lent and being the first quarter day for rents . . . really became Lady Day par excellence" (Hampson, 'Medii Ævi Calendarium,' vol. i. p. 206).

The entry seems out of place amongst the events of 1568, but Pitscottie does not here follow absolutely the order of time, and says only "in this year," i.e., 1568. The march of Huntly upon Dundee, and his return to the north, is mentioned in 'Herries Memoirs,' p. 105, where his force is stated at 2600 men.

205. 28. *Vpone the xv day of August* [1568] *the parliament was haldin at Edinburgh*. This Parliament met on 12th July, but was continued to 16th August (Act Parl., vol. iii. p. 45). David Lindsay (p. 47), the Commissioner for Cupar, was perhaps a brother, and certainly a kinsman, of Pitscottie.

206. 3. *At this tyme the lyoun herauld callit william Stewart being brocht vp witht the regent and maid [by] him lyone herauld was ane of thame that conspyred his deid and fled away to the castell of Dumbartane and thaireftir he was deptryeit*. His execution by burning, a form of capital punishment reserved for certain crimes deemed unusually heinous, as witchcraft and heresy, at St. Andrews, is told later (p. 217, l. 24). Cf. 'Diurnal,' pp. 137 and 146, where his execution is dated 15th August 1569, and the burning ascribed to his being condemned for witchcraft. This is confirmed by a letter 30th August 1569 from Lord Hunsdon to Cecil (Pitcairn, vol. i. p. 510).

206. 20. *The pest come in be sie to Edinburgh*. The 'Diurnal' gives the exact date 8th September, D. p. 138.

207. 23. *For quhen thay saw hir lichtlie hir husband and deiet him of hir companie and grew familiar witht thame that conspyred his death and muredrest him crwellie . . . and nocht lang heireftir maryet the said murthurar, &c.* Pitscottie, by here adopting Murray's speech, associates himself with those who charged Mary with previous knowledge of the murder. But he does not appear to have had any independent information on the point.

208. 13. *Bot at last guhan scho saw hir not to be pairtie and forder hir conscience and the said murthuraris accusit thame so that thai durst nocht fecht*. This is not clear, and probably corrupt. "Not to be pairtie" perhaps should read "not to be the [greater, i.e., stronger] party." The remainder means "And further her conscience and the consciences of the murderers accused them so that they durst not fight."

210. 21 *et seq.* *The cuntas of lennox callit lady Margret heiring of the regentis depairting and his lordis desyred effectuouslie to speik witht him*. The conference which follows between Murray and Lady Lennox is, I think, new to history. Pitscottie, from his associa-

tion with the Bishop of Caithness, her brother-in-law, may have had special information. But that part of this passage which represents Lady Lennox as being "hairtfullie rejoyssit and satisfied" with Murray's mode of clearing himself before the English Council is doubtful. The proceedings at Hampton Court on 11th January 1569, when Murray made his declaration, are printed from the Register by Goodall, 'Examination of the Letters said to be written by Mary Queen of Scots to James, Earl of Bothwell' (vol. ii. p. 307), from which it appears that while Bishop Lesley, Lord Herries, and the Abbot of Kilwinning charged Murray with complicity in Darnley's murder in the name of Queen Mary, they declined to lodge a formal accusation on the ground that "nane of thame did ever knaw anything of the conspiracie of that murthar," which so far justifies Pitscottie's account (p. 212, l. 18) "Thir scottis lordis ansuerit agane that thai come nocht thair to accuse na man at that tyme."

212. 36. *Nocht that he was compelled or corrected [coacted] to cum to ingland to be judgeit or judge in ony matters pertaining to the realme of Scotland, &c.* The opposite view is stated in the 'Herries Memoirs,' p. 109. "No man doubted but these accusations given in to the Counsell table of England and his voluntarie submitting himself to the judgment of the Queen was an infringing of the liberties of Scotland and derogating from the rights of the Crown."

213. 19. *Thair was gret insurrectioun in france betuix the congregatioun and the papists.* Henault in his 'Abridgement of the History of France,' vol. i. p. 508, says: "In the year 1569, on 3rd October, the battle of Moncontour was fought. This was the fourth battle of the reign of Charles IX., Dreux in 1562, St. Denis in 1567, Jarnac and Moncontour in 1569. The Huguenots were beaten in all four. The last was very bloody. The Duke of Anjou still conquered the Admiral but did not profit by his victory, losing many of his men in the siege of St. Jean d'Angeli instead of pursuing the Admiral."

213. 30. *At this tyme thair was no cessioun hauldin becaus of the pest.* The Court of Session did not sit. There are no minutes or acts of sederunt between 13th November 1567 and 20th October 1575. The troubles of the times as well as the pest interrupted its sittings.

214. 12. *The hammiltownis witht thair assistance . . . thocht to have cum to fyffe and taine vp the bischoppis teindis and thairfoir Lady regent . . . causit ane conventioun to be maid of gentilmen that favouriit the regent to conveine at Cowpar of fyff.* Lady Regent was the wife of Murray, a daughter of the Earl Marischal. The subject of the Bishop's Teinds of Fife is a local topic, to which Pitscottie has already referred.

215. 20. *And at the same combat was slaine the prince of condie quha was heid to the protestanis and the admirall eschapiit.* This was the battle of Jarnac on 13th March 1569, won by the Duke of

Anjou, and Condé was slain in cold blood by Montesquiou (Henault, vol. i. p. 507).

215. 24. *In the begining of the moneth of apryll the duik of dwalbow regent of flanderis maid gret persecutioun in all flanderis . . . and did big in handwarp ane gret fort that the lyk was nocht of it in all europe and did put in it spanzardis.* Alva was sent to the Netherlands in 1567 by Philip II. with unlimited power for the suppression of heresy. Egmont and Horn, executed on 5th June 1568, were the most conspicuous victims. At Antwerp he erected besides the famous citadel, his own statue trampling on two figures, supposed to represent the Estates of the Netherlands.

217. 5. *My lord boyd come furth of Ingland fra our quein wiht ane commissioun to the regent in Endernes and the bruit was that it was to adwyse of the pairtising of the quein and my lord bothwell.* There is no doubt that these rumours were true, and that Mary now desired a divorce from Bothwell to enable her to marry again. Pit-scottie's statement that the Regent refused to assist her in the divorce is also corroborated by other writers. Of course there were many reasons of policy which would induce this refusal to allow Mary to marry again, but this part of Murray's conduct requires further explanation on the side of morals than it has received from his panegyrists.

217. 24. *William Stewart guha was lyone herauld was brunt in Sanctandros becaus he was ane of thame guha had conspyred the regentis slauchter.* Lord Hunsdon refers to this in a letter to Cecil about 23rd August 1569.

218. 2. *Thair was twa witches brunt in Sanctandros and siclyk in Dundie.* The Treasurer's Accounts, 16th May and 12th August 1569, mention that four women had been tried for witchcraft between these dates. The trials are not recorded in the Books of Justiciary (Pitcairn, vol. i. p. 510).

218. 13. *Vpone the iij day of september the Secretar appirand air to the Laird of liddingtoun and lord of the secreit counsall ane verrj wyse man of vnderstanding was laine in Stirviling at the counsall.* In the 'Herries Memoirs,' p. 117, it is noted that Lethington was charged in open Council, by Thomas Crawford, a dependent of the Earl of Lennox, for being "accessar to the murther of the late king," and was put under arrest.

218. 20. *My lord regent send in the nycht ane hundreithe horsmen to monymeill [Monimail] in fyiff and thair thay tuik schir James Balfour and brocht him to Stirviling and this was done becaus he was art and part of the kingis slauchter.* It is afterwards mentioned, l. 30 *et seq.*, that Balfour was released in four days, and Lethington sent to the Castle of Edinburgh at the instance of the Laird of Grange. The 'Herries Memoirs' corroborate this, but do not mention that the release was due to Grange (p. 118).

219. 23. *Ane mariaige of his wyffis sisteris.* This marriage was in November 1569, when Lady Margaret Keith, youngest sister of Lady Anne, the Regent's wife, married John Kennedy of Blairquhan ('Douglas Peerage,' vol. ii. p. 192).

219. 31. *The lyk was nocht sein of befoir in our dayes for I did sie it my sellff with mony moe.* Although there are many passages in the Chronicles so detailed that to the reader it seems probable Pitscottie was present, this is not a certain inference, for he compiled considerable parts of his Chronicles from the manuscripts of others. There are also a few instances when the event described—the place where it occurred—the persons who took part in it—some turn of expressions habitual to Pitscottie, or other circumstances, render it all but certain Pitscottie narrates what he himself saw, as he undoubtedly often does what he himself heard. But the present is the only passage where he distinctly says he saw what he describes.

220. 11. *At this tyme our quene of Scotland was presonar in ingland beand in the castell of tuitberrey.* Mary was brought to Tutbury Castle on February 26, 1569.

221. 24. *Vpone the x day of this moneth [January 1570] thair come frome france twa schippis to Dumbartane castell.* Verac, the French ambassador, came with two ships ('Herries Memoirs,' p. 124).

221. 33. *Vpone the xiiij day of Januarj thair come an ambassadour furth of Ingland.* Thomas Randolph came to Berwick on 7th, reached Edinburgh on 22nd February 1570 ('Calendar of State Papers, Foreign,' No. 648), and remained about a year in Scotland.

222. 18. *For my lord regent had givin ane chairg to the Scottis and the Carris to delyuer the erle sf Westmurland unto his handis bot thay refusit.* Froude (vol. iv. p. 186) gives an account of the dishonourable plot of Sir Robert Constable to get Westmorland to return to the English side of the Borders on an assurance that his life would be safe. But he does not credit Ker of Fernihurst, as Pitscottie does, with its defeat, attributing it to Westmorland's own astuteness, who refused to go until he had made a present to Fernihurst and sent Constable to his wife to get a jewel for that purpose.

222. 21, margin. *The erle of Murray Regent slaine the xxiiij day of Januarj 1569, callit the guid regent for sa he was indeid.* This marginal note is apparently by Pitscottie, who in the text gives Murray a very high character. The account of the murder is substantially the same in all the narratives, though the mode in which Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh hid himself in the "foir stair" varies. Here it is said to have been by "setting out his gowne at ane hole of the stair." The 'Herries Memoirs' give the most detailed account. "He lay in a foir stair that was coverit with linning which were hung out to dry. He lay with a fyrlock chairgit with two balls and levelled so just at the Regent as he came ryding past alongst the streets that he pearced him with one ball under the navell quite

through near the reins, and with the other bullet George Douglas who was Abbot of Arbroath ryding on the other syde of the Regent was shott through the knee and his horse killed.²²

The Fair Stair, a characteristic piece of Scotch burgh architecture, built on the street, and leading from the street to the second storey of the house, of which many examples still survive, was a ready place of concealment, and favourable for shooting a man who rode up the street. An Act of the Scotch Parliament against shooting with culverins, dagges, and crossbows, had been passed shortly before Murray's murder (1567 c. 18), which shows that, like revolvers in our day, the use of such weapons was a known danger.

223. 21. *For it was spokin gif he had leivit he had causit justice to be so ministrat amang the puire and the common weill so to have floorischit quhairbe the men of law wald nocht have had so meikill ado as thay have now-a-dayes nor to have conquest so meikill rent as thay do.* Pitscottie shows himself a representative commoner and civilian, with no favour for lawyers any more than for soldiers.

The last sentence is an echo of a passage in Sir David Lyndsay : "Nor men of law climb to such royal rent." The rise of the legal profession in wealth and influence was a marked feature of the close of the feudal period ; and in Scotland a great part of the landed estates formerly held by churchmen passed into the hands of the leading lawyers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

223. 30. *The quhilk I haue no doubt bot we war nocht worthie to have sic ane to regne abone us thairfoir the michtie god tuik him the schonnar frome us to his joyes.* It was a common view of Pitscottie's and the Protestants of his age that temporal losses were sent as a punishment for sin. His high estimate of Murray must count for something in favour of the "good" Regent, but it would have counted for more had he not been a keen partisan. One of the evils of the spirit of party and partisanship is that it poisons the sources of contemporary history, and makes it difficult to know how much we can believe.

223. 35. *Schortlie heireftir vpon the xxvj day of this moneth the inglis ambassadour depairtit furth of Edinburgh to berwick and resaut na ansuer becaus of the regentis deid.* There is some difficulty about Randolph's movements in the year 1570. He had come to Scotland after his return from Russia early in 1570 (State Papers, No. 148). In the autumn of 1571 he was certainly in England, where he married Anne, the sister of Francis Walsingham, in October. But whether he returned to England as early as January 1570 has been doubted. Herries ('Memoirs,' p. 121) states that he did, but after seeing Elizabeth, and reporting Murray's murder, was sent back with a new commission for the "next" convention at Edinburgh, which had been called to elect a new Regent, which was held on 10th February. Pitscottie refers to Randolph as being back in Scotland

in June 1570 (Pitscottie, p. 231, l. 29). The correct account seems to be that he returned to England, but only for a very short time after Murray's death. Coming back to Scotland, he remained for more than a year. The note at the bottom of p. 224 should be corrected.

226. 12. *Nocht lang heireftir vpon the .xv. day of Marche or thairdy thair come to Dumbarton and galay with one ambassadour.* This was Monsieur de Verac, of whom Herries says: "He was one of the King of Frances domestick servants and was sent from the King to encourage them of the Queen's partie heir" ('Memoirs, p. 124).

226. 24. *Schortlie heireftir vpon the .xv. day of marche the clergie of Sanctandros set vp one Idik to cheis one new pryor agane.* The death of Murray vacated the office of Prior of St. Andrews, and Pitscottie states the steps in the dispute to fill it up, which resulted in the appointment of his patron the Bishop of Caithness (see p. 227).

228. 2. *Maister Johne Wood.* One of the Woods of Largo, obnoxious to the Queen's party for his conduct at the Conference of Westminster.

228. 21. *Quhairfoir the regent gave the said schereffschip [of Fife] to his guid broder my lord lyndesay.* There had been an old feud between Rothes and Lyndsay of the Byres for this office, and Murray favoured Lyndsay, who had married his uterine sister, Euphemia Douglas.

231. 10, margin. *Seige of doune in mentreith.* Lord Doune, Comendator of Inchcolme, married the daughter of the Earl of Murray, and in her right became Earl of Murray. The Duke of Hamilton and the Queen's lords naturally attacked his castle of Doune.

232. 27. *Thair fell amangis thame one gret contentioun anent certane doctrinis precht be one callit hammillouns bot he was replegit be the rectour fra the ministeris.* This was Mr Robert Hamilton, whose opposition to Knox and protection by the University authorities embittered the dispute which probably would have arisen otherwise between Knox and the University. Though favourable to education, Knox would tolerate no authority as exempt from the jurisdiction of the Kirk.

232. 30. *The clergie had almost past to the guit with it war nocht the better help.* Probably there is something corrupt here.

233. 4. *At this tyme thair was one combat in france at the ratchell betuix the king and the protestanis.* La Rochelle, in the department of Charente-Inférieure, a seaport on the Atlantic, became one of the chief French ports and a centre of Calvinism. It armed privateers in the Protestant interest, and was often attacked by the Catholics. In 1571 a Synod held there drew up a Protestant Confession. After St. Bartholomew, it resisted a siege of six months by the Catholics, who were obliged to raise the siege, and it represented the Protestant party in the pacification of 24th June 1573, which gave Rochelle and other specified places full liberty of worship.

233. 25. *And so thir lordis [Lyndsay, Ruthven, and Mephin, i.e., Methven] come to the place of Dairsay and thoct to have laine Schir James Balfour of Pittindricht. Dairsie is only about a mile from Pitscottie, and was then the seat of the Learmonths.*

235. 23. *And it was judgit that captane Wemyss dissawit all the rest at the request of my lord lyndsay. Wemyss, as a Fife man, naturally took part with Lord Lyndsay, and this would be known to Pitscottie.*

236. 8. *The castell of bruchtie was delywerit to the laird of pitcur. George Haliburton, laird of Pitcur, in Angus, was nephew of James Haliburton, Tutor of Pitcur and Provost of Dundee, a noted leader amongst the Reformers. (See Randolph's 'Phantasy,' l. 504, in 'Satirical Poems of the Reformation,' and Calderwood, ii. 264.)*

237. 1. *Nocht lang heireftir the inglismen that twik pairt with the regent . . . come to Drumfreis and brunt all the landis and housis pertening to my lord heireis. The 'Herries Memoirs,' p. 197, corroborate this. "The lord Scroop with ane armie came into Annandale and pearced up the countrie even to Dumfries but to little purpose. . . . In his retreat he throw down the castle of Dumfries (a hous of the Lord Maxwell); he blew up with powder the castle of Hoddum, belonging to the Lord Herreis; and the castle of Annan belonging to the Queen, but in the custodie of Lord Herreis."*

237. 12. *The laird of graunge furnisit the said castell with victuales and men for tua zeiris. This was in August 1570, and shows that Kirkcaldy foresaw coming events, and wished to preserve the independent position possession of Edinburgh Castle gave him. In the 'Ballate of ye Captane of the Castell,' written in 1571, and attributed with probability to Kirkcaldy, the author says, l. 99, "Ffor I have men and meat enough" ('Satirical Poems of the Reformation,' vol. i. p. 178, and notes vol. ii. p. 120).*

237. 21. *And also my lady settoun was tane for thir wreittingis sending to the quein and eftir that scho was convicted scho was disservit to pas furth of this realme under the paine of deid and so scho did. On 20th or 21st August 1570 (see p. 236, l. 25), George, 7th Lord Seton, had gone in a pink to Flanders from Aberdeen to the Low Countries. An account of his embassy is given in the 'Historie of James the Sext,' and further particulars are collected by G. Seton ('History of the Family of Seton,' vol. i. pp. 176-7). He returned in the spring or summer of 1572. Queen Mary called him her "greatest friend," and his wife, Isobel Hamilton, daughter of Sir W. Hamilton of Sanquhar, was, as this passage shows, equally devoted to her service. Lady Seton, when exiled, joined her husband in Flanders (p. 239, l. 7).*

238. 16. *And mony that favourit the regent and his counsall of befor become his enemyes as eftir followis. The list which follows consists chiefly of the Border chiefs. The Homes, Carrs, Scotts, and*

Maxwells, and Lord Seton, but also of some west-country nobles and lairds—the Hamiltons, Lords Fleming, Montgomery, and Boyd, and the Earls of Cassilis and Argyle, who with Lord Adam Gordon in the north formed the chief support of the Queen in the coming struggle.

238. 30. *Nocht lang eftir this vpon the xx day of september the seir foirsaid [1570] thair come ane ambassadour fra the quein of ingland.* This was Mr. Clinton, son and heir of Lord Clinton, admiral of England ('Diurnal,' p. 189).

239. 12. *In the end of this moneth thair was ane minister of Spot in the southland callit Skellok tane becaus he murdrest his wyff and was brocht to Edinburgh and thair hangit and quarterit.* He is more commonly called Kello. The lapse of the godly, as in the cases of Kello and Paul Methven, was always a subject of exultation to their opponents, and of grief to the reforming ministers. Pitscottie, in his comments which follow, uses the language of the pulpit. There is no reason to suppose that he was a minister. But at the period of the Reformation, as at that of the Covenant, the fervent layman felt and spoke like a minister. The statement that Kello used the art of necromancy, and alleged that many other ministers used it, is curious. Several of the Catholic bishops, as Schevez and Forman, had also been practitioners of the Black Art, and this passage shows it had survived amongst the Protestants, but it was now discredited, and the mediæval form of magic was soon to die out.

240. 20. *At this tyme thair came in ane ambassadour fra the quein of ingland to the regent and his counsall to that effect that nathing could be done in this parliament aganes thame that favourit the quein.* Herries confirms this, but says only that "letters were sent from the Queen of England, by which she desyred a new Cessation, and that nothing should be done against the Queen's partie at this time." Possibly there was no ambassador sent, but only a messenger with the Queen's letter.

240. 33. *About this tyme was the pryoury of Sanctandros givin be the regent with adwyce of the lordis vnto the bischope of Cathnes brother german to the regent and verrie litill reseruit to the said bischop of the foirsaid benefeis saiffand his tytill and superioritie of the same bot onlie givin furth to the utilitie and proffeit of the kirk and the king.* This, no doubt, was the Bishop's own view which Pitscottie repeats, but Calderwood gives another which shows that in the eyes of the Presbyterians the Bishop made a good deal out of the property of the Priory.

248. 7, margin. *The first day of apryle the castell of Dumbartane was vone 1571.* There is considerable variation in the accounts as to whom the taking of Dumbarton was due. All agree that it was betrayed by one of the garrison, whose name is given by Pitscottie as White. According to the 'Diurnal,' Captains Cuninghame, Crawford, and Home led the assault. Herries says Captains Cuninghame

and Home, omitting Crawford, and Pitscottie Ramsay, who is also mentioned by Herries as Alexander Ramsay. Thomas Crawford of Jordanhill, often credited with the chief part in the exploit, is called by Pitscottie only "a special servant" who aided Lord Fleming's escape. Verac was the French ambassador taken prisoner, and "the Lady Fleming and one Alexander Livingstone were taken also" ('Herries Memoirs,' p. 132). As the assault was made at three places, all the soldiers mentioned may have shared in the surprise.

249. 11. Archbishop Hamilton's complicity in Darnley's murder, though Tytler III., p. 337, accepts it, does not appear proved.

251. 21-23. *Vpone the xiiij day [of May 1571] the regentis men of veir to the nommer of sax hundreith or thairby with my lord rutkveine and my lord lyndesay thair vangard passit up to the cannygait and thair thair trinchit at Scoittis clos heid vnder the nathir bow and had with thame twa small cairted peices and styllid thame vpon the craigheid abone leith wynd and the men of weir that war within the towne of Edinburgh schot at thame and thair was slauchter maid on bayth the syddes.* This was the commencement of the siege of Edinburgh. The Regent had two days before come to Leith, which he made his headquarters, and Kirkcaldy, while the Regent was in the west, had virtualled the castle and occupied the town of Edinburgh. Herries says, "They fortified themselves in Edinburgh and put all things in a position of resistance against the 1st of May to stop the Parliament which was then to begin" (p. 135). This agrees with Pitscottie, who says the Regent "come to Leith and Edinburgh for the haulding of ane parliament" (p. 251, l. 8). The crag head above Leith Wynd, part of the Calton Hill, is still easily recognisable. Bannatyne gives a more detailed account, and calls the crag where the ordnance was planted "the Dow Crag besyde the fold dyk" ('Memorials,' p. 122).

252. 1. *And speciallie my lord lyndesayis chalmer quhair he lay for thair come ane schot he lyand in his bed and tuik away the twa cuppillis of his chalmer abone the bed heid quhair he lay, zit nochtwithstanding he was swiffe as god wuld.* The narrative of Pitscottie, like that of the 'Diurnal' and Bannatyne's 'Memorials,' becomes from here full of minute points as to the siege of the town and the castle, often the same, but occasionally different. This one is not mentioned in other contemporary accounts, and Pitscottie no doubt derived it from Lord Lindsay of the Byres, or some one in his service.

252. 7. *To ane place in the cannogait within the fridome of Edinburgh and thair the regent causit feild the parliament.* "Field" is probably a miscopy for "fence." The reason for holding the Parliament within the freedom of Edinburgh, though outside the walls, is given in 'Herries Memoirs,' p. 135. "The regent fynding himself out of Edinburgh, and that there was no possibilitie to keep the Parliament at the place appointed, resolved upon a second, which was to keep it in

William Coikie's house, within the liberties of Edinburgh." Pitscottie adds the graphic feature that even here the members had to run to Coikie's house under stairs, so fierce was the cannonade of the castle (p. 252, l. 10). "Coikie's" name appears to have been "Cockie," not "Cook." The difficulty of holding Parliament legally outside of Edinburgh arose from the summonses having been directed for a Parliament to be held in the burgh of Edinburgh. The Canongate was a Burgh of Barony under the Canons of Holyrood.

252. 11. *Vpone the xvij day thay come to the said place in the cannon-gait to the parliament hous and thair thay foirfaltit the secrittar callit Maitland of liddingtoun and his broder the lord Cordinghame with sindrie uthiris hammiltounis.* Lethington, who had been arrested at Stirling, had escaped, but was forfeited along with his brother, afterwards Lord Thirlstane. Bannatyne mentions other Hamiltons who were forfeited, "the Abbot of Kilwinning (Gavin Hamilton) and his sone, with the bischope of St. Androis sone" (p. 123).

253. 9. *The new wark besyd the feir of leith.* This new work at Leith was the King's work, or citadel, which had been burnt by Hertford, and was rebuilt by John Chisholm, son of the Bishop of Dunblane, Controller of Artillery of Queen Mary. Her grant to him for erecting it is printed in Wilson's 'Memorials of Edinburgh,' p. 364.

253. 24. *The quarrell hollis at the east syd of merkkistoun.* The 'Diurnal,' p. 216, makes Corstorphine Crag the scene of the encounter, but the two localities are not more than two miles from each other.

254. 3. *At the same tyme thair come furth of slanderis ane pink with mekill siluir monitioun poulder and uther weir lyk instrumentis to the support of the castell.* Probably this is the vessel mentioned in the 'Herries Memoirs,' p. 138, though it is there called a French ship, which was taken from John Chisholm, who had charge of her, by the Abbot of Inchcolm.

254. 20. *Ane gret mischance happnit be the hand of god amangis the men of weir of Edinburgh.* The accident by which Captain Melville was killed is told also in the 'Diurnal' (p. 254), but in terms that show neither writer copied the other. Bannatyne mentions his death on Wednesday, 6th June, and gives the oration by Kirkcaldy to his band within the Blockhouse after his funeral (p. 137).

254. 31. *At this tyme the quein of ingland send in ane ambassadour to the regent.* This was William Drury, Marshal of Berwick, who came to Edinburgh on 27th May 1571. Bannatyne calls him "Drurier," and mentions that he came to Dalkeith on the 25th, and to Edinburgh on the 26th, "whan he spoke with the captane and the rest of the lordis that live in the castle," and on Sunday the 27th rode to Stirling to the Regent. He was sent to try to reconcile the two parties ('Memorials,' p. 135). 'Herries Memoirs,' p. 137; 'Historie of James the Sext,' p. 81; and 'Diurnal,' p. 217, corroborate this, and as they

all call Drury Marshal of Berwick, there seems no doubt he then held that office.

255. 13. *Mr Michall Wemys quha had brocht forth of Denmark certane Scottis men quha had beine thair induring the weiris betwix Swaden and Denmark and landit in Dundie.* This is confirmed by the 'Herries Memoirs,' p. 136, where it is said Wemyss brought back "four-score old soldiers" and carried them to Dalkeith. He took the side of the Regent, and Kirkcaldy intercepted twenty-five of his men, but the rest reached Dalkeith (*ibid.*, p. 137). Morton, who supported the Regent, kept an independent force at Dalkeith. The Regent held Linlithgow as well as Leith. So the Castle of Edinburgh was cut off on all sides from supplies.

The war between Sweden and Denmark was closed by the Treaty of Stettin on 13th December 1570. It was begun in 1563 by Eric XIV. of Sweden, and continued after his deposition in 1568 by his brother John III. against Frederick II. of Denmark, in whose army the Scotch troops served. By this treaty, Denmark renounced any claim to Sweden, and was confirmed in her claim to the sovereignty of Norway, and certain other lands in the Northern Peninsula.

256. 5. *Bot in the meantyme thair was ane inglis ambassadour that raid betwix thame and to stay thame.* This was Sir William Drury ('Diurnal,' pp. 221, 223, &c.), Marshal of Berwick, who was sent to Scotland by Elizabeth on 11th May 1570, and again in May 1571, "to travail to obtain a surcease of arms on both sides, so that it may be beneficial to the kingis party": in other words, to get Kirkcaldy to surrender the castle upon terms.

256. 14. *Mr Gavin hammlitowne bischop of Sanctandros was slaine.* Gavin Hamilton, Abbot of Kilwinning, the title by which he is commonly known, was killed on 16th June 1571. He had been, in 1551, appointed coadjutor of John Hamilton, the Archbishop, taken at Dumbarton on 1st and hanged at Stirling on 7th April 1571, but seems never to have acted as Bishop.

257. 7. *And this was the first quarter reid.* "Reid" probably stands for "ride" or for "raid." It is significant that what may be called the mid-eastern counties and the burghs served together. This was the district of Scotland most thickly peopled by burghs, and within easy distance of the capital. The burghs were from the first the centre of the Reformation movement. The statement which follows that the burghs sent home their horses and furnished men only is not easy to explain. Perhaps the counties sent sufficient cavalry, and their men were better riders than the burghers.

257. 12. *Ane gentilman in ane schip callit Chisolme quha biggit the lang stuir vpon leith peir ane sone of the bischope of Dumblenis.* This ship, called the *Andrew*, was seized by the Regent, and Chisholm, escaping to Fife with the gold and silver, was apprehended by Lord

Lyndsay on 31st June 1571 ('Diurnal,' p. 229). John Chisholm was, as has been seen, Controller of the Artillery, and a strenuous supporter of the Queen. He appears at this time to have been employed to procure money and supplies from France. His father was probably William Chisholm, Bishop of Dunblane from 1527 to 1564, who had several illegitimate children, amongst them James Chisholm of Glassingall, and daughters—one married to Stirling of Keir, another to Buchanan of that ilk. The Bishop was succeeded by his nephew William, who held the see from 1564 to 3rd July 1573, but had retired to France in 1570, where he was instituted by the Pope as Bishop of Vaison, near Avignon. His cousin the Bishop being in France probably led to John Chisholm going there as agent for Queen Mary.

A long stair still exists at Leith Pier to admit of boats landing their crew at low water.

257. 22. *Thair come in ane ambassadour to leith furth of france.* Monsieur Verac came to Leith Roads on 1st July, when he was taken by the Regent ('Diurnal,' p. 230).

258. 16. *At that appointment god moveit the erle of argyle to brek his prömeis to the castell lordis and come to the regent bot athole remanit still with Edinburgh and the castell.* Athole still remained undecided and, no doubt as a Catholic, adverse to the King's party. There are many passages in other contemporary writers as well as Pitscottie which show his desire was to remain neutral. It was with a view to influence him that Pitscottie asked the Bishop of Caithness to send the copy of the Chronicles to him where he might perhaps read this paragraph. That God might move a man to break his promise is a naive form of expression, but cuts the knot of a point of casuistry in a way familiar to all parties at this time. The 'Diurnal' (p. 237) mentions the conference at Stirling, and that Argyle became the King's man, "and wald acknowledge his autouritie so lang as the Queen's Majestie remaynit furth of this realme for the doing of quhilk he obtenit the grant of ane benefice" (p. 238).

258. 19. *Vpone the xvij day of Julij capten Cullein quha was taine at the first feild of Edinburgh be the regentis cumpanie was heiddit in leith.* The 'Diurnal' mentions that Cullen was tried by an assize on the 7th "for cuming agains the king incontrair his prömeis and beheadit on the xvij on the links of Leith quhairat the lordis of the nobilitie wes gretumlie annoyit prömeising and awowing gif thaj can apprehend any of thair aduersaris that thaj in lykmaner sould be handillit" (pp. 230-33). This was the beginning of the policy of retaliation.

259. 13 *et seq.* *The westland quarteris come to leith as lennox stirviling linlythgow lowthiane.* It is noticeable that these counties are treated as in the west quarter, which Lothian at least can scarcely be said to be, while "fyff angus meirnis stratherne" are in the first or east quarter. Pitscottie makes the quaint remark that the eastland

quarter "did nothing bot spendit thair siluir," and the westland "did as the first quarter men did." We detect the mercantile or at least the economic spirit of the canny Scot. The fact that the burden of self-support was imposed upon the soldiers had been a standing difficulty in feudal times, and it was found even greater when the burghs were called on to supply troops. The Scotch armies were raised by what was practically a form of conscription, and as the Scots gradually became less of a military and more of an industrial people this was more opposed, but the combative element in their character never disappeared.

260. 1. *For all the north fra Dunnotter north obeyit the erle of huntlie as luvetennand to the quein.* Both the northern and western lords and gentry were, with some exceptions, still on the Queen's side. The Border chiefs were more divided, and the eastern counties, especially Fife and Angus, mainly supported the Regent. But the most active support of the Queen was given by Huntly and Lord Adam Gordon.

260. 12. *Bot evirie erle lord and barroun twik up all the landis abbais bischopries to thame sellffis quhilk sould have sustenit the puir peopill.* Pitscottie, like Knox and the reforming ministers, is throughout on the side of the poor commons against the rich landlords. He had been taught this by Sir David Lyndsay.

260. 17. *As the scriptures sayis vo be that cuntrie that hes bot ane bairne to rigne ovir thame.* This is a favourite text of Sir David Lyndsay.

261. 18. *Bot the luvetennand of leith and his men . . . passit stoutlie fordward with ane stout and manlie curage vpon the towne of Edinburgh.* This engagement took place on or about the same day (28th August 1571) as the King's Parliament at Stirling, which Lord Lyndsay, being left in charge of Leith, did not attend. The 'Diurnal' mentions the fight more briefly (p. 246), but does not relate Lord Lyndsay's part in it, which Pitscottie naturally does.

261. 26. *Mr James halyburttowne crownar quha was taine be chance and his awin negligence and nocht be the manheid of the towne of Edinburgh.* The capture of Halyburton on the King's side and of Lord Hume and Provost Tennand on the side of the castle, are in the 'Diurnal' (p. 246), but the 'Diurnal,' which notices the release of Lord Hume the same night, does not attribute it to his being "sellit and stollin be the men of weir to thair proffit" as Pitscottie does (p. 262).

262. 3. *And alsua franceis tennovne quha was ane gret regular in Edinburgh and sum tyme provest thairof was taine.* Francis Tennand was Provost from 19th July 1549 to 8th November 1556 (Burgh Records, 1557-71, p. 299).

262. 23. *The king being littill mair nor four zeiris or fyve of aige his magestie maid ane propper oratioun in parliament to the confort*

of all the nobilitie. The 'Diurnal' gives a fuller account of the Parliament of Stirling and the words of the infant King's speech, in which he declares that he has given power to "his guid-schir Lennox," as Regent (p. 242). But Herries says, with more probability, "who but a child was sett in his throne and teacht to speak some words which were enlarged by the Regent" ('Memoirs,' p. 139).

262. 26. *And to be rewenger heirof the men of Edinburgh causit certaine horsmen and futemen of weir to pas to the Byres on the morne and tak away certane cattell fra my lord lyndesay.* This is also in the 'Diurnal' (p. 241), where the name of their leader, Car-ruthers of Howmendis (Holmains), is given. The Byres was Lyndsay's estate near Haddington, from which his title was taken, but his chief seat now was Struthers, near Ceres, in Fife.

262. 29. The expedition on 3rd September 1571 against Stirling from the Castle of Edinburgh, by which the Regent Lennox was taken and shot by Captain Caddell or Calder, when in the laird of Wormestoun's hands, and the death of the laird of Wormestoun when Stirling was retaken, are all described in the 'Diurnal' (247-8), where there is a strong panegyric upon Wormestoun (p. 249), but it is not mentioned as by Pitscottie (p. 263, l. 26), that "sum sayes the laird of Wormestoun was slaine in defence and saveing of my lord regent." According to Herries (p. 140, 141), the expedition which had been conducted by George Bell, "an old Captane of foot abroad," was at first successful, and Morton and the Regent taken prisoners; but the Border men, under Buccleuch, having taken to plunder, they released themselves. "Then followed an uncouth change. Those that were even now prisoners made prisoners of those that took them. Morton took Buccleuch and the Regent took Wormestoun. Claude Hamilton escaped." Here, unfortunately, the MS. of 'The Herries Memoirs,' which though only an abridged and modernised copy of the original MS., is one of the best narratives of this period, suddenly ends.

263. 11. *Ane slughorne cryand on the gait in this maner 'ane hammiltowne' 'ane hammiltowne.'* The 'Diurnal' omits the fact that Lord Hamilton was with the expedition against Stirling, and makes "George Erle of Huntlie ane of the queinis lieutenants" the commander (p. 247).

263. 22. *Quha causit captane caddell to schuit the regent efter his taikin.* The 'Diurnal' is a little more circumstantial. "My lord regent being in the laird of Wormestoun's hands feiring that he would be reft fra him was schote with ane dag be the said James Cadaris throw the flank and abone the henche [*i.e.*, haunch] quhairthrow he fell down in ane trance dead to the ground" (p. 248).

264. 24, margin. *Erle of mar choissin regent, 5 Sept. 1571.* This is the correct date. He accepted office in Parliament the following day (Act Parl., vol. iii. p. 100).

265. 9. *Vpone the x day of september the laird of Darsay and the*

laird of Monymusk was taine in leith furth of thair badgingis be the men of weir and thocht to have put thame awyne, becaus the lordis that war in Edinburgh had maid ane scaffald to have heidit the provest of Dundie with sundrie vtheris presonaris of the regent and so thay war all commowit. This is mentioned in the 'Diurnal' (p. 250), where the Provost is called the Tutor of Pitcur. This was James Halyburton the Crouner. The lairds of Dairsie (Learmonth) and Montquhary (Balfour) were Fife neighbours of Pitscottie's.

266. 15. *At this tyme Schir James Balfour was maid provest of Edinburgh and kept it bot schortlie quhill.* So great was the disturbance at this period in Edinburgh that there are no records of Council between 1st May 1571, when James M'Gill was Provost, and 13th November 1573, so it is not known during what period Balfour held the office, but his election was on 2nd October 1571 ('Diurnal,' p. 250).

The 'Diurnal' mentions (p. 226) that on 20th June 1571 Sir Thomas Kerr of Ferniehirst, Knight, a son-in-law of Grange, had been elected Provost at the instance of the lords of the nobility, *i.e.*, the Queen's Lords. Balfour seems to have succeeded him. On November 1572, after the King's party had got possession of the town, Lord Lyndsay of the Byres appears as Provost (p. 321), and he held the office again, 1573-4.

266. 22. *Nocht lang eftir this the regent come furth of Stirviling with gret ordnance to leith.* This was on the 4th October 1571 ('Diurnal,' p. 251). The placing of the artillery "betuix the end of St. Marie Wynd and plasens" (l. 31) was on 9th October, not on 1st and 2nd October, the date Pitscottie gives.

This shows an advance by the Regent's troops; but it had taken from June to October to get from the Crag, near Leith Wynd, to St. Mary's Wynd and the Pleasance, where with larger ordnance they could now attack the Castle.

267. 11. *Vpone the x day of this moneth thair was ane gret combat in the north land betuix Adame Gordoun ane broder of the erle of huntleys and my lord forbus.* This appears to be the skirmish mentioned in the 'Diurnal' (p. 252), and not the battle of Tillianguis, which took place on the 17th October, though Kennedy in his 'Annals of Aberdeen' dates Tillianguis on the 10th of October. The final engagement, called the battle of the Crabestane, in Aberdeen, when the Master of Forbes was taken prisoner, was on Tuesday, 20th November. The clearest account of Adam Gordon's victories over the Forbeses is in Bannatyne's 'Memorials' (p. 194 and 212). See also 'Diurnal' (p. 251-255), 'Historie of James the Sext' (p. 95). Correct note 2 at the bottom of this page. Adam Gordon won all these battles, and, as Pitscottie says, "dantounit all thaies pairtis."

268. 21. *Vpone the xxiiij day of marche the regent causit charge all ferriers at the quenis ferrie and thairabout to draw all thair boittis to the fowlseas and that thair sould be na passage had for feir of the*

horsmen of Edinburgh. March is either a mistake, or this entry has been put in a wrong place, for the next entries are in November 1571. The Regent had possession of the Ferry, and by this device, without destroying the ferry boats which he could use for his own purposes, prevented his opponents from getting use of them to make raids in Fife. The 'Diurnal' does not mention this incident which interested Pitscottie, who must often have crossed the ferries of the Forth.

269. 3-13. *Vpone the vij day of this moneth of november newis come to Scotland that thair was ane ovirthraw givin be the king of Spainsie and his assistance . . . aganes the turkis navie.* The battle of Lepanto, 7th October 1571. Pitscottie often shows interest in continental affairs, but this is the most distant event he chronicles. The victory concerned all Christendom from the number of Christian slaves of all nations released.

269. 25. *The erle of mortoun [and] the abbot of Dumfermling passit to beruick . . . anent the inbringing of Inglismen to the support.* They went to confer with Lord Hunsdon ('Diurnal,' p. 255). The Abbot of Dunfermline was Mr Robert Pitcairn, a son of Pitcairn of Forthar in Fife.

269. 28-271. 3. *At this tyme Adame gordoun foirsaid convenit all his armie to Aberdein . . . quhill at last the victorie inclyned to Adame gordoun.* This was the battle of Crabestane, and is dated correctly by Pitscottie on the 20th of October.

271. 7. *And vpon the morrow the provest of Aberdein causit to gif x lib to burie the deid folkis quhilk was gret pitie to sie.* The humanity of Pitscottie appears here as in several other passages. The mode of expression almost reads as if he had been present, but this is not probable. Perhaps he quotes the words of an eye-witness.

271. 25. *So thay vsit fair weiris ane lang tyme.* "Fair wars" were wars in which prisoners were exchanged or ransomed. As the struggle became fiercer both sides executed prisoners, at first after a form of trial, but after 1572 without trial. The 'Historie of James VI.,' p. 102, describes this. "The remanent [of the prisoners] thay drave to Leith lyke sheep slotting and dunting with speares thay were all hangit without forder proces; and this form of dealing was callit the Douglas weiris." "Douglas weiris" may have been a reminiscence of the ferocity of the old Border warfare. Skelton suggests the reference was to the atrocity of Morton (Maitland of Lethington, ii. p. 398).

272. 14. *Vpone the thrid day of Januar or thairby [1572] thair come furth of Ingland fra the quein ane ambassadour to the regent callit Maister Carie with xij hors in tryne and syne quhan he had met with the regent and the lordis of leith he passit to Edinburgh and was convoyit to the castell.* George Carey, afterwards second Lord Hunsdon, when he succeeded his father, Henry, first Lord Hunsdon, in 1596, was sent, as Sir W. Drury had been, to try to effect a com-

promise between the Regent and the lords of the castle. It is difficult to be sure whether these efforts of Elizabeth to reconcile the Scotch parties were genuine, but she was probably unwilling to send men and guns to the siege, for which the Regent was urgently pressing.

272. 27. *Thair was certaine artickillis send to the castell of Edinburgh in wreitt . . . And . . . my lord Mephin and for the pairt of Edinburgh my lord huntlie . . . met at the the chappell betuix leith and Edinburgh and talked togidder bot thai culd nocht aggrie.* This was the Rood Chappell. The course of the English negotiations is given in detail by Bannatyne, who gives the articles proposed by Drury in 1571 (p. 171), the terms proposed by Captain Caise (p. 195), and by George Carie who arrived in January 1572 (p. 216).

273. 9. The blank should probably be filled up with "Leith." Musselburgh burn is of course the Esk.

The wine and tanned hides had been brought from the west, but for some reason landed at Musselburgh, and the castle soldiers intercepted them on the way by land from Musselburgh to Leith, so that Pitscottie says nothing was let pass to Leith "bot that thing that come in be sea" (l. 12).

273. 12. *Betuix the tua pairteis thair was nathing bot rugging and raveing of the puir laubouraris and the merchantis that favourit ony of the twa syddes.* Pitscottie here shows his sympathy was with the merchants and labourers rather than the soldiers. It is the view of a civilian, and a writer who, although there is no doubt which side he favoured, still tries to be impartial.

273. 32. *The erle of mortowne . . . disponit the bischopric of Sanct-andros to ane honest and godlie man callit Mr Johne Douglass rectour and provest of the new colledge.* The new college was St. Mary's, of which Douglas was Rector. Douglas was the first of Morton's Tulchan bishops, and though his personal character was good, the Reforming party objected to him on principle as a Tulchan. Knox's attitude towards him was one of pity mingled with contempt, rather than indignation, very different from that he took against the Catholic bishops, or the defenders of Edinburgh Castle.

274. 25. *Vpone the xix day of februarj the lord seattoun quha had depairted ane zeir befoir to flanderis as ambassadour for thame of Edinburgh come hame to Edinburgh.* The fullest account of Lord Seton's embassy is in the 'Historie of James the Sext,' and the papers referred to in Mr George Seton's 'History of the Family of Seton,' vol. i. p. 174. The author, by giving some dates in the old and others in the new style, has confused the time of his return to Scotland, which was in January or February 1572 (N. S.), not 1571.

274. 29. *Vpone the morrow thair cum furth of ingland fra the quein twa ambassadouris to baith the syddes of Edinburgh and leith the one of thame was callit maister carie generall of bervick the vthir was namit Mr randell.* George Carey and Thomas Randolph, but if the

office of general was the same as that of marshal, it is a mistake to assign it to Carie, for Sir William Drury was then marshal. The 'Diurnal' says it was Drury that came at this time, and this is probably correct. Both Drury and Carey had been in Scotland at an earlier date, but Drury seems to have gone home, and now returned with Randolph.

Bannatyne takes this view, "Maister Randolph who had departed out of Edinburgh the first of Januar 1571 (2) with the marshall of Berwicke cam to Leith the 21st of Februar; ffor thay came befoir to Dalkeith" (pp. 225-226).

275. 19. *This regent was ane guid and humbill man . . . and had evir ane guid name and trew to the crowne.* This and what follows in praise of Regent Mar is noteworthy. It shows Pittscottie's Royalist sympathies. He commends Mar as true to the Crown. The other Regents had all personal aims, especially Morton, against whom very probably the praise of Mar is levelled.

275. 34. *My lord mephin . . . was schot throche the bodie him selff and his hors and so endit his lyff to the gret discomfort of thaim that var in leith.* Henry, second Lord Methven, was the son of the first Lord, the third husband of Margaret Tudor, by his second wife Lady Janet Stewart, daughter of John, second Earl of Athole.

277. 15. *The cannon mylnes and the mylnes of Edinburgh.* The "cannon mylnes" were the mills of the Canons of Holyrood, and their site on the Water of Leith is still marked by the local name. The "mylnes of Edinburgh" were probably the mills at the village of Dean, higher up the Water of Leith. The object of destroying the mills was to starve the garrison of the castle.

279. 3. *The regentis horsmen met with thame and slew and hangit all that thay gat to the number of xx or thairby and the castell syd in lyk maner hangit the regentis souldiouris . . . and so in this tyme thair vas no mony vit amangis thame bot all rigour.* That is, ransom and exchange ceased, so bitter had the struggle become.

279. 31. *And all be haulding of this vickit castell of Edinburgh quhilk causit meikill innocent bluid to be sched in this cuntrie of Scotland.* The "wicked castle" was a phrase of Knox which Pittscottie probably caught from him. But no doubt it was in many mouths when, in consequence of the obstinate resistance of Grange and Lethington, the town of Edinburgh was turned into a camp for the Regent's party, and riddled by the cannon of the castle.

279. 33. *At this tyme thair was come furth of ingland ane ambassadour to the regent and to thame of Edinburgh and spak with thame baith.* He is called in the Scotch Calendar "Mr. Marshall," and probably was Sir William Drury, the Marshal of Berwick. Pittscottie, in saying another ambassador came from England on 17th May, no doubt means Drury, and has duplicated the English ambassadors. It is very unlikely that one came soon after the 3rd of

May and another on the 15th. Carey, who is again called "General of Berwick," was still in Leith (p. 280, l. 30).

280. 2. *At this tyme the haill yle of Vakar callit seilland rais togidder aganes the duik du albow quha was ane tyrane and ane gret papist.* The close connection between the persecution and war of Alva against the Protestants of the Low Countries and the maintenance of the castle of Edinburgh by Grange against the Regent and the Lords of the Congregation is strikingly brought out in this part of Pitscottie.

280. 11. *Vpone the xvij day of maij thair come ane ambassadour furth of france and ane vthir furth of ingland to the regent and to the lordis of Edinburgh.* From what follows it appears that the French ambassador meant was Du Croc, and the English Carey, but the 'Historie of James the Sext,' says Drurie (i.e. Drury).

281. 25. *And it was murmurit throcht the cuntrie that the kingis lordis tuik nane regaird to the common weill of the cuntrie nor to the kingis honour nor proffeit nor zit to the mantinance of the glorie of god nor the trew kirk . . . bot to thair awin particular proffeit.* This and what follows as to the neglect of education marks the position of Pitscottie, which was identical with that of Knox.

282. 8. *The tulchan to wit ane feinseit counterfeit bischope.* Knox probably invented this nickname, which stuck. But Pitscottie describes the tulchan in his own words.

283. 6. *Quhilk exampill althocht it be sum thing sempill and barbarous zit nochtwithstanding it aggries to the purpois and causis the ruid peopeill to tak and vnderstand the matter the mair easelie.* Pitscottie here speaks as a man of education, but one who wishes to make the rude people understand.

284. 19. *Thairfoir god gif ws grace that ar trew scoittis men to puneis thaies acanis with the rest of thair excummunicat guidides and geir.* The reference to Achans is more certainly borrowed directly from Knox, who preached against them and their "accursed treasure" from the text in Joshua vii. 19-26.

286. 14. *At this tyme our quein of Scotland was brocht furth of hir presoune in Ingland and had to londoun.* This is an error. Mary was at this time a prisoner in Sheffield Castle, and was never brought to London.

286. 20. *At this tyme my lord lyndesay with my lord ruthvein keipit the towne of leith with all the gentilmen of syff and kinroschyre and the shereffdome of stratherne and stewartrie thairof.* Lyndsay and Ruthven, who commanded the men of Fife and of Perthshire, constantly acted together during the siege. Local association enhanced their agreement in opinion.

287. 7. *For thair was ane captane of the regentis and his freind callit home slaine quha was ane captane of the horsmen and ane verrie abill man.* Bannatyne mentions the death of Patrick Hume as the "second of July or thairabout in rescuing a drift of cattell which

Phernihurst had brocht off a piece of land of his which he had gotten befor fra the father of Jamie Hammilton that slew the first regent" (p. 237).

287. 14. *Adame gordoun quha was vpon the feildis to the nommer of sax thousand men.* Adam Gordon, after his successes in his own county in the north, now threatened to march south, and Perth and Dundee were in great alarm and prepared to defend themselves, but he returned north from Montrose to Aberdeen.

288. 22. *The regent had causit mak procleratiounis throche all Scotland quhair he was obeyit that thay could be all in leith the xxiiij day . . . with xl dayes furnesing.* Mar also made preparations to resist Gordon, and thought it might be necessary to remove some of his troops from Leith, but Gordon's retreat to Aberdeen made this unnecessary. A little more boldness on the part of Gordon might have raised the siege of the castle.

289. 4. *For na man that met ane vthir be the way durst schaw him his mynd nor quhais man he was.* A striking description of the evil of civil war, which Pitscottie felt acutely.

289. 20. *Thair was ane conventioun in Atholl at ane mariaige betuix the erle of Athole and my lord Saltoun.* This marriage was that of John, Earl of Athole's daughter, Lady Margaret Stuart, and George, 7th Lord Abernethy of Saltoun, in 1572. Douglas in his 'Peerage' gives 1588, a wrong date. The Bishop of Caithness, who married her sister Elizabeth after the death of her first husband, Lord Lovat, may probably have been amongst the lords present at this marriage.

290, margin. *Ane monethis trewis taine betuix leith and Edinburgh in Julij 1572.* Pitscottie mentions that this truce was procured by the joint offices of the French and English ambassadors. Bannatyne (p. 238) gives the terms proposed and those on which the truce was made. It was to continue for two months from 1st August (p. 240).

290. 31. *The bischope of Athenis.* Alexander Gordon, Bishop of Galloway, praised the Reformers, but was doubted both by Knox and Murray, 'History of Reformation,' vol. ii. p. 374.

291. 12. *Vpon the xxij day of august thair chanceit to be maid in the towne of parreis ane gret murther vpon the haill protestanis quha had beine aggred lang befor.* The massacre of St. Bartholomew. The last words mean "who had been agreed with the Catholics for a long time before."

292. 2. *And the rest of this moneth the duik of Du albow regent of flanderis mordreist in lyk maner the haill protestanis that war send furth of france to the support of the protestanis in flanderis.* Alva, the ablest general but worst governor of Spain in the Low Countries, though the policy for a time succeeded which ultimately lost them to the Spanish Crown, was now bathing Flanders in Protestant blood. Two thousand Protestants were executed in Haarlem alone, and thirty thousand are said to have saved their lives by exile.

292. 12. *The Erle of Northumberland quhome we spak of befor was iustified in the treme of Zori.* Thomas Percy, Earl of Northumberland, was beheaded at York on 22nd August 1572. He had been attainted for taking part in the rising of the Catholic Lords in the north of England in 1569, and when taken prisoner on the Scotch side of the Border was imprisoned for two years and a half in Lochleven. He was then delivered over to Lord Hunsdon at Berwick by the Earl of Morton and William Douglas of Lochleven for a payment of £2000.

293. 1. *And at this conventionous trewis and abstinacie was laine quhill the 17 day of october.* The Convention met on 22nd September, but ended in failure, and Du Croc and Drury, who had tried, as Pit-scottie says, for three-quarters of a year to bring about an "aggriement and could not obtain the samyn depairtit away hame to thair awin cuntrie."

293. 34. *Vpone the xxix day of october the Erle of Mar regent departed of this present lyff in the castell of Stirviling . . . quhilk was ane gret pitie and los for he was ane guid man and desyred evir concord bot god wald nocht suffer ane guid man to reigne amangis so many wicked personis and Spocreittis.* A view characteristic of Pit-scottie, who seems to have had no high opinion of the Scotch politicians of his time. The writer of the 'Historie of James the Sext' (p. 120) agrees with the estimate of Mar and Morton.

294. margin. *xxiiij november 1572 the erle mortoun was choissin regent.* The election of Morton and the death of Knox about midnight on the same day was a striking coincidence. Morton had visited Knox on his deathbed on the 19th, along with Lord Boyd and the Laird of Drumlanrig, but Bannatyne observes "What purpose was amangis thame nane but themselves knew." Morton's panegyric on Knox is well known, but had he lived they must have come into collision, as they had before at St. Andrews.

294. 31. *Schortlie heireflir vpon the xxv day of November Johne Knox minister of Edinburgh departed of this presentt lyff quhilk was ane gret los and pitie to all thame that favourit Chrystis word.* Whether Pit-scottie had met Knox we do not know. He had many opportunities of hearing him preach, which it is not likely he did not take advantage of. But it is certain that he shared Knox's views as to the proper direction of the Reformation, and often uses his arguments and language. He was more in sympathy with Knox than with the class of landed gentry to which he belonged.

296. 11. *The inglis ambassadour callit Killingley tuik gret panis to get appointment betuix thame of the castell and thame that tuik pairt with the king.* The English ambassador was Sir Henry Killigrew, a Cornish gentleman, then M.P. for Lancaster, who had been in Scotland before as envoy to Queen Mary in June and July 1566, and in 1567 after Darnley's murder. In September 1572 he

was again sent, and remained till the fall of the castle. There is a list of his visits to Scotland in 'A Remembrance of Henry Killigrew's Journeys in Her Majesty's Service' (Leonard Howard's Collection of Letters from the British Museum, Lansdowne MS.). Piscottie mentions his return in 1575 to recruit mariners for Elizabeth (p. 315).

297. 1. *Mr James Kirkcaldie the laird of Grange broair had new arrayit at the blacknes with ane gret somme of gould furth of france for to help thame that favourit the quein and the castell.* Blackness Castle, now used as a powder magazine, is on the Lothian side of the Forth, a few miles above Leith. The second MS. printed in the 'Diurnal of Occurrents,' says Kirkcaldy brought 50,000 double ducats and the Queen's dowry in France. It also gives 26th January as the date of Kirkcaldy's arrival at Blackness (p. 324).

297. 11. *Thair was ane conventionn of the lordis in Sanct Johnston on bayth the syddes.* It was now becoming obvious to every one except Grange and Lethington that the struggle to hold the castle could not be longer maintained.

298. 15. *Vpone the xxiiij of this moneth of february the regent come ovir the watter to aberdour and thair was ane conventionn betuix him and the erle of huntlie my lord boyd the inglis ambassadour and the maister of rothus with sindrie vthiris bot finalie thair was sic appointment maid betuix the erle of huntlie and the hammitounis with the regent that thay depairtit as tender freindis and all war aggreit except the castell of Edinburgh.* The date of this convention in Perth is stated in the 'Diurnal' (p. 327) more precisely as 14th February 1573, and the terms of the agreement are given in Bannatyne's 'Memorials' (p. 305). The meeting at Aberdour with Huntly was on the 18th, but the agreement is dated Perth, 23rd February 1573. The official version will be found in the Register of the Privy Council (vol. ii. pp. 193-200).

299. 19. *In the end of this moneth of march the seir of god I^m v^e lxxiiij zeiris the erle of argyle the erle of athole the erle of rothus with sindrie vthiris gret erlis held thair counsallis in the abbay.* The 'Diurnal' (p. 328) mentions that the Regent Morton had taken up his quarters in the Abbey on 16th March.

299. 22. *And so the erle of rothus was send as commissioneris to the castell.* The name of Lord Boyd who went with him ('Diurnal,' p. 328), has been dropped out, for the word commissioners is in the plural. The date was 6th April.

299. 33. *And so thair come in vii or aucht scoir of pioneris and cuist trinchis baith on the north syd and the south syd of the castell.* The 'Diurnal,' p. 328, gives the date 8th April, and reckons the pioneers at only 100 men. These were English pioneers, and this was the first act of the English artillery and pioneers which led to the fall of the castle.

300. 2. *The captane of the castell seing the incuming of the inglismen*

send to the abay to the regent the laird of Pittadro constable of the castell with ane commissioun to speik of sindrie artickillis and siclykk tuik instrumentis that they had na wyte of the incuming of strangeris. It is perhaps not clear whether the instruments were taken by Kirkcaldy, or by Pittadro at his direction, probably the latter. "To take instruments" is a Scotch term for executing a formal deed of protest. The words which follow, "bot god knawis gif this had beine the wyte [*i.e.*, the fault] or nocht," are the reflection which Pitscottie interpolates. This protest against bringing in strangers, in the shape of English soldiers, was Grange and Lethington's last card, but it failed of effect. Scotch patriotism no longer necessarily implied enmity to England.

300. 18. *Thair come furth of Swaden ane ambassadour send be the king thair of to the regent with ane commissioun to tak vp men of weir to the nommer of ane thousand quhilk desyre was grantit.* The King of Sweden, John, who had deposed his brother Eric, was threatened at this time by Ivan the Terrible of Russia, who declared he would take possession of Livonia. The Swedish king, with his elder brother in prison, and his younger brother, Carl, not on the best of terms with him, sat on an unstable throne. Hence the need of employing foreign mercenaries, and this enlistment of Scots for the first time in the Swedish service. The troops and ships formerly sent to Scandinavia had usually gone to Denmark. Archibald Ruthven, brother of Lord Ruthven, got license from the Privy Council, under certain conditions, to raise 1600 "waged men of weir, and to depart with them to Sweden," on 8th June 1573 (Privy Council Register, p. 235), and on 8th June Captain Alexander Campbell got a similar license for 800 "men of weir, horsemen and footmen" (*ibid.*, p. 528).

301. 8. *Parliament . . . adiorned from toibuith to the abbay and palace of halyrudous quhilk was hauldin quhill [*i.e.* until] the last day of apryle [1573].* A very brief record of the sitting of this Parliament at Holyrood has been preserved (Act Parl., vol. iii., p. 82, 83). There is a notice of it in the 'Diurnal,' p. 331. It restored the Hamiltons and Sir James Balfour, and forfeited Lord Hume and all who remained in the castle and had not been forfeited at the Parliament of Stirling in 1571. The Acts passed confirm Pitscottie's account of its proceedings.

302. 10. *The inglis cannonis war styled to wit vj fornens the galay snowt of the castell betuix John thornstownis hous and patrick Eggarris hous quhilk ar the vpper maist housis in Edinburgh and four layd in the gray freiris besyd the kowgait and four of thame layd without the towne on the craftis nocht far fra the west port and four layd at Sanct cuthbertis kirk and the rest var layd in sindrie placeis.* To realise the position of the English ordnance, the best guide is the 'Survey of the Castle and Town of Edinburgh,' by Roland Johnson and John Fleming, servantes to the Queen, by the commandment of Sir William

Drury, Knight, Governor of Berwick, and Mr Harrie Killinggrave, ambassadour, 27th January 1572-3,' and the Plan in Holinshead's 'Chronicle,' 1577, probably taken from the 'Platte' prepared by Roland Johnson. It must be kept in view that the mode of attack described in the 'Survey,' though generally followed, may have been altered in some details, and that the Plan is drawn without regard to perspective. Both the 'Survey' and the Plan are in the Bannatyne Club 'Miscellany,' vol. ii., p. 67, *et seq.*

302. 18. *And so thay began thair battrie estirnon and schot at Davia's tower and at Sanct margretis postrum and at Wallace tower quhair the Irone zet is to the port of the castell.* David's Tower, on the east, named after David II., who built it on his return from his English captivity. It was probably a square keep of the usual character, and he made it his principal residence. Margaret's Postern was the gate on the north-west, through which St. Margaret's body had been carried for her burial at Dunfermline. Wallace's Tower is conjectured with some probability by Wilson, in his 'Memorials of Edinburgh,' to be a corruption of Well House Tower, a tower built on the north to protect the descent to the well, which formed the principal water supply of the castle. It is referred to in the Exchequer Accounts for 1363. Part of this tower still exists in the modern Princes Street Gardens.

302. 27. *At this foirsaid parliament the regent causit proclame and mak ane statute aneys the ministeris that evirie ane of thame sould have twa or thrie of parroche kirkis.* This was done at the Parliament of Holyrood held in April 1573. Its terms are not extant, but its object was "that the king's revenues by the superflus of the thirds might be greater" (Calderwood, vol. iii. p. 301). The proceedings against John Davidson for his book against the proclamations are noticed afterwards. The Assembly on 6th March of this year had several complaints against pluralities made to it (Calderwood, vol. iii. p. 272).

303. 10. *Ane scoittis captane callit home with certane men of his band and vtheris passit to the galay snowt of the castell thrie men being in it for keiping thairof and ledderit it at the zet and wan this same.* This assault was on 26th May 1573. The 'Diurnal,' p. 232, describes it as the taking of the Block House which was within the Galley Snowt, and says the assault lasted from seven to ten in the morning, and that there were only two persons in the Block House, of whom one "was slain and the other tane." A simultaneous assault on the east side of the castle was repulsed ('Historie of James the Sext,' p. 143). The origin of the term "Block House," which came into use about this period, is uncertain, but it was probably a house built within the Spur or Galley Snowt for an advanced guard to protect the outer entrance to the castle. This Spur or Galley Snowt was the name given to the angular area enclosed by walls which formed the

outer defence on the east and occupied a small part of the present esplanade.

304. 2. *So we may tak ane example be thir men that god will suffer sinneris for to ring in thair sinis quhill thay rune to utter condemnation.* The long tirade against the defenders of the castle, which follows, is characteristic of Pitscottie, and certainly appears to express the feeling of a close observer of the siege, but he does not say, and there is no proof, that he was actually present.

304. 24. *Zit nochtwithstanding evirie man judgit that thair sould be ane dres becaus mony of the nobilitie var contentit that the Inglis-men sould seige the kingis hous and principall hous of all Scotland.* There seems to be an omission of "not" before "contentit." The meaning is that many of the nobility did not wish the castle of Edinburgh should be taken by the English, and desired to make some agreement with Kirkcaldy. But this was a mere private judgment or popular rumour. Matters had now gone too far for compromise. The pacification of Perth, which deprived Kirkcaldy of his chief supporters amongst the Scotch nobility, supplemented by the English cannon and engineers, made the fall of the castle inevitable.

305. 2. *Quhill ane callit Douglas ane base brother of the regentis resavit the samyn and [was] made captane thairof.* This was George Douglas of Parkhead ('*Historie of James the Sext*,' p. 145), where it is mentioned that Morton "repayrit the forewark to the forme of a bulwark plat and brayd above for the resett and rynnng of many cannons." This was the beginning of the present esplanade, which came in place of the Spur or Galley Snowt, but extended further East.

305. 9. *Nocht lang eftir this the secrittar callit Maitland quha was in the said castell and also the principall causer of the hauling thairof as it was judgit depairtit of this presentt lyff for the displesour of the o'irgiving of the said castell and as it was judgit he poysonit himsellff.* The '*Historie of James the Sext*,' p. 144, says that "Lethingtone depairtit this lyfe suddenlie of an auld disease of impotence of his leggis." He had for some time suffered from this, and sat during the whole of his last conference with John Knox. That he died "after the Roman Manner" is not proved or probable.

305. 27. *Ffor the king of france broder . . . lay at the seig of the rochell in brittanzie.* Henry, Duke of Anjou, afterwards Henry III. of France. He was at the siege of Rochelle when he heard of his election to the crown of Poland from Jean de Monluc, Bishop of Valencia, whose diplomatic skill had procured it (Henault, p. 513).

306. 8. *At this tyme thair passit certane men of weir to the nommer of xv hundreth in schippis to help the king of Swaden aganes the Muscovianis.* The '*Historie of James the Sext*' gives the reason for this recruiting in Scotland that "what be contractit peace and what be punesment the captane and soldiers of bayth sydis weir cassin lowse; and be reason the wearis incessit in Swaden and in Flanders and ather

of them standing in need of soldiers thay directit thair messengeris in Scotland; and as the captanes war inclynit towards the countries so thay took thair voyage" (p. 145).

306. 16. *In the begining of Julij the zeir of god I^m v^e lxxij zeiris thair come fra the prince of orainge principall protestane of flanderis ane ambassadour.* This was Captain Ormiston, who had already entered the service of the Prince of Orange, and was sent to Scotland to get more recruits. ('The Scots Brigade in Holland,' Scottish History Society, p. 6).

306. 27. *At this tyme thair was ane thowsand men of weir in raddynes to pas to Swadden to the rest that passit befor.* "To the rest" means to join the rest already gone to Sweden.

307. 7. *For it is the fassioun of the countrie that ane theiff will aduerteis ane vthir.* There is a covert satire in treating the great thieves, or Border lords and nobles, as of one class with the small thieves who would lift a sheep or a cow.

307. 11. *All the rest of this moneth ane callit captane traill and ane vthir callit captane ogilbe war taking vp men of weir to pas to flanderis to the support of the protestanis.* Captain Patrick Ogilvy and Captain Andrew Traill, to whom there are several references in the Dutch Documents printed in 'The Scots Brigade in Holland, Scottish Hist. Soc., 1899.' The earliest of these (p. 36) shows that Ogilvy and Traill were paid wages from 1st June 1573 to 31st July 1574. See also pp. 37, 38, 39. They came back to Scotland, but returned under Captain Henry Balfour in 1577 (*ib.*, pp. 13 and 14).

308. 1. *Ane that struik the cunzie callit Cok.* This was James Cockie, in whose house in the Canongate the Parliament had been held. He himself and another goldsmith, James Mosman, had taken sides with the castle, and Cockie was hanged along with Sir William Kirkcaldy on 3rd August 1573 ('Historie of James the Sext,' p. 145).

308. 10. *Thair was ane conventioun in Edinburgh of the ministeris quhair sum gat four kirkis and sum gat thrie to preche intill bot this conventioun was littill for the proffeit of the ministeris.* This was Morton's device to save payment of the full stipends which was attacked in "the Clerk and the Courtier" ('Satirical Poems of the Reformation,' No. xlii. and Notes, vol. ii. p. 195).

308. 15. *Vpone the xiiij day of august thair come ane ambassadour furth of ingland callit foster warden of the bordouris.* Sir John Foster, Warden of the Middle Marches, was sent to the Regent to desire him to send troops from the Scotch side to put down the lawless Borderers who made raids in England, which he did ('Historie of James the Sext,' p. 146).

308. 23. *Ffor at this tyme ingland and scotland joyned thair myndes all in ane that afoir tyme the lyk nevir happnit.* Pitscottie, following John Major, was well aware of the importance of the Scots and Eng-

lish being of one mind, and was beginning to look forward to the Union.

309. 3. *For the maist pairt of the kingdome of poill electit the king of france broder to be thair king becaus the king of poill deit without successioun.* On the death of Sigismund Augustus II. in 1573, Henry, Duke of Anjou, afterwards Henry III. of France, brother of Charles IX., was elected King of Poland. On his accession to the Crown of France on 30th May 1574, he quitted Poland.

309. 12. *At this tyme thair depairted furth of Scotland to the support of thame that war in Ceiland fyve hundreith men be sie.* These probably were the men referred to in the 'English State Papers' (Foreign Series, 26th July 1573), who proposed to go "upon the chairgis of the [Prince of Orange's] servant Captain Ormiston," and who had been preceded by Ogilvy and Traill who had gone in June.

309. 28. *Vpone the x day of september thair passit furth of our firth to flanderis twa schippes containand thrie hundreith men to help the protestanis that keipit the towne of flusching and the Campheir aganes the duke dualbow.* On 12th September 1573 Thomas Morgan wrote to Lord Burleigh from Zeeland that "400 Scots had arrived at Zierick See," and on the 13th the same writer reported that "Montgomery of Scotland is come to the Prince to make offer of service with 2000 light horse; 200 Scots have arrived in Zeeland who say that seven ensigns (*i.e.*, companies) more are coming," probably those who came with Ormiston ('Scots Brigade in Holland,' p. 7).

310. 1. *In the end of this moneth of september the Erle of Argyle quha had gottin and oblenit pairtesing with his wyff quha was ane base sister to the qucin of Scotland.* The divorce was granted on 23rd June 1573. Riddell gives a full account of the action, which was on the ground of desertion, before the Commissary Court ('Peerage and Consistorial Law,' vol. i. p. 547, *et seq.*). As Argyle married in August after the divorce Lady Jean Cunninghame, daughter of Alexander, Earl of Glencairn, and himself died on 12th September 1573 ('Diurnal,' p. 337), the date of the divorce cannot have been in that month. His first wife was a natural daughter of James V. by Elizabeth, daughter of Lord Carmichael, so half-sister of Queen Mary, to whose cause she adhered, while Argyle sided with the Reformers (Laing's Note, Knox 'Works,' vol. vi. p. 375, n. 3).

310. 12. *Lord lyndesay schereff of fyffe and als luvtenand of fyff and lowthiane causit proclame letteris that nane under gret panis sould schuit with lang gownis vpon the watteris with sindrie vthiris privalleges grantit to him be the regent.* This privilege granted to Lord Lyndsay probably was intended to prevent piracy and perhaps shooting waterfowl, as to which it practically gave Lyndsay an exclusive right.

310. 17-20. *The lord Cordinghame ane broder of the secriteris . . . with robert meluill war brocht to Eainburgh to have beine justifeid bot*

it was delayed at this tyme. Lord Coldingham was John Maitland, afterwards 1st Lord Thirlestane, and Robert Melville, afterwards 1st Lord Melville, was second son of Sir John Melville of Raith. They both were with the small party who remained in the Castle till it was taken. Their lives were saved by the intervention of Queen Elizabeth, who had declined to intervene in favour of Kirkcaldy. Neither of them was a violent politician. Sir James Melville in his 'Memoirs' attributes the saving of his brother, Sir Robert's life, to the intervention of Killigrew, who was an old friend of the Melvilles (p. 256).

310. 26. *Adame gordonne foirsaid beand in parreis vas schot throche the thighes with ane pistolat be ane sone of the lord forbusis bot he was slaine for the samyn.* The feud between the Gordons and the Forbesses still continued; and Adam Gordon, who had defeated and killed so many of the Forbes clan in the Northern war, was a natural object for blood-revenge which did not hesitate to follow its victim to a foreign country.

311. 8. *My lord boyd was proclamit generall collectour of all the thriddes and annwel rentis pertening to the kirkis of Scotland and na collectouris of the ministeris to be ansuerit bot he onlie and he to gif his compt thairof to the chalker.* The "thriddes and annwell" rents were the comparatively small portion of the revenues of the Church reserved for the Protestant clergy, and this measure, by which these collections were put into the hands of a layman, who was to account to Exchequer, was one of the many measures of Morton which brought him into conflict with the reformed ministers, who as churchmen still struggled for the rights of the Church.

311. 12. *Vpone the xx day of november the laird of Ormestoun callit blak Ormestoun was taine vpon the bordouris and brocht to the castell of Edinburgh.*

311. 28. *Vpone the xiiij day of december the laird of Ormestoun that vas at the kingis slauchter . . . efter that he was put vpon the buittis was justifeit in the town of Edinburgh.* Pitcairn's 'Criminal Trials' gives the account of his trial and the terms of his confession. The 'Diurnal' dates his capture 10th November (p. 338).

312. Margin, and 11-15. *Vpone the xix day of December 1573 the brig of Dunkell and Sanct Johnstoun was borne away . . . the lyk was nocht seine in that pairt sen the towne of perth (was) quhilk stud vpon the mouth of almond was borne away in the tyme of king William quha for that same caus foundit the towne of Sanct Johnstoun.* Fordun mentions the flood which carried away the Bridge of Perth in 1210, and Boece seems to be the first author of the statement that the site of the town was moved from the mouth of the Almond in consequence. Buchanan followed him as Pitcottie here does. But the existence of the bridge which seems always to have stood at the end of the High Street of the modern town, of the Church of St.

John as far back as the reign of David I., with at least one Charter which refers to buildings on the site of the present town before 1210, discredits this statement (Fittes' 'Ecclesiastical Annals of Perth,' p. 21). Yet it is at least possible that there may have been an older Celtic settlement or town at the confluence of the Almond and the Tay, and a new burgh which grew up near St. John's Church, and that the older one was abandoned after the flood.

312. 23. *In the moneth of januarj thair was twa or thrie doctouris of the colledges of Sanctandros that set furth ane dialog tuiching the oppressioun of the puire and doune putting of the ministeris of thrie or four kirkis to ane minister.* This is the same satire, "The Clerk and the Courtier," previously referred to. The authorship of this dialogue is usually attributed to John Davidson (Sir James Melville's 'Memoirs,' p. 23), then a Regent of St. Andrews, afterwards minister of Salt Preston or Prestonpans, who wrote the play 'On the taking of the Castle of Edinburgh according to Mr. Knox's doctrine,' which Knox saw acted at Mr. John Colvin's marriage in 1572 (James Melville's 'Diary,' p. 27). The fullest account of the proceedings against Davidson is in 'Calderwood' (vol. iii. p. 301, 309-13). His house is still pointed out at Prestonpans.

313. 15. *Thair was mony wreitlingis cassin in vpon the regent of his gredines bot nocht avowit.* The 'Historie of James the Sext,' p. 177, under the year 1579, but apparently without reference to that year says: "I have rehersit dyvers sorts of wrong that Morton had sustenit, and besydes thame all thair was a poetically malice in hand," and then relates the case of William Turnbull, a schoolmaster, and William Scot, a notary, who were executed at Stirling for a libel on Morton; and Moysie in his 'Diary' mentions that "at the scattering of the people there were ten or twelve dispitful letters and infamous libels in prose found as if they had been lost among the people tending to the reproach of the Erle of Morton and his predecessors." Calderwood also tells the story of a poor woman who cursed Morton after his fall in 1581, because he had her husband put to death at Stirling for a ballad entitled 'Daff and dow nothing.'

313. 21. *Vpone the secund day of marche the zeir of god I^m v^e lxxiiij zeiris thair was slaine of our Scoittismen in lufland at the seig of ane castell xiiij hunder men and mae.* These were the Scots who had gone to serve John, King of Sweden. The 'Historie of James the Sext' refers to this: 'Tham that went to Swadin behavit thayme selves sinistrouslie; for whereas thay war sent for him, the a brother to serve againis the uthir, they delt with the eldest brother, wha was the lawfull king and kept captive; and that pat the usurpit king in sik a furie that he causit the greatest part of thaym to be destroyed by the sword' (p. 146). The Swedish historian Celsius states the plot of the Scotch troops against King John, but does not admit the massacre, and says on the contrary that they were liberated on the

demand of the Scotch Court (Abbé Vertot's translation, ii. p. 254), but Geijer, in his 'Geschichte Schwedens,' ii. pp. 197, 211, gives a somewhat vague account both of the attempt of the Scots on the life of King John at Stockholm, and of the destruction of 1500 Scots at or near Revel. This is a subject which well deserves further research. See further as to the Scotch troops in Sweden, 314. 12; 315. 27; and 316. 20, and notes.

313. 29. *At this tyme the ministeris desyred to be supream heid of the kirk and that nane sould have jurrisdiction ovir thame bot thair sellffis and generall counsall vnder god. Bot the regent and his counsall vald noch grant to that.* This was the root of the conflict between Morton and the Presbyterian ministers. the constantly recurring and not yet settled dispute of the boundaries of ecclesiastical and civil jurisdiction.

314. 12. *Vpone the xvij day of marche thair was of our Scottis-men in lufland besyd revle slaine and mordreist be thair awin villfullnes and drunkennes the nommer of xvij hundreith or thairby be the king of Swadenis men and duches as salbe declairit heireftir.* See note to 315, n. 7. The above passage is somewhat confused, and appears to attribute the slaughter of the Scots both to their own drunkenness and the Swedes. I am not certain what is meant by "duches." Possibly the soldiers of the Dukedom of Livonia (Lufland) as distinct from the Swedes.

314. 25. *May 1574. Thair was ane man in Edinburgh quha was tane with ane woman by his wyff and brocht to the corse to mak his repentance . . . pullit furth ane knyf and slew him sellff . . . bot the eternall god forgive him for thair he condampnit his awin saull except the lord of his mercie be mercyfull and forgive him.* The 'Diurnal' p. 340, gives his name "Robert Drummond," alias Dr. Handy. Pit-scottie's prayer that God might forgive him is a remarkable instance of charity in an uncharitable age, and contrasts with Knox's declaration that Lethington would not be forgiven by God.

315. 17. *About the sufferring of ane day of law anens the clairk of Sanctandros quha had set furth the dialog as I have schawin to zow callit "The clairk and the courtiour" . . . and no thing done bot continuation till September following.* Calderwood gives the fullest account of these proceedings, which, after several continuations, were allowed to lapse.

315. 22. *About the middis of this moneth of junij thair come in ane ambassadour callit Munseur Killinggray about certane of the best marineris of Scotland to the quein of inglandis.* Killigrew had gone back to England after the taking of the castle, but now returned to recruit for the English navy.

315. 27. *At this tyme the regent sena ane ambassadour to the king of Swadden anens the relaxatioun of certane Scoittis captanes quhilk he had causit to put in vard and anens the gret murthur that was*

vpone our Scottismen quha war in Swadden and in lusfland come hame verrie euill handlit as salbe declairit heireftir. There is no further reference to this except the following passage.

316. 20. *At this tyme thair come fra the king of Swadden ane Scottisman as ane ambassadour to excuse his pairt of the murthure of the scottismen bot the regent gave him na presens.* Possibly it may be inferred from this reference to what was "to be declared hereafter," which occurs several times in the concluding part of Pitscottie's *Chronicles*, that he may have contemplated continuing them beyond 1st January 1576. But when he came to write his Preface he had abandoned this intention, for he distinctly states the end of 1575 as the termination of his work.

317. 14. *At this tyme the king of poill the king of france brother did cum furth of poill to vinneis.* Charles IX. died on 30th May 1574, and his brother, Henry, King of Poland, quitting that country, came to France by way of Venice and Piedmont. He was crowned at Rheims on 13th February 1575.

317. 24. *The Pest in the middis of this same moneth of October [1574] come in be sie to the towne of leith . . . And vpon the xx day of October the said pest come in the towne of kirkcaldie . . . and but dout god send this plaigue for our sinis.* This passage perhaps shows that Pitscottie was then living in or near Kirkcaldy. The farm of Pitscottie is, however, not far from that town. The 'Diurnal' mentions that on the 24th of October it was brought into Edinburgh "by ane dochter of Malvis Curle out of Kirkcaldy." As the *Chronicles* approach their conclusion, and after the capture of the castle had established the triumph of the King's Protestant party, their author still utters a note of despondency on account of the sins of his countrymen.

318. 5-18. *In Dundaie quhair ane puire creppill man duelt in ane ludge biggit at the east port vpon the vall . . . deit . . . Bot all wratchis may tak example be this man nocht to hurd vp thair siluir for god wil caus thame at the last to depairt from the samyn.* Another sermon, and this time one against avarice, a subject not so commonly preached against.

318. 29. *In the moneth of Januarj the seir foirsaid the cardinall of Loren depairted.* Charles de Guise, Cardinal of Lorraine, brother of Mary of Guise, died 26th December 1574.

319. 32, margin. *Hardheidis and plackis cryitt down.* This refers to the Act of 1574, entitled "Anent the crying doune of new plakakis and hardheidis" (Act Parl., vol. iii. p. 92). According to the 'Historie of James the Sext,' p. 152, this Act chiefly hurt the poor, in whose hands these small and base coins chiefly were, and Morton had even the meanness to use these base coins to pay the masons engaged in repairing the castle.

20. 7. *Actis as eftir followis as anens the lawis of the realme to be*

gadderit in ane buik. In the Parliament 5th March 1574 an Act was passed "Anent the sicthing collection and reformation of the laws of this realm." This Act appointed a commission, of which the Chancellor, Lord Glamis, the President of the Court of Session, and several lords and burgesses were members, with power to add other Lords of Session and advocates, which was to consider not only the existing law with statutes and common law, but also what was "meet and convenient to be statute," and frame the whole into a book or code and to report it to Parliament, so that there "might be a certain written law to all." This premature attempt to have a Scotch code broke down, but left some fruit in the collection called 'Balfour's Practicks,' and in Skene's 'Edition of the Older Laws' (Act. Parl., vol. iii. p. 89).

321. 9. *Vpone the vij day of Julij thair chancit vpon the bordouris to be ane carmishe betuix the inglis wardenis and the scoittis.* "Vpone the 7 of Julie," says Calderwood (vol. iii. p. 347), "their was a day of truce halden at Reddinburne, where the wardens of both marches met but culd not agree. From wordis they fell to strokis, and manie war slain on both sides." This was called the Raid of Reidswyre, in which the Laird of Carmichael took Sir John Forster, the English warden, and 300 of his men prisoners. Pitcottie's date is correct (*Diurnal*, pp. 348-9). The Reidswyre is the highest part of the Roman road in Roxburghshire, at the source of the river Rede, a boundary between the kingdoms, and the scene of frequent Border skirmishes. This is said to have been the last one of importance.

322. 17. *The kingis magestie and the regent war so puire and sa super-expendit that the sowme of four thousand poundis money behoueit for to be raisit vpon the haill realme as said is.* 'The Historie of James the Sext,' which is very hostile to Morton, describes at length his various devices for raising money to meet this deficiency (pp. 147, 149, 151). The last sentence means that the kirkmen, who now only had the thirds of their benefices, were taxed as much as when they held the whole.

322. 23. *At Couper the xxv day of december the zeir of god I^m v^r lxxv zeiris. The quhilk day Archbaldy Dowglas erle of angus war maryed solempniousslie in the presens of chrystis congregatioun with margret leslie lawfull dochter to Andro leslie erle of rothus and Schereff of fyff.* Archibald, 8th Earl of Angus, called the good Earl, married as his second wife, on Christmas day 1575, Lady Margaret Leslie, daughter of George, 4th Earl of Rothes. His first wife, a daughter of the Regent Mar, had died on 3rd May in the same year (*Diurnal*, p. 348).

323. 3. *Item that same day aucht dayes quhilk was callit newar day quhilk was the first day of the zeir the first day of the moneth the first day of the oulk and the first day of the moone the quhilk fell nocht lang tyme befor in that maner.* Professor Copland, *Astronomer-Royal*

for Scotland, has kindly verified this paragraph for me, and finds it to describe correctly Sunday, 1st January 1576. 1576 was a leap-year, and by the aid of the Tables and Rules in Augustus de Morgan's *Almanack of Almanacks*, it is proved that New Year's Day, according to the new style, in 1576 fell on Sunday the first of the week. By aid of the Ritter von Oppolzers *Canon der Finsternisse*, Vienna, 1888, it appears that this Sunday was the first day of the new moon. It goes without saying that the first day of the year was also the first day of the month of January, when that date was adopted for the beginning of the year. Officially the change from the 25th March to 1st January as the beginning of the year was not made in Scotland till 1st January 1600, when it was prescribed by the Proclamation of James VI. on 17th December 1599. (Printed in Sir Harris Nicolas' *'Chronology of History,'* p. 43). But it had been used all along in the Calendar of the Church (Bishop Forbes' *'Calendar of Scottish Saints'*) and frequently by historical writers. *'The Historie of James the Sext,'* p. 151, for instance, notes "In the moneth of Januar according to the new Calcul 1575 the noble Prince Duik Hamiltoun depairtit this lyff in the Palace of Hamiltoun upone the 22 day of that moneth." Pitscottie generally uses the old style, which made the 25th March the commencement of the year, but is not quite consistent, *e.g.*, the Provincial Council of 1546 is dated in January 1545 (vol. ii. p. 52), but the Convention of the Lords at St. Johnston in the following February is dated 1546 (p. 53). Mr Hay Fleming in a note on New Year's Day in the *'The Scottish Antiquary'* (vol. xi. p. 63), gives an earlier example from the *'Diurnal of Occurrents'* (p. 21), where the marriage of James V. to Magdalene of France at Paris, is dated "1st January (1537) being new zeir day," and other instances from English writers of the sixteenth century, although the official change was not made in England till 1752 by the Act 24 George II., when the New or Gregorian style was adopted by Act of Parliament. The edict of Charles IX., 4th August 1563, had made 1st January the commencement of the official year for all France where the usage in different provinces had varied, and this was adopted by the Parliament of Paris in 1567. Pitscottie perhaps thought the coincidence of dates which he refers to in this paragraph a good period to write *Finis* to his *Chronicles*. But we have seen from the *Memoir* of his Life in the Introduction that he probably did not long survive.

1

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The Scottish Text Society.

FIFTEENTH ANNUAL REPORT.

THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING of the SOCIETY was held in Dowell's Rooms, Edinburgh, on the 1st of December 1898. The MARQUIS OF LOTHIAN, K.T., President, in the Chair. The Secretary (Mr Wm. Traquair Dickson) intimated apologies from Sir Arthur Mitchell, Sheriff Mackay, Mr Dalrymple Duncan, Mr William Blackwood, Mr Oliphant Smeaton, and others.

The following Report for the year was read by the Secretary :—

“Since last General Meeting three parts of the Society's works have been issued to the members. One of these, ‘The Gude and Godlie Ballates,’ edited by the Very Rev. A. F. Mitchell, D.D., belonged to the issue of last year, but was a week or two beyond time in coming out. The issues of this Session have been the two volumes of the Poems of Sir William Mure of Rowallan, edited by Mr William Tough, M.A.

“The Society has recently sustained a serious loss in the death of Mr John R. Findlay of Aberlour, a member of the Council, and until this last year one of the Vice-

Presidents. Mr Findlay had been throughout a very loyal member of the Society, and the Council has been much indebted to him for wise and timely aid in its deliberations. He had a true patriotic feeling for our Scottish literature and history.

"It was hoped that the edition of the Scottish translation of Sir Gilbert Hay of Bonnet's work, '*L'Arbre des Batailles*,' edited from the Abbotsford MS. by Mr John H. Stevenson, Advocate, editor of '*The Scottish Antiquary*,' would have been in the hands of members by this time. The work, however, involves not a little care and labour, and is yet some way from being completed.

"'*The Chronicle of Robert Lindesay of Pitscottie*,' edited by Sheriff Æneas J. G. Mackay, is now in the press, and will be issued to the subscribers in the course of the year now begun. This edition will contain matter of much interest, including a new and independent narrative of Scottish history from the death of Rizzio to the year 1575. All discoverable MSS. have been consulted for this edition, and the most important have been collated. The Council is much indebted to Mr John Scott of Halkhill, C.B., the Earl of Kinnoull, Mr Erskine Wemyss of Wemyss, Mr A. Hunter Ballingall, W.S., Perth, Mr Thomas Dickson, LL.D., late Curator of the Historical Department, Register House, the Rev. Duncan MacGregor of Inverallochy, and the Keepers of the Advocates' Library and the Library of the University of Edinburgh, who have aided the Editor by placing MSS. at his service, or by directing his attention to the places where such MSS. might be found.

"The edition of John Rolland's '*Seven Sages*,' edited by Dr Hermann Varnhagen, Professor of the University of Erlangen, is now in the printer's hands.

"Mr Thomas Graves Law, LL.D., is engaged with Lord

Amherst's MS. of the Scottish recension of Wyclif's New Testament. The amount of editing and comparing which this undertaking involves is arduous and difficult. It will thus be a considerable time yet before Mr Law's work can be out of the printer's hands.

"Mr G. Gregory Smith, M.A., has undertaken to prepare an edition of the poems of Robert Henryson. This work, it will be remembered, had been taken in hand by Professor Raleigh of Liverpool, but, owing to other engagements, he was very reluctantly compelled to give it up.

"The Council has under consideration the editing of the 'Orlando Furioso' in Scots metre, rendered by Stewart of Baldyneis. No definite arrangements have, however, yet been made for editing this work.

"Other important Scottish Texts are also receiving the attention of the Council. Among these may be particularly mentioned a very interesting collection of legal documents in the Scottish vernacular, dated between 1379 and 1603, which Mr David Murray, LL.D., Glasgow, has kindly expressed his willingness to edit, and the MS. of Bellenden's Translation of Livy, belonging to Mr Ogilvie Forbes of Boyndlie. There is thus plenty of valuable material awaiting publication ; but it is greatly to be desired that the members of the Society would use their best efforts to procure an addition to the membership."

The Chairman, in moving the adoption of the Report, said that he felt sure the members would endorse the Minute expressing the regret which they all felt at the loss the Society had sustained in the death of Mr Findlay, and would approve of what the Council had done in forwarding to Mr Findlay's family an expression of the Society's sense of that loss. As they all knew, Mr Findlay had been a very constant attender at the meetings of the Society, and

had always given useful help and advice in all its affairs. Indeed, in everything connected with Scotland, or interesting to Scotsmen, Mr Findlay had shown a generous and warm interest.

Referring to the Report, Lord Lothian said that a good deal of work had been done during the past year, and that the Society had at present many MSS. and other documents before it with a view to publication. Last year, when making a few remarks at the Annual Meeting, he had ventured to express his great regret that the membership of the Society was not larger. He now noticed that the Council had found it necessary to express a similar regret. He had made an appeal last year to the Universities, that they should encourage the Society, if not by large subscriptions, at any rate by showing their interest in the works which were published. He was afraid that appeal had not been very successful, and he proposed to make it again, because it seemed to him a most extraordinary thing that, in the centres of learning in Scotland, of all places in the world, there should be so little interest in the ancient language of the country, to which its modern language was due. Young Scotland, he thought, should be taught and shown what the ancient language of Scotland was. The objects of the Society were not such as attracted, to any great extent at least, the magazine-reading public, who, he was afraid, liked to take in their excitement by bucketfuls and their instruction by thimblefuls. Surely, however, there was a large number of people who took a brighter and larger view of the literature of their country than that, and one would have thought that they would like to give their support to a work of great national interest and importance. It was very odd, to say the least of it, that in the centres of the country's learning, the ancient language of Scotland was not a matter of more interest and value, that the dying language of their

country aroused so little attention, while men's libraries were chock-full of works in the dead Greek and Latin languages. Of course the greater number of the works they were able to publish were not interesting to the ordinary reader, though some of them certainly were. Their object was not so much to publish interesting works as to keep alive in concrete form, by picking out here and there from ancient documents, a true and valuable textual record of what the language of Scotland was from the earliest time down to the present. They had a difficulty in finding prose works, and as for old poetry, people did not seem to care about it, as they had plenty of modern poetry. Poetry did not appeal to the large proportion of readers, but he thought when they had seen in the Report that 'The Chronicles of Robert Lindsay of Pit-scottie' were soon to be published, that work would appeal generally to the public, especially as they had heard that it would contain absolutely new material. The Council wished to get a larger variety of all kinds of documents that might be within their reach, and to publish them consecutively from the earliest times to the present, so that they might get all the changes that had taken place in the Scottish language. He would like to come down to recent times, and he would not even exclude what had been called "gutter Scots." That term had been applied to the works of some eminent novelists, and he thought it went a little too far. The words had been put into an English setting, but the words themselves were not bad, and they should not be lost or despised. This "gutter Scots," as it was called, was really an evolution, and evolutions were always interesting. He thought this was an evolution on the part of modern Scottish writers to bring back a certain amount of interest in the old Scottish language. It was, in his opinion, a phase of the Scottish language which they should not altogether ignore. What the present members should do was to try to get

subscribers, and he felt sure that the time would come when a certain class of people, both at home and abroad, would look back with the greatest gratitude on what the Society had done. He would like that the English, as well as the Scottish Universities, should become subscribers, and he hoped that more subscribers would also be got in America and in Germany. As long as they could get subscribers, their desire would be to make the Society as useful and effective as they possibly could.

Mr G. Gregory Smith, who seconded the adoption of the Report, spoke of what had been done in the University of Edinburgh on behalf of the study of ancient Scottish literature.

On the motion of Sir Ralph Anstruther, Baronet, and Mr George Neilson of Glasgow, Sir Arthur Mitchell, K.C.B., LL.D., and Sheriff Mackay, Q.C., LL.D., were elected Vice-Presidents.

The following gentlemen were appointed to fill the vacancies in the Council, viz.: Mr J. T. Clark; The Rev. William Metcalfe, D.D.; Mr William Tough; Mr F. J. Amours; and the Rev. James King Hewison.

Mr Traquair Dickson, Mr Peter Ronaldson, C.A., and Mr Richard Brown, C.A., were respectively re-elected Secretary, Treasurer, and Auditor.

The Very Rev. James MacGregor, D.D., in moving a vote of thanks to Lord Lothian, said it was an extremely happy suggestion to have a selection of documents from the earliest down to the latest period—showing the gradual change in the language. One of the results, in his opinion, would be to show that the Scottish language was the purest and best form of English.

Mr George Neilson, Glasgow, at the conclusion of the business, said he thought the members of the Society should have an opportunity of discussing Scottish questions at the

Annual Meetings ; and the Chairman, in reply, said, if notice of any such questions was sent to the Council, he had no doubt that arrangements could be made for having some discussions, which, he thought, would be very interesting and instructive.

The Scottish Text Society.

ABSTRACT OF THE TREASURER'S ACCOUNT

For Year ending 31st October 1898.

I. CHARGE.

I. Balance brought from last Year, viz.—

1. Arrears of Contributions		£27 6 0
2. Cash in National Bank—		
1. On Deposit Receipt with accrued interest	£353 14 4	
2. On Current Account	47 12 10	
3. In Treasurer's hands	8 12 7	
	<u> </u>	404 19 9

<i>Less</i> Subscriptions received in advance	£4 4 0	
Accounts due at 31st October 1897, but not paid until after that date, including estimated cost of Vol. XXXIX.	365 16 10	
	<u> </u>	370 0 10

<i>Deduct:</i> Arrears written off in 1897-98		£62 4 11
		<u>4 4 0</u>
		£58 0 11

II. Members' Annual Contributions, viz.—

289 Members for 1897-98, per List, at £1, 1s., and 3 at £2, 2s.	£309 15 0	
Copies of previous issues sold to Members	28 17 6	
	<u> </u>	338 12 6

III. Interest on Deposit Receipts		6 12 0
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SUM OF THE CHARGE £403 5 5

Equalling the DISCHARGE, as on page 11.

II. DISCHARGE.

I. Cost of Society's Publications, viz.—

Paid Messrs Wm. Blackwood & Sons for printing Vol. XXXIX., Gude and Godlie Ballates, 490 pp., 350 Copies: 100 Copies sewed, and 250 Copies $\frac{1}{2}$ morocco	£229 18 2
<i>Deduct</i> estimated cost thereof, entered in last year's Accounts	<u>214 0 0</u>
Carry forward	£15 18 2

	Brought forward	£15 18 2
Paid Messrs Wm. Blackwood & Sons for printing Vols. XL. and XLI., Works of Sir William Mure, 2 Vols.—Vol. I. 334 pp., Vol. II. 352 pp.—90 Copies sewed, and 250 Copies $\frac{1}{2}$ bound morocco, of each Volume		232 9 6
Paid Rev. Dr Mitchell, outlays in connection with editing 'The Gude and Godlie Ballates'		2 12 3
Paid Mr Augustus Hughes Hughes, British Museum, second half of sum for transcription of Lord Amherst's MS.		27 10 0
Paid Rev. John Anderson, for additional transcribing and numerous marginal emendations on the former transcript of the Pitcottie MS.		30 0 0
		<u>£308 9 11</u>

II. General Charges and Payments, viz.—

Messrs Wm. Blackwood & Sons, for printing Report and Abstract of Accounts and List of Subscribers	£8 1 2	
Do., Addressing Wrappers, including Wrappers, Putting up, Delivery, Postages (£11, 0s. 1d.), &c., in connection with Vols. XXXVIII., XXXIX., XL., and XLI.	23 6 8	
Do., Printing Circulars	0 13 3	
Do., Repayment for Advertising	0 8 6	
Rent of Room for Meeting at Dowell's on 10th December 1897	0 5 0	
Commission to Booksellers introducing Members	1 6 1	
Clerical Work	2 0 0	
Charges on Cheques and Remittances	0 1 7	
Paid for Deed-Boxes, for Treasurer and Secretary	2 1 9	
Treasurer's Outlays for Postages and Stationery during year	3 10 1	
Secretary's Outlays for do. during year	1 13 6	
		<u>43 7 7</u>

III. Balance at close of this Account—

1. Arrears of Contributions, viz.—		
4 Members for 1896-97	£4 4 0	
9 Members for 1897-98	10 10 0	
	<u>£14 14 0</u>	
2. Cash in National Bank on Current Account	38 15 11	
	<u>£53 9 11</u>	
Deduct Subscriptions received in advance	2 2 0	
		<u>51 7 11</u>

Note.—£130, 7s. 9d. has been disbursed on account of publications in course of preparation, whereof £57, 10s. was paid in year 1897-98.

SUM OF THE DISCHARGE . . . £403 5 5

Equalling the CHARGE, as on page 10.

EDINBURGH, 4th November 1898.—I have examined the Account of the Treasurer of the Scottish Text Society for the year to 31st October 1898, and having compared it with the Members' Subscription Book and the vouchers, I find it to be correct, closing with a balance of cash in bank of Thirty-eight pounds fifteen shillings and elevenpence. Subscriptions received in advance, amounting to Two guineas, will be included in next year's Account.

RICHARD BROWN, C.A., Auditor.

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